

THE GOLDEN BOUGH

A STUDY OF THE MAGIC OF THE GOLDEN BOUGH



IN
MAGIC
AND
RELIGION

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A STUDY
IN MAGIC AND RELIGION

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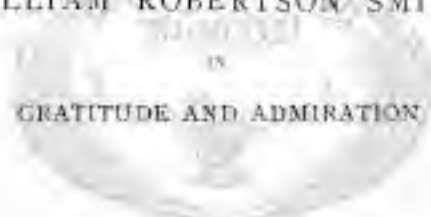
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TO
MY FRIEND
WILLIAM ROBERTSON SMITH
IN
GRATITUDE AND ADMIRATION



PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION

FOR some time I have been preparing a general work on primitive superstition and religion. Among the problems which had attracted my attention was the hitherto unexplained rule of the Arician priesthood; and last spring it happened that in the course of my reading I came across some facts which, combined with others I had noted before, suggested an explanation of the rule in question. As the explanation, if correct, promised to throw light on some obscure features of primitive religion, I resolved to develop it fully, and, detaching it from my general work, to issue it as a separate study. This book is the result.

Now that the theory, which necessarily presented itself to me at first in outline, has been worked out in detail, I cannot but feel that in some places I may have pushed it too far. If this should prove to have been the case, I will readily acknowledge and retract my error as soon as it is brought home to me. Meantime my essay may serve its purpose as a first attempt to solve a difficult problem, and to bring a variety of scattered facts into some sort of order and system.

A justification is perhaps needed of the length at which I have dwelt upon the popular festivals observed by European peasants in spring, at midsummer, and at harvest. It can hardly be too often repeated, since it is not yet generally recognised, that in spite of their fragmentary character the

popular superstitions and customs of the peasantry are by far the fullest and most trustworthy evidence we possess as to the primitive religion of the Aryans. Indeed the primitive Aryan, in all that regards his mental fibre and texture, is not extinct. He is amongst us to this day. The great intellectual and moral forces which have revolutionised the educated world have scarcely affected the peasant. In his inmost beliefs he is what his forefathers were in the days when forest trees still grew and squirrels played on the ground where Rome and London now stand.

Hence every inquiry into the primitive religion of the Aryans should either start from the superstitious beliefs and observances of the peasantry, or should at least be constantly checked and controlled by reference to them. Compared with the evidence afforded by living tradition, the testimony of ancient books on the subject of early religion is worth very little. For literature accelerates the advance of thought at a rate which leaves the slow progress of opinion by word of mouth at an immeasurable distance behind. Two or three generations of literature may do more to change thought than two or three thousand years of traditional life. But the mass of the people who do not read books remain unaffected by the mental revolution wrought by literature; and so it has come about that in Europe at the present day the superstitious beliefs and practices which have been handed down by word of mouth are generally of a far more archaic type than the religion depicted in the most ancient literature of the Aryan race.

It is on these grounds that, in discussing the meaning and origin of an ancient Italian priesthood, I have devoted so much attention to the popular customs and superstitions of modern Europe. In this part of my subject I have made great use of the works of the late W. Mannhardt, without which, indeed, my book could scarcely have been written. Fully recognising the truth of the principles which I have

imperfectly stated, Mannhardt set himself systematically to collect, compare, and explain the living superstitions of the peasantry. Of this wide field the special department which he marked out for himself was the religion of the woodman and the farmer, in other words, the superstitious beliefs and rites connected with trees and cultivated plants. By oral inquiry, and by printed questions scattered broadcast over Europe, as well as by ransacking the literature of folk-lore, he collected a mass of evidence, part of which he published in a series of admirable works. But his health, always feeble, broke down before he could complete the comprehensive and really vast scheme which he had planned, and at his too early death much of his precious materials remained unpublished. His manuscripts are now deposited in the University Library at Berlin, and in the interest of the study to which he devoted his life it is greatly to be desired that they should be examined, and that such portions of them as he has not utilised in his books should be given to the world.

Of his published works the most important are, first, two tracts, *Roggenwolf und Roggenhund*, Danzig, 1865 (second edition, Danzig, 1866), and *Die Korndämonen*, Berlin, 1868. These little works were put forward by him tentatively, in the hope of exciting interest in his inquiries and thereby securing the help of others in pursuing them. But except from a few learned societies, they met with very little attention. Undeterred by the cold reception accorded to his efforts he worked steadily on, and in 1875 published his chief work, *Der Baumkultus der Germanen und ihrer Nachbarstämme*. This was followed in 1877 by *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*. His *Mythologische Forschungen*, a posthumous work, appeared in 1884.¹

¹ For the sake of brevity I have sometimes, in the notes, referred to Mannhardt's works respectively as

Roggenwolf (the references are to the pages of the first edition), *Korndämonen*, *B.K.*, *A.W.F.*, and *M.F.*

Much as I owe to Mannhardt, I owe still more to my friend Professor W. Robertson Smith. My interest in the early history of society was first excited by the works of Dr. E. B. Tylor, which opened up a mental vista undreamed of by me before. But it is a long step from a lively interest in a subject to a systematic study of it; and that I took this step is due to the influence of my friend W. Robertson Smith. The debt which I owe to the vast stores of his knowledge, the abundance and fertility of his ideas, and his unwearied kindness, can scarcely be overestimated. Those who know his writings may form some, though a very inadequate, conception of the extent to which I have been influenced by him. The views of sacrifice set forth in his article "Sacrifice" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, and further developed in his recent work, *The Religion of the Semites*, mark a new departure in the historical study of religion, and ample traces of them will be found in this book. Indeed the central idea of my essay—the conception of the slain god—is derived directly, I believe, from my friend. But it is due to him to add that he is in no way responsible for the general explanation which I have offered of the custom of slaying the god. He has read the greater part of the proofs in circumstances which enhanced the kindness, and has made many valuable suggestions which I have usually adopted; but except where he is cited by name, or where the views expressed coincide with those of his published works, he is not to be regarded as necessarily assenting to any of the theories propounded in this book.

The works of Professor G. A. Wilken of Leyden have been of great service in directing me to the best original authorities on the Dutch East Indies, a very important field to the ethnologist. To the courtesy of the Rev. Walter Gregor, M.A., of Pitsligo, I am indebted for some interesting communications which will be found acknowledged in their proper places. Mr. Francis Darwin has kindly allowed me

PREFACE TO THE SECOND EDITION

THE kind reception accorded by critics and the public to the first edition of *The Golden Bough* has encouraged me to spare no pains to render the new one more worthy of their approbation. While the original book remains almost entire, it has been greatly expanded by the insertion of much fresh illustrative matter, drawn chiefly from further reading, but in part also from previous collections which I had made, and still hope to use, for another work. Friends and correspondents, some of them personally unknown to me, have kindly aided me in various ways, especially by indicating facts or sources which I had overlooked and by correcting mistakes into which I had fallen. I thank them all for their help, of which I have often availed myself. Their contributions will be found acknowledged in their proper places. But I owe a special acknowledgment to my friends the Rev. Lorimer Fison and the Rev. John Roscoe, who have sent me valuable notes on the Fijian and Waganda customs respectively. Most of Mr. Fison's notes, I believe, are incorporated in my book. Of Mr. Roscoe's only a small selection has been given; the whole series, embracing a general account of the customs and beliefs of the Waganda, will be published, I hope, in the *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*. Further, I ought to add that Miss Mary E. B. Howitt has kindly allowed me to make some extracts

from a work by her on Australian folklore (and legends which I was privileged to read in manuscript.

I have seen no reason to withdraw the explanation of the priesthood of Aricia which forms the central theme of my book. On the contrary the probability of that explanation appears to me to be greatly strengthened by some important evidence which has come to light since my theory was put forward. Readers of the first edition may remember that I explained the priest of Aricia—the King of the Wood—as an embodiment of a tree-spirit, and inferred from a variety of considerations that at an earlier period one of these priests had probably been slain every year in his character of an incarnate deity. But for an undoubted parallel to such a custom of killing a human god annually I had to go as far as ancient Mexico. Now from the *Martyrdom of St. Daxius*, unearthed and published a few years ago by Professor Franz Cumont of Ghent (*Analecta Bollandiana*, xvi, 1897), it is practically certain that in ancient Italy itself a human representative of Saturn—the old god of the seed—was put to death every year at his festival of the Saturnalia, and that though in Rome itself the custom had probably fallen into disuse before the classical era, it still lingered on in remote places down at least to the fourth century after Christ. I cannot but regard this discovery as a confirmation, as welcome as it was unlooked for, of the theory of the Arician priesthood which I had been led independently to propound.

Further, the general interpretation which, following W. Mannhardt, I had given of the ceremonies observed by our European peasantry in spring, at midsummer, and at harvest, has also been corroborated by fresh and striking analogies. If we are right, these ceremonies were originally magical rites designed to cause plants to grow, cattle to thrive, rain to fall, and the sun to shine. Now the remarkable researches of Professor Baldwin Spencer and Mr. F. J. Gillen among the

native tribes of Central Australia have proved that these savages regularly perform magical ceremonies for the express purpose of bringing down rain and multiplying the plants and animals on which they subsist, and further that these ceremonies are most commonly observed at the approach of the rainy season, which in Central Australia answers to our spring. Here then, at the other side of the world, we find an exact counterpart of those spring and midsummer rites which our rude forefathers in Europe probably performed with a full consciousness of their meaning, and which many of their descendants still keep up, though the original intention of the rites has been to a great extent, but by no means altogether, forgotten. The harvest customs of our European peasantry have naturally no close analogy among the practices of the Australian aborigines, since these savages do not till the ground. But what we should look for in vain among the Australians we find to hand among the Malays. For recent inquiries, notably those of Mr. J. L. van der Toorn in Sumatra and of Mr. W. W. Skeat in the Malay Peninsula, have supplied us with close parallels to the harvest customs of Europe, as these latter were interpreted by the genius of Mannhardt. Occupying a lower plane of culture than ourselves, the Malays have retained a keen sense of the significance of rites which in Europe have sunk to the level of more or less meaningless survivals.

Thus on the whole I cannot but think that the course of subsequent investigation has tended to confirm the general principles followed and the particular conclusions reached in this book. At the same time I am as sensible as ever of the hypothetical nature of much that is advanced in it. It has been my wish and intention to draw as sharply as possible the line of demarcation between my facts and the hypotheses by which I have attempted to colligate them. Hypotheses are necessary but often temporary bridges built to connect isolated facts. If my light bridges should sooner or later

break down or be superseded by more solid structures, I hope that my book may still have its utility and its interest as a repertory of facts.

But while my views, tentative and provisional as they probably are, thus remain much what they were, there is one subject on which they have undergone a certain amount of change, unless indeed it might be more exact to say that I seem to see clearly now what before was hazy. I mean the relation of magic to religion. When I first wrote this book I failed, perhaps inexcusably, to define even to myself my notion of religion, and hence was disposed to class magic loosely under it as one of its lower forms. I have now sought to remedy this defect by framing as clear a definition of religion as the difficult nature of the subject and my apprehension of it allowed. Hence I have come to agree with Sir A. C. Lyall and Mr. F. B. Jevons in recognising a fundamental distinction and even opposition of principle between magic and religion. More than that, I believe that in the evolution of thought, magic, as representing a lower intellectual stratum, has probably everywhere preceded religion. I do not claim any originality for this latter view. It has been already plainly suggested, if not definitely formulated, by Professor H. Oldenberg in his able book *Die Religion der Veda*, and for aught I know it may have been explicitly stated by many others before and since him. I have not collected the opinions of the learned on the subject, but have striven to form my own directly from the facts. And the facts which bespeak the priority of magic over religion are many and weighty. Some of them the reader will find stated in the following pages; but the full force of the evidence can only be appreciated by those who have made a long and patient study of primitive superstition. I venture to think that those who submit to this drudgery will come more and more to the opinion I have indicated. That all my readers should agree either with my definition

of religion or with the inferences I have drawn from it is not to be expected. But I would ask those who dissent from my conclusions to make sure that they mean the same thing by religion that I do; for otherwise the difference between us may be more apparent than real.

As the scope and purpose of my book have been seriously misconceived by some courteous critics, I desire to repeat in more explicit language, what I vainly thought I had made quite clear in my original preface, that this is not a general treatise on primitive superstition, but merely the investigation of one particular and narrowly limited problem, to wit, the rule of the Arician priesthood, and that accordingly only such general principles are explained and illustrated in the course of it as seemed to me to throw light on that special problem. If I have said little or nothing of other principles of equal or even greater importance, it is assuredly not because I undervalue them in comparison with those which I have expounded at some length, but simply because it appeared to me that they did not directly bear on the question I had set myself to answer. No one can well be more sensible than I am of the immense variety and complexity of the forces which have gone towards the building up of religion; no one can recognise more frankly the futility and inherent absurdity of any attempt to explain the whole vast organism as the product of any one simple factor. If I have hitherto touched, as I am quite aware, only the fringe of a great subject—fingered only a few of the countless threads that compose the mighty web,—it is merely because neither my time nor my knowledge has hitherto allowed me to do more. Should I live to complete the works for which I have collected and am collecting materials, I dare to think that they will clear me of any suspicion of treating the early history of religion from a single narrow point of view. But the future is necessarily uncertain, and at the best many

years must elapse before I can execute in full the plan which I have traced out for myself. Meanwhile I am unwilling by keeping silence to leave some of my readers under the impression that my outlook on so large a subject does not reach beyond the bounds of the present inquiry. This is my reason for noticing the misconceptions to which I have referred. I take leave to add that some part of my larger plan would probably have been completed before now, were it not that out of the ten years which have passed since this book was first published nearly eight have been spent by me in work of a different kind.

There is a misunderstanding of another sort which I feel constrained to set right. But I do so with great reluctance, because it compels me to express a measure of dissent from the revered friend and master to whom I am under the deepest obligations, and who has passed beyond the reach of controversy. In an elaborate and learned essay on sacrifice (*L'Année Sociologique*, Deuxième Année, 1897-1898), Messrs. H. Hubert and M. Mauss have represented my theory of the slain god as intended to supplement and complete Robertson Smith's theory of the derivation of animal sacrifice in general from a totem sacrament. On this I have to say that the two theories are quite independent of each other. I never assented to my friend's theory, and so far as I can remember he never gave me a hint that he assented to mine. My reason for suspending my judgment in regard to his theory was a simple one. At the time when the theory was propounded, and for many years afterwards, I knew of no single indubitable case of a totem sacrament, that is, of a custom of killing and eating the totem animal as a solemn rite. It is true that in my *Totemism*, and again in the present work, I noted a few cases (four in all) of solemnly killing a sacred animal which, following Robertson Smith, I regarded as probably a totem. But none even of these four cases included the

eating of the sacred animal by the worshippers, which was an essential part of my friend's theory, and in regard to all of them it was not positively known that the slain animal was a totem. Hence as time went on and still no certain case of a totem sacrament was reported, I became more and more doubtful of the existence of such a practice at all, and my doubts had almost hardened into incredulity when the long-looked-for rite was discovered by Messrs. Spencer and Gillen in full force among the aborigines of Central Australia, whom I for one must consider to be the most primitive totem tribes as yet known to us. This discovery I welcomed as a very striking proof of the sagacity of my brilliant friend, whose rapid genius had outstripped our slower methods and anticipated what it was reserved for subsequent research positively to ascertain. Thus from being little more than an ingenious hypothesis the totem sacrament has become, at least in my opinion, a well-authenticated fact. But from the practice of the rite by a single set of tribes it is still a long step to the universal practice of it by all totem tribes, and from that again it is a still longer stride to the deduction therefrom of animal sacrifice in general. These two steps I am not yet prepared to take. No one will welcome further evidence of the wide prevalence of a totem sacrament more warmly than I shall, but until it is forthcoming I shall continue to agree with Professor E. B. Tylor that it is unsafe to make the custom the base of far-reaching speculations.

To conclude this subject, I will add that the doctrine of the universality of totemism, which Messrs. Hubert and Mauss have implicitly attributed to me, is one which I have never enunciated or assumed, and that, so far as my knowledge and opinion go, the worship of trees and cereals, which occupies so large a space in these volumes, is neither identical with nor derived from a system of totemism. It is possible that further inquiry may lead me to regard as

probable the universality of totemism and the derivation from it of sacrifice and of the whole worship both of plants and animals. I hold myself ready to follow the evidence wherever it may lead; but in the present state of our knowledge I consider that to accept these conclusions would be, not to follow the evidence, but very seriously to outrun it. In thinking so I am happy to be at one with Messrs. Hubert and Mauss.

When I am on this theme I may as well say that I am by no means prepared to stand by everything in my little apprentice work, *Totemism*. That book was a rough piece of pioneering in a field that, till then, had been but little explored, and some inferences in it were almost certainly too hasty. In particular there was a tendency, perhaps not unnatural in the circumstances, to treat as totems, or as connected with totemism, things which probably were neither the one nor the other. If ever I republish the volume, as I hope one day to do, I shall have to retrench it in some directions as well as to enlarge it in others.

Such as it is, with all its limitations, which I have tried to indicate clearly, and with all its defects, which I leave to the critics to discover, I offer my book in its new form as a contribution to that still youthful science which seeks to trace the growth of human thought and institutions in those dark ages which lie beyond the range of history. The progress of that science must needs be slow and painful, for the evidence, though clear and abundant on some sides, is lamentably obscure and scanty on others, so that the cautious inquirer is every now and then brought up sharp on the edge of some yawning chasm across which he may be quite unable to find a way. All he can do in such a case is to mark the pitfall plainly on his chart and to hope that others in time may be able to fill it up or bridge it over. Yet the very difficulty and novelty of the investigation, coupled with the extent of the intellectual prospect which suddenly opens up

before us whenever the mist rises and unfolds the far horizon, constitute no small part of its charm. The position of the anthropologist of to-day resembles in some sort the position of classical scholars at the revival of learning. To these men the rediscovery of ancient literature came like a revelation, disclosing to their wondering eyes a splendid vision of the antique world, such as the cloistered student of the Middle Ages never dreamed of under the gloomy shadow of the minster and within the sound of its solemn bells. To us moderns a still wider vista is vouchsafed, a greater panorama is unrolled by the study which aims at bringing home to us the faith and the practice, the hopes and the ideals, not of two highly gifted races only, but of all mankind, and thus at enabling us to follow the long march, the slow and toilsome ascent, of humanity from savagery to civilisation. And as the scholar of the Renaissance found not merely fresh food for thought but a new field of labour in the dusty and faded manuscripts of Greece and Rome, so in the mass of materials that is steadily pouring in from many sides—from buried cities of remotest antiquity as well as from the rudest savages of the desert and the jungle—we of to-day must recognise a new province of knowledge which will task the energies of generations of students to master. The study is still in its rudiments, and what we do now will have to be done over again and done better, with fuller knowledge and deeper insight, by those who come after us. To recur to a metaphor which I have already made use of, we of this age are only pioneers hewing lanes and clearings in the forest where others will hereafter sow and reap.

But the comparative study of the beliefs and institutions of mankind is fitted to be much more than a means of satisfying an enlightened curiosity and of furnishing materials for the researches of the learned. Well handled, it may become a powerful instrument to expedite progress if it lays bare certain weak spots in the foundations on which modern

society is built—if it shows that much which we are wont to regard as solid rests on the sands of superstition rather than on the rock of nature. It is indeed a melancholy and in some respects thankless task to strike at the foundations of beliefs in which, as in a strong tower, the hopes and aspirations of humanity through long ages have sought a refuge from the storm and stress of life. Yet sooner or later it is inevitable that the battery of the comparative method should breach these venerable walls, mantled over with the ivy and mosses and wild flowers of a thousand tender and sacred associations. At present we are only dragging the guns into position: they have hardly yet begun to speak. The task of building up into fairer and more enduring forms the old structures so rudely shattered is reserved for other hands, perhaps for other and happier ages. We cannot foresee, we can hardly even guess, the new forms into which thought and society will run in the future. Yet this uncertainty ought not to induce us, from any consideration of expediency or regard for antiquity, to spare the ancient moulds, however beautiful, when these are proved to be out-worn. Whatever comes of it, wherever it leads us, we must follow truth alone. It is our only guiding star: *hoc signo vinces*.

To a passage in my book it has been objected by a distinguished scholar that the church-bells of Rome cannot be heard, even in the stillest weather, on the shores of the Lake of Nemi. In acknowledging my blunder and leaving it uncorrected, may I plead in extenuation of my obduracy the example of an illustrious writer? In *Old Mortality* we read how a hunted Covenanter, fleeing before Claverhouse's dragoons, hears the sullen boom of the kettledrums of the pursuing cavalry borne to him on the night wind. When Scott was taken to task for this description, because the drums are not beaten by cavalry at night, he replied in effect that he liked to hear the drums sounding here, and

that he would let them sound on so long as his book might last. In the same spirit I make bold to say that by the Lake of Nemi I love to hear, if it be only in imagination, the distant chiming of the bells of Rome, and I would fain believe that their airy music may ring in the ears of my readers after it has ceased to vibrate in my own.

J. G. FRAZER.

CAMBRIDGE,
18th September 1900.



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NOTE A

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CORRIGENDUM

Page 134, line 24, for "Afores" read "Alfoors."

CHAPTER I

THE KING OF THE WOOD

"The still glassy lake that sleeps
Beneath Aricia's trees—
Those trees in whose dim shadow
The ghastly priest doth reign,
The priest who slew the slayer,
And shall himself be slain."

MACAULAY.

§ 1. *The Arician Grove*

WHO does not know Turner's picture of the Golden Bough? The scene, suffused with the golden glow of imagination in which the divine mind of Turner steeped and transfigured even the fairest natural landscape, is a dream-like vision of the little woodland lake of Nemi, "Diana's Mirror," as it was called by the ancients. No one who has seen that calm water, lapped in a green hollow of the Alban Hills, can ever forget it. The two characteristic Italian villages which slumber on its banks, and the equally Italian palace whose terraced gardens descend steeply to the lake, hardly break the stillness, and even the solitariness, of the scene. Dian herself might still linger by this lonely shore, still haunt these woodlands wild.

In antiquity this sylvan landscape was the scene of a strange and recurring tragedy. On the northern shore of the lake, right under the precipitous cliffs on which the modern village of Nemi is perched, stood the sacred grove

and sanctuary of Diana Nemorensis, or Diana of the Wood.¹ The lake and the grove were sometimes known as the lake and grove of Aricia.² But the town of Aricia (the modern La Riccia) was situated about three miles off, at the foot of the Alban Mount, and separated by a steep descent from the lake, which lies in a small crater-like hollow on the mountain side. In this sacred grove there grew a certain tree round which at any time of the day, and probably far into the night, a grim figure might be seen to prowl. In his hand he carried a drawn sword, and he kept peering warily about him as if every instant he expected to be set upon by an enemy.³ He was a priest and a murderer; and the man for whom he looked was sooner or later to murder him and hold the priesthood in his stead. Such was the rule of the sanctuary. A candidate for the priesthood could only succeed to office by slaying the priest, and having slain him, he retained office till he was himself slain by a stronger or a craftier.

The post which he held by this precarious tenure carried with it the title of king; but surely no crowned head ever lay uneasier, or was visited by more evil dreams, than his. For year in year out, in summer and winter, in fair weather and in foul, he had to keep his lonely watch, and whenever he snatched a troubled slumber it was at the peril of his life. The least relaxation of his vigilance, the smallest abatement of his strength of limb or skill of fence, put him in jeopardy;

¹ The site was excavated in 1885 and 1886 by Sir John Savile Lumley, now Lord Savile, who was then English ambassador at Rome. For a general description of the site and excavations see the *Athenaeum*, 10th October 1885. For details of the discoveries see *Bullettino dell' Istituto di Correspondenza Archeologica*, 1885, pp. 149 sqq., 225 sqq.; and especially *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the Site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy*, by G. H. Wallis (preface dated 1893). The temple rested on a spacious terrace or platform, which was supported on the southern side, towards the lake, by a mighty wall, 30 feet high and 721 feet long, built in triangular buttresses, like those which we see in front of the

piers of bridges to break floating ice. The great antiquity of the sanctuary is attested by the nature of some of the objects found on the spot, such as a sacrificial ladle of bronze bearing the name of Dina in very ancient Greek letters, and specimens of the oldest kind of Italian money, being merely shapeless bits of bronze which were valued by weight.

² Ovid, *Fasts*, vi. 756; Cato quoted by Priscian in Peter's *Historiarum Romanarum Fragmenta*, p. 52; Statius, *Sylv.* iii. l. 56.

³ *Εἰσὶν αὖτε τὸν δῶδε δῶλ, ἐκαστὸν τὰς ἐρίων, τροπὸν ἀδρεσβῆν*, is Strabo's description (v. 3. 12), who may have seen him "pacing there alone."

gray hairs might seal his death-warrant. To gentle and pious pilgrims at the shrine the sight of him may well have appeared to darken the fair landscape, as when a cloud suddenly blots the sun on a bright day. The dreamy blue of Italian skies, the dappled shade of summer woods, and the sparkle of waves in the sun can have accorded but ill with that stern and sinister figure. Rather we picture to ourselves the scene as it may have been witnessed by a belated wayfarer on one of those wild autumn nights when the dead leaves are falling thick, and the winds seem to sing the dirge of the dying year. It is a sombre picture, set to melancholy music—the background of forest showing black and jagged against a lowering and stormy sky, the sighing of the wind in the branches, the rustle of the withered leaves under foot, the lapping of the cold water on the shore, and in the foreground, pacing to and fro, now in twilight and now in gloom, a dark figure with a glitter as of steel at the shoulder whenever the pale moon, riding clear of the cloud-rack, peers down at him through the matted boughs.

The strange rule of this priesthood has no parallel in classical antiquity, and cannot be explained from it. To find an explanation we must go farther afield. No one will probably deny that such a custom savours of a barbarous age, and, surviving into imperial times, stands out in striking isolation from the polished Italian society of the day, like a primeval rock rising from a smooth-shaven lawn. It is the very rudeness and barbarity of the custom which allow us a hope of explaining it. For recent researches into the early history of man have revealed the essential similarity with which, under many superficial differences, the human mind has elaborated its first crude philosophy of life. Accordingly, if we can show that a barbarous custom, like that of the priesthood of Nemi, has existed elsewhere; if we can detect the motives which led to its institution; if we can prove that these motives have operated widely, perhaps universally, in human society, producing in varied circumstances a variety of institutions specifically different but generically alike; if we can show, lastly, that these very motives, with some of their derivative institutions, were actually at work in classical antiquity; then we may fairly infer that at a remoter age the

same motives gave birth to the priesthood of Nemi. Such an inference, in default of direct evidence as to how the priesthood did actually arise, can never amount to demonstration. But it will be more or less probable according to the degree of completeness with which it fulfils the conditions indicated above. The object of this book is, by meeting these conditions, to offer a fairly probable explanation of the priesthood of Nemi.

I begin by setting forth the few facts and legends which have come down to us on the subject. According to one story the worship of Diana at Nemi was instituted by Orestes, who, after killing Thoas, King of the Tauric Chersonese (the Crimea), fled with his sister to Italy, bringing with him the image of the Tauric Diana. The bloody ritual which legend ascribed to that goddess is familiar to classical readers; it is said that every stranger who landed on the shore was sacrificed on her altar. But transported to Italy, the rite assumed a milder form. Within the sanctuary at Nemi grew a certain tree of which no branch might be broken. Only a runaway slave was allowed to break off, if he could, one of its boughs. Success in the attempt entitled him to fight the priest in single combat, and if he slew him he reigned in his stead with the title of King of the Wood (*Rex Nemorensis*). Tradition averred that the fateful branch was that Golden Bough which, at the Sibyl's bidding, Aeneas plucked before he essayed the perilous journey to the world of the dead. The flight of the slave represented, it was said, the flight of Orestes; his combat with the priest was a reminiscence of the human sacrifices once offered to the Tauric Diana. This rule of succession by the sword was observed down to imperial times; for amongst his other freaks Caligula, thinking that the priest of Nemi had held office too long, hired a more stalwart ruffian to slay him; and a Greek traveller, who visited Italy in the age of the Antonines, remarks that down to his time the priesthood was still the prize of victory in a single combat.¹

Of the worship of Diana at Nemi two leading features

¹ Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 236 sqq.; Servius, *ad l.*; Strabo, v. 3. 12; Pausanias, ii. 27. 4; Solinus, ii. 11; Suetonius, *Caligula*, 35. For the title "King of the Wood" see Suetonius, *l.c.* and compare Statius, *Sylv.* iii. 1. 55 sq.—

can still be made out. First, from the votive offerings found in modern times on the site, it appears that she was especially worshipped by women desirous of children or of an easy delivery.¹ Second, fire seems to have played a foremost part in her ritual. For during her annual festival, celebrated at the hottest time of the year, her grove shone with a multitude of torches, whose ruddy glare was reflected by the waters of the lake; and throughout the length and breadth of Italy the day was kept with holy rites at every domestic hearth.² Moreover, women whose prayers had been heard by the goddess brought lighted torches to the grove in fulfilment of their vows.³ Lastly, the title of Vesta borne by the Arician Diana⁴ points almost certainly to the maintenance of a perpetual holy fire in her sanctuary.

At her annual festival all young people went through a purificatory ceremony in her honour; dogs were crowned; and the feast consisted of a young kid, wine, and cakes, served up piping hot on platters of leaves.⁵

But Diana did not reign alone in her grove at Nemi. Two lesser divinities shared her forest sanctuary. One was Egeria, the nymph of the clear water which, bubbling from the basaltic rocks, used to fall in graceful cascades into the lake at the place called Le Mole.⁶ According to one story

¹ *Jamque diis aderat, profugis enim regibus aptum*

Fuauit Aricinum Triviae nemus :"

Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 271: "*Regna tuent fortisque manu, fedibusque fugaces :*"
id., *Art. am.* i. 259 sq.—

² *Ecce suburbanæ templum memorale Dianæ,*

Portusque per gladios regna nocente manu."

A marble bas-relief, representing the combat between a priest and a candidate for the office, was found at the foot of the hill of Aricia (*Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the Site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy*, p. 11).

³ *Bullétino dell' Instituto*, 1885, p. 153 sq.; *Athenaeum*, 10th October 1885; Preller, *Römische Mythologie*,² i. 317. Of these votive offerings some represent women with children in their arms; one represents a delivery, etc.

⁴ Statius, *Sylv.* iii. i. 57 sq. From Martial, *sil.* 67, it has been inferred that the Arician festival fell on the 13th of August. The inference, however, does not seem conclusive. Statius's expression is:—

⁵ *Tempus erat, caeli cum ardentissimus arsis*

Lucubrilis terris, letuque Hyperione orillo

Acer anhelautes juvenis Sirius ager."

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 269; Propertius, iii. 24 (30), 9 sq. ed. Paley.

⁷ *Inscript. Lat.* ed. Orelli, No. 1455.

⁸ Statius, *l.c.*; Cerealis Palladius, 483 sqq.

⁹ *Athenaeum*, 10th October 1885. The water was diverted some years ago to supply Albano. For Egeria, compare Strabo, v. 3. 12; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 273 sqq.; *id.*, *Met.* xv. 487 sqq.

the grove was first consecrated to Diana by a Manius Egerius, who was the ancestor of a long and distinguished line. Hence the proverb "There are many Manii at Aricia." Others explained the proverb very differently. They said it meant that there were a great many ugly and deformed people, and they referred to the word *Mania*, which meant a bogey or bugbear to frighten children.¹

The other of these minor deities was Virbius. Legend had it that Virbius was the youthful Greek hero Hippolytus, who had been killed by his horses on the sea-shore of the Saronic Gulf. Him, to please Diana, the leech Aesculapius brought to life again by his simples. But Jupiter, indignant that a mortal man should return from the gates of death, thrust down the meddling leech himself to Hades; and Diana, for the love she bore Hippolytus, carried him away to Italy and hid him from the angry god in the dells of Nemi, where he reigned a forest king under the name of Virbius. Horses were excluded from the grove and sanctuary, because horses had killed Hippolytus.² Some thought that Virbius was the sun. It was unlawful to touch his image.³ His worship was cared for by a special priest, the Flamen Viribialis.⁴

Such, then, are the facts and theories bequeathed to us by antiquity on the subject of the priesthood of Nemi. From materials so slight and scanty it is impossible to extract a solution of the problem. It remains to try whether the survey of a wider field may not yield us the clue we seek. The questions to be answered are two: first, why had the priest to slay his predecessor? and second, why, before he slew him, had he to pluck the Golden Bough? The rest of this book will be an attempt to answer these questions. ✓

¹ Festus, p. 145, ed. Müller; Schol. on Persius, vl. 56, quoted by Jahn on Macrobius, *Satura*. i. 7. 35.

² Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 761 sq.; Servius, *ad l.*; Ovid, *Fasti*, iii. 265 sq.; *id.*, *Mét.* xv. 497 sq.; Pausanias, ii. 27. 4; Apollodorus, iii. 16. 3; Schol. on Pindar, *Pyth.* iii. 96. It was perhaps in his character of a serpent that

Aesculapius was said to have brought the dead Hippolytus to life. For the evidence on this subject I may refer the reader to my note on Pausanias, ii. 10. 3.

³ Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* vii. 776.

⁴ *Inscript. Lat.* ed. Orelli, Nos. 2212, 4022. The inscription No. 1457 (Orelli) is said to be spurious.

§ 2. Magic and Religion

The first point on which we fasten is the priest's title. Why was he called the King of the Wood? why was his office spoken of as a Kingdom?¹

The union of a royal title with priestly duties was common in ancient Italy and Greece. At Rome and in other Italian cities there was a priest called the Sacrificial King or King of the Sacred Rites, and his wife bore the title of Queen of the Sacred Rites.² In republican Athens the second magistrate of the state was called the King, and his wife the Queen; the functions of both were religious.³ Many other Greek democracies had titular kings, whose duties, so far as they are known, seem to have been priestly.⁴ At Rome the tradition was that the Sacrificial King had been appointed after the expulsion of the kings in order to offer the sacrifices which had been previously offered by the kings.⁵ In Greece a similar view appears to have prevailed as to the origin of the priestly kings.⁶ In itself the view is not improbable, and it is borne out by the example of Sparta, almost the only purely Greek state which retained the kingly form of government in historical times. For in Sparta all state sacrifices were offered by the kings as descendants of the god.⁷ This combination of priestly functions with royal authority is familiar to every one. Asia Minor, for example, was the seat of various great religious capitals peopled by thousands of "sacred slaves," and ruled by pontiffs who wielded at once temporal and spiritual authority, like the

¹ See above, p. 4, note 1.

² Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii. 321 sqq.

³ Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, 57; Plato, *Politicus*, p. 290 sq.; G. Gilbert, *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsaltertümer*, i. 241 sq.

⁴ Aristotle, *Pol.* iii. 14, p. 1285; Gilbert, *op. cit.* ii. 323 sq.

⁵ Livy, ii. 2, 1; Dionysius Halic. *Antiq. Rom.* iv. 74, 4.

⁶ Demosthenes, *contra Neaer.* § 74, p. 1370; Pustarch, *Quint. Rom.* 63.

⁷ Xenophon, *Repub. Lac.* 15, cp. *ib.*, 15; Aristotle, *Pol.* iii. 14, 3. Argos was governed, at least nominally, by a king as late as the time of the great Persian war (Herodotus vii. 149); and at Orchomenus, in the secluded highlands of Northern Arcadia, the kingly form of government persisted till towards the end of the fifth century B.C. (Plutarch, *Parallela*, 32). As to the kings of Thebes in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., see F. Hüller von Gaertrigen in *Ant. der Ammonia* (Berlin, 1890), pp. 1-16.

popes of mediæval Rome. Such priest-ridden cities were Zela and Pessinus.¹ Teutonic kings, again, in the old heathen days seem to have stood in the position, and to have exercised the powers, of high priests.² The Emperors of China offer public sacrifices, the details of which are regulated by the ritual books.³ The King of Madagascar was high-priest of the realm. At the great festival of the new year, when a bullock was sacrificed for the good of the kingdom, the king stood over the sacrifice to offer prayer and thanksgiving, while his attendants slaughtered the animal.⁴ In the monarchical states which still maintain their independence among the Gallas of Eastern Africa, the king sacrifices on the mountain tops and regulates the immolation of human victims;⁵ and the dim light of tradition reveals a similar union of temporal and spiritual power, of royal and priestly duties, in the kings of that delightful region of Central America whose ancient capital, now buried under the rank growth of the tropical forest, is marked by the stately and mysterious ruins of Palenque.⁶ But it is needless to multiply examples of what is the rule rather than the exception in the early history of the kingship.

But when we have said that the ancient kings were commonly priests also, we are far from having exhausted the religious aspect of their office. In those days the divinity that hedges a king was no empty form of speech, but the expression of a sober belief. Kings were revered, in many cases not merely as priests, that is, as intercessors between man and god, but as themselves gods, able to bestow upon their subjects and worshippers those blessings which are commonly supposed to be beyond the reach of man, and are sought, if at all, only by prayer and sacrifice offered to superhuman and invisible beings. Thus kings

¹ Strabo, xii. 3. 37, 5. 31 cp. xi. 4. 7, xii. 2. 3, 2. 6, 5. 31 sq., 3. 34, 8. 9, 8. 14. But see *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed. art. "Priest," xix. 729.

² Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtalterthümer*, p. 243.

³ See the *Li-Ki* (Legge's translation), *passim*.

⁴ W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, 1. 359 ff.

⁵ Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas: die geistige Cultur der Dinka, Galla und Somali* (Berlin, 1896), p. 129.

⁶ Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale*, i. 94. As to the ruins of Palenque, see H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, iv. 258 sqq.

are often expected to give rain and sunshine in due season, to make the crops grow, and so on. Strange as this expectation appears to us, it is quite of a piece with early modes of thought. A savage hardly conceives the distinction commonly drawn by more advanced peoples between the natural and the supernatural. To him the world is to a great extent worked by supernatural agents, that is, by personal beings acting on impulses and motives like his own, liable like him to be moved by appeals to their pity, their hopes, and their fears. In a world so conceived he sees no limit to his power of influencing the course of nature to his own advantage. Prayers, promises, or threats may secure him fine weather and an abundant crop from the gods; and if a god should happen, as he sometimes believes, to become incarnate in his own person, then he need appeal to no higher being; he, the savage, possesses in himself all the powers necessary to further his own well-being and that of his fellow-men.

This is one way in which the idea of a man-god is reached. But there is another. Side by side with the view of the world as pervaded by spiritual forces, primitive man has another conception in which we may detect a germ of the modern notion of natural law or the view of nature as a series of events occurring in an invariable order without the intervention of personal agency. The germ of which I speak is involved in that sympathetic magic, as it may be called, which plays a large part in most systems of superstition.

Manifold as are the applications of this crude philosophy—for a philosophy it is as well as an art—the fundamental principles on which it is based would seem to be reducible to two; first, that like produces like, or that an effect resembles its cause; and second, that things which have once been in contact, but have ceased to be so, continue to act on each other as if the contact still persisted. From the first of these principles the savage infers that he can produce any desired effect merely by imitating it; from the second he concludes that he can influence at pleasure and at any distance any person of whom, or any thing of which, he possesses a particle. Magic of the latter sort, resting as it does on the belief in a certain secret sympathy which unites

indissolubly things that have once been connected with each other, may appropriately be termed sympathetic in the strict sense of the term. Magic of the former kind, in which the supposed cause resembles or simulates the supposed effect, may conveniently be described as imitative or mimetic¹. But inasmuch as the efficacy even of imitative magic must be supposed to depend on a certain physical influence or sympathy linking the imaginary cause or subject to the imaginary effect or object, it seems desirable to retain the name sympathetic magic as a general designation to include both branches of the art. In practice the two are often conjoined; or, to speak more exactly, while imitative magic may be practised by itself, sympathetic magic in the strict sense will generally be found to involve an application of the mimetic principle. This will be more readily understood from the examples with which I will now illustrate both branches of the subject, beginning with the imitative.

Perhaps the most familiar application of the principle that like produces like is the attempt which has been made by many peoples in many ages to injure or destroy an enemy by injuring or destroying an image of him, in the belief that, just as the image suffers, so does the man, and that when it perishes he must die. A few instances out of many may be given to prove at once the wide diffusion of the practice over the world and its remarkable persistence through the ages. For thousands of years ago it was known to the sorcerers of ancient India, Babylon, and Egypt as well as of Greece and Rome,² and at this day it is still resorted to by cunning and malignant savages in Australia, Africa, and Scotland. Thus, for example, when an Ojebway Indian desires to work evil on any one, he makes a little wooden image of his enemy and runs a needle into its head or heart, or he shoots an arrow into it, believing that wherever the needle pierces or the arrow strikes the image, his foe will the same instant be seized with a sharp pain in the corresponding part of his body; but if he intends to kill the

¹ I have adopted the suggestion of a writer (Mr. E. S. Hartland?) in *Folklore*, viii. (1897), p. 65. The expression "imitative magic" was used incidentally in the first edition of this work

(vol. II. p. 268).

² For the Greek and Roman practice, see Theocritus, *Id.* ii.; Virgil, *Ed.* viii. 75-82; Ovid, *Heroides*, vi. 91 *sq.*; *Id.*, *Amores*, iii. 7. 29 *sq.*

person outright, he burns or buries the puppet, uttering certain magic words as he does so.¹

A Malay charm of the same sort is as follows. Take parings of nails, hair, eyebrows, spittle, and so forth of your intended victim, enough to represent every part of his person, and then make them up into his likeness with wax from a deserted bees' comb. Scorch the figure slowly by holding it over a lamp every night for seven nights, and say:

"It is not wax that I am scorching,
It is the liver, heart, and spleen of So-and-so that I scorch."

After the seventh time burn the figure, and your victim will die. Another form of the Malay charm, which resembles the Ojebway practice still more closely, is to make a corpse of wax from an empty bees' comb and of the length of a footstep: then pierce the eye of the image, and your enemy is blind; pierce the stomach, and he is sick; pierce the head, and his head aches; pierce the breast, and his breast will suffer. If you would kill him outright, transfix the image from the head downwards; enshroud it as you would a corpse; pray over it as if you were praying over the dead; then bury it in the middle of a path where your victim will be sure to step over it. In order that his blood may not be on your head, you should say:

"It is not I who am burying him,
It is Gabriel who is burying him."

Thus the guilt of the murder will be laid on the shoulders of the archangel Gabriel, who is a great deal better able to bear it than you are.² In eastern Java an enemy may be killed by means of a likeness of him drawn on a piece of paper, which is then incensed or buried in the ground.³

¹ Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 146; J. G. Kohl, *Kitschi-Gami*, ii. 80. Similar practices are reported among the Illinois, the Mandans, and the Hidatsa of North America (Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vi. 88; Maximilian, Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-America*, ii. 188; Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians*, p. 50), and the Aymaras of Bolivia and

Peru (D. Forbes, "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, ii. (1870), p. 236).

² W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic* (London, 1900), pp. 570-572.

³ J. Kremer, "Regenmakten, Oorloeg, Tooverij onder de Javanen," *Middeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxx. (1886), p. 147 sq.

Among the Minangkabatters of Sumatra a man who is tormented by the passion of hate or of unrequited love will call in the help of a wizard in order to cause the object of his hate or love to suffer from a dangerous ulcer known as a *tinggam*. After giving the wizard the necessary instructions as to the name, bodily form, dwelling, and family of the person in question, he makes a puppet which is supposed to resemble his intended victim, and repairs with it to a wood, where he hangs the image on a tree that stands quite by itself. Muttering a spell, he then drives an instrument through the navel of the puppet into the tree, till the sap of the tree oozes through the hole thus made. The instrument which inflicts the wound bears the same name (*tinggam*) as the ulcer which is to be raised on the body of the victim, and the oozing sap is believed to be his or her life-spirit. Soon afterwards the person against whom the charm is directed begins to suffer from an ulcer, which grows worse and worse till he dies, unless a friend can procure a piece of the wood of the tree to which the image is attached.¹ The sorcerers of Mabuiag or Jervis Island, in Torres Straits, kept an assortment of effigies in stock ready to be operated on at the requirement of a customer. Some of the figures were of stone; these were employed when short work was to be made of a man or woman. Others were wooden; these gave the unhappy victim a little more rope, only, however, to terminate his prolonged sufferings by a painful death. The mode of operation in the latter case was to put poison, by means of a magical implement, into a wooden image, to which the name of the intended victim had been given. Next day the person aimed at would feel chilly, then waste away and die, unless the same wizard who had wrought the charm would consent to undo it.² When some of the aborigines of Victoria desired to destroy an enemy, they would occasionally retire to a lonely spot, and drawing on the ground a rude likeness of the victim would sit round it and devote him to destruction with cabalistic ceremonies.

¹ J. L. van der Toorn, "Het ananisme bij den Minangkabauer der Padangsche Bovenlanden," *Rijdschap tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxx. (1890), p. 36.

² A. C. Haddox, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890), p. 399 ff.

So dreaded was this incantation that men and women, who learned that it had been directed against them, have been known to pine away and die of fright.¹ When the wife of a Central Australian native has eloped from him and he cannot recover her, the disconsolate husband repairs with some sympathising friends to a secluded spot, where a man skilled in magic draws on the ground a rough figure supposed to represent the woman lying on her back. Beside the figure is laid a piece of green bark, which stands for her spirit or soul, and at it the men throw miniature spears which have been made for the purpose and charmed by singing over them. This barken effigy of the woman's spirit, with the little spears sticking in it, is then thrown as far as possible in the direction which she is supposed to have taken. During the whole of the operation the men chant in a low voice, the burden of their song being an invitation to the magic influence to go out and enter her body and dry up all her fat. Sooner or later—often a good deal later—her fat does dry up, she dies, and her spirit is seen in the sky in the form of a shooting star.²

In Burma a rejected lover sometimes resorts to a sorcerer and engages him to make a small image of the scornful fair one, containing a piece of her clothes, or of something which she has been in the habit of wearing. Certain charms or medicines also enter into the composition of the doll, which is then hung up or thrown into the water. As a consequence the girl is supposed to go mad.³ In this last example, as in the first of the Malay charms noticed above, imitative magic is combined with sympathetic in the strict sense of the word, since the likeness of the victim contains something which has been in contact with her person. A Matabele who wishes to avenge himself on an enemy makes a clay figure of him and pierces it with a needle; next time the man thus represented happens to engage in a fight he will be speared, just as his effigy was stabbed.⁴ The ancient books of the Hindoos testify to the use of similar enchant-

¹ E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii, 547.

² Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), p. 549 sq.

³ C. J. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma*, p. 232.

⁴ L. Ducloux, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 153.

ments among their remote ancestors. To destroy his foe a man would fashion a figure of him in clay and transfix it with an arrow which had been barbed with a thorn and winged with an owl's feathers. Or he would mould the figure of wax and melt it in a fire. Sometimes effigies of the soldiers, horses, elephants, and chariots of a hostile army were modelled in dough, and then pulled in pieces.¹ Another way was to grind up mustard into meal, with which a figure was made of the person who was to be overcome or destroyed. Then having muttered certain spells to give efficacy to the rite, the enchanter chopped up the image, anointed it with melted butter, curds, or some such thing, and finally burned it in a sacred pot.² In the so-called "sanguinary chapter" of the *Calica Purāṇ* there occurs the following passage: "On the autumnal *Maha-Navami*, or when the month is in the lunar mansion *Scanda*, or *Bishācā*, let a figure be made, either of barley-meal or earth, representing the person with whom the sacrificer is at variance, and the head of the figure be struck off; after the usual texts have been used, the following text is to be used in invoking an axe on the occasion: 'Effuse, effuse blood; be terrific, be terrific; seize, destroy, for the love of *Ambica*, the head of this enemy.'"³ In modern India the practices described in these old books are still carried on with mere variations of detail. The magician compounds the fatal image of earth taken from sixty-four filthy places, and mixed up with clippings of hair, parings of nails, bits of leather, and so on. Upon the breast of the image he writes the name of his enemy; then he pierces it through and through with an awl, or maims it in various ways, hoping thus to maim or kill the object of his vengeance.⁴ Among the Mohammedans of Northern India the proceeding is as follows. A doll is made of earth taken from a grave or from a place where bodies are cremated, and some sentences of the Coran are read backwards over twenty-one small wooden pegs. These pegs the operator

¹ A. Hillebrandt, *Vegetische Opfer und Zauberei* (Strassburg, 1897), p. 177. Compare H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894), p. 308.

² H. W. Magoun, "The Aruri-Kalpa; a Witchcraft Practice of the

Atharva-Veda," *American Journal of Philology*, x. (1889), pp. 165-197.

³ *Asiatic Researches*, v. 389.

⁴ J. A. Dubois, *Mœurs, institutions, et cérémonies des peuples de l'Inde* (Paris, 1825), li. 63.

next strikes into various parts of the body of the image, which is afterwards shrouded like a corpse, carried to a graveyard, and buried in the name of the enemy whom it is intended to injure. The man, it is believed, will die without fail after the ceremony.¹ A slightly different form of the charm is observed by the Bām-Margī, a very degraded sect of Hindoos in the North-West Provinces. To kill an enemy they make an image of flour or earth, and stick razors into the breast, navel, and throat, while pegs are thrust into the eyes, hands, and feet. As if this were not enough, they next construct an image of Bhairava or Durga holding a three-pronged fork in his hand; this they place so close to the effigy of the person to whom mischief is meant that the fork penetrates its breast.²

Nowhere, perhaps, were the magic arts more carefully cultivated, nowhere did they enjoy greater esteem or exercise a deeper influence on the national life than in the land of the Pharaohs. Little wonder, therefore, that the practice of enchantment by means of images was familiar to the wizards of Egypt. A drop of a man's blood, some clippings of his hair or parings of his nails, a rag of the garment which he had worn, sufficed to give a sorcerer complete power over him. These relics of his person the magician kneaded into a lump of wax, which he moulded into the likeness and dressed after the fashion of his intended victim, who was then at the mercy of his tormentor. If the image was exposed to the fire, the person whom it represented straightway fell into a burning fever; if it were stabbed with a knife, he felt the pain of the wound.³ Thus, for instance, a certain superintendent of the king's cattle was once prosecuted in an Egyptian court of law for having made figures of men and women in wax, thereby causing paralysis of their limbs and other grievous bodily harm. He had somehow obtained a book of magic which contained the spells and directions how to act in reciting them. Armed with this powerful instrument the rogue had shut himself up

¹ W. Crooke, *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad, 1894), p. 362.

² *Id.*, *The Tribes and Castes of the*

North-Western Provinces and Oudh (Calcutta, 1896), I. 137.

³ G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique: les origines* (Paris, 1895), p. 213 *sq.*

in a secret chamber, and there proceeded to cast spells over the people of his town.¹ In ancient Babylonia also it was a common practice to make an image of clay, pitch, honey, fat, or other soft material in the likeness of an enemy and to injure or kill him by burning, burying, or otherwise ill-treating it. Thus in a hymn to the fire-god Nusku we read:

"Those who have made images of me, reproducing my features,
Who have taken away my breath, torn my hairs,
Who have rent my clothes, have hindered my feet from treading the dust,
May the fire-god, the strong one, break their charms."²

But both in Babylon and in Egypt this ancient tool of superstition, so baneful in the hands of the mischievous and malignant, was also pressed into the service of religion and turned to glorious account for the confusion and overthrow of demons. In a Babylonian incantation we meet with a long list of evil spirits whose effigies were burnt by the magician in the hope that as their images melted in the fire, so the fiends themselves might melt away and disappear.³ Every night when the sun-god Ra sank down to his home in the glowing west he was assailed by hosts of demons under the leadership of the arch-fiend Apepi. All night long he fought them, and sometimes by day the powers of darkness sent up clouds even into the blue Egyptian sky to obscure his light and weaken his power. To aid the sun-god in this daily struggle, a ceremony was daily performed in his temple at Thebes. A figure of his foe Apepi, represented as a crocodile with a hideous face or a serpent with many coils, was made of wax, and on it the demon's name was written in green ink. Wrapt in a papyrus case, on which another likeness of Apepi had been drawn in green ink, the figure was then tied up with black hair, spat upon, hacked with a stone knife, and cast on the ground. There the priest trod on it with his left foot again

¹ F. Chabas, *Le papyrus magique Harris* (Chalon-sur-Saône, 1860), p. 169 *sq.*; E. A. Wallis Budge in *Archæologia*, second series, vol. ii. (1890), p. 428 *sq.*; *id.*, *Egyptian Magic* (London, 1899), p. 73 *sq.*. The case happened in the reign of Ramesses III., about 1200 B.C. Cp. A. Erman,

Aegypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum, p. 475.

² M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, U.S.A., 1898), pp. 268, 286, compare pp. 270, 272, 276, 278.

³ M. Jastrow, *op. cit.* p. 286 *sq.*

and again, and then burned it in a fire made of a certain plant or grass. When Apepi himself had thus been effectually disposed of, waxen effigies of each of his principal demons, and of their fathers, mothers, and children, were made and burnt in the same way. The service, accompanied by the recitation of certain prescribed spells, was repeated not merely morning, noon, and night, but whenever a storm was raging, or heavy rain had set in, or black clouds were stealing across the sky to hide the sun's bright disc. The fiends of darkness, clouds, and rain felt the injuries inflicted on their images as if they had been done to themselves; they passed away, at least for a time, and the beneficent sun-god shone out triumphant once more.¹

From the azure sky, the stately fanes, and the solemn ritual of ancient Egypt we have to travel far in space and time to the misty mountains and the humble cottages of the Scottish Highlands of to-day; but at our journey's end we shall find our ignorant countrymen seeking to attain the same end by the same means and, unhappily, with the same malignity as the Egyptian of old. To kill a person whom he hates, a modern Highlander will still make a rude clay image of him, called a *corp chre* or *corp chreadh* ("clay body"), stick it full of pins, nails, and broken bits of glass, and then place it in a running stream with its head to the current. As every pin is thrust into the figure, an incantation is uttered, and the person represented feels a pain in the corresponding part of his body. If the intention is to make him die a lingering death, the operator is careful to stick no pins into the region of the heart, whereas he thrusts them into that region deliberately if he desires to rid himself of his enemy at once. And as the clay puppet crumbles away in the running water, so the victim's body is believed to waste away and turn to clay. In Islay the spell spoken over the *corp chre*, when it is ready to receive the pins, is as follows: "From behind you are like a ram with an old fleece." And as the pins are being thrust in, a long incantation is pronounced, beginning "As you waste away, may she waste

¹ E. A. Wallis Budge, "On the Hieratic Papyri of Nesit-Amun, a scribe in the temple of Amen-Râ at Thebes,

about B.C. 305," *Archæologia*, second series, II. (1890), pp. 393-601; *id.*, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 77 sqq.

away; as this wounds you, may it wound her." Sometimes, we are told, the effigy is set before a blazing fire on a door which has been taken off its hinges; there it is toasted and turned to make the human victim writhe in agony. The *corp clire* is reported to have been employed of late years in the counties of Inverness, Ross, and Sutherland. A specimen from Inverness-shire may be seen in the Pitt-Rivers Museum at Oxford.¹ A similar form of witchcraft, known as "burying the sheaf," seems still to linger in Ireland among the dwellers in the Bog of Ardee. The person who works the charm goes first to a chapel and says certain prayers with his back to the altar; then he takes a sheaf of wheat, which he fashions into the likeness of a human body, sticking pins in the joints of the stems and, according to one account, shaping a heart of plaited straw. This sheaf he buries in the devil's name near the house of his enemy, who will, it is supposed, gradually pine away as the sheaf decays, dying when it finally decomposes. If the enchanter desires his foe to perish speedily, he buries the sheaf in wet ground, where it will soon moulder away; but if on the other hand his wish is that his victim should linger in pain, he chooses a dry spot, where decomposition will be slow.² However, in Scotland, as in Babylon and Egypt, the destruction of an image has also been employed for the discomfiture of fiends. When Shetland fishermen wish to disenchant their boat, they row it out to sea before sunrise, and as the day is dawning they burn a waxen figure in the boat, while the skipper exclaims, "Go hence, Satan."³

¹ See an article by R. M. O. K. entitled "A Horrible Rite in the Highlands," in the *Weekly Scotsman*, Saturday, 24th August 1889; Professor J. Rhys in *Folklore*, iii. (1892), p. 385; R. C. MacLagan, "Notes on Folklore Objects collected in Angleshire," *Folklore*, vi. (1895), pp. 144-148; J. Macdonald, *Religion and Myth* (London, 1893), p. 3 *sq.* Many older examples of the practice of this form of enchantment in Scotland are collected by J. G. Dalyell in his *Dark Superstitions of Scotland* (Edinburgh, 1834), p. 328 *sqq.*

² Bryan J. Jones, in *Folklore*, vi.

(1895), p. 302. For evidence of the custom in the Isle of Man see J. Train, *Historical and Statistical Account of the Isle of Man*, ii. 168; in England, see Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, iii. 10 *sqq.*; in Germany, see Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,⁴ ii. 913 *sq.* As to the custom in general, see E. B. Tylor, *Researches into the Early History of Mankind*,⁵ p. 106 *sqq.*; R. Andree, "Sympathie-Zauber," *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Neue Folge, p. 8 *sqq.*

³ Ch. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, iii. 220.

If imitative magic, working by means of images, has commonly been practised for the spiteful purpose of putting obnoxious people out of the world, it has also, though far more rarely, been employed with the benevolent intention of helping others into it. In other words, it has been used to facilitate childbirth and to procure offspring for barren women. Among the Battas of Sumatra a barren woman, who would become a mother, will make a wooden image of a child and hold it in her lap, believing that this will lead to the fulfilment of her wish.¹ In the Babar Archipelago, when a woman desires to have a child, she invites a man who is himself the father of a large family to pray on her behalf to Upulero, the spirit of the sun. A doll is made of red cotton, which the woman clasps in her arms as if she would suckle it. Then the father of many children takes a fowl and holds it by the legs to the woman's head, saying, "O Upulero, make use of the fowl; let fall, let descend a child, I beseech you, I entreat you, let a child fall and descend into my hands and on my lap." Then he asks the woman, "Has the child come?" and she answers, "Yes, it is sucking already." After that the man holds the fowl on the husband's head, and mumbles some form of words. Lastly, the bird is killed and laid, together with some betel, on the domestic place of sacrifice. When the ceremony is over, word goes about in the village that the woman has been brought to bed, and her friends come and congratulate her.² Here the pretence that a child has been born is a purely magical rite designed to secure, by means of imitation or mimicry, that a child really shall be born; but an attempt is made to add to the efficacy of the rite by means of prayer and sacrifice. To put it otherwise, magic is here blent with and reinforced by religion. In Saibai, one of the islands in Torres Straits, a similar custom of purely magical character is observed, without any religious alloy. Here, when a woman is pregnant, all the other women assemble. The husband's sister makes an image of a male child and places it before the pregnant woman; after-

¹ J. B. Neumann, "Het Pane-en-Djila-Stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, deel lii. (1886), Afdeeling,

meer uitgebreide artikelen, No. 3, p. 515.

² J. G. F. Riedel, *De stiek- en kroonharige rassen tusschen Selskes en Pajwa* (The Hague, 1886), p. 343.

wards the image is nursed until the birth of the child in order to ensure that the baby shall be a boy. To secure male offspring a woman will also press to her abdomen a fruit resembling the male organ of generation, which she then passes to another woman who has borne none but boys. This, it is clear, is imitative magic in a slightly different form.² In the seventh month of a woman's pregnancy common people in Java observe a ceremony which is plainly designed to facilitate the real birth by mimicking it. Husband and wife repair to a well or to the bank of a neighbouring river. The upper part of the woman's body is bare, but young banana leaves are fastened under her arms, a small opening, or rather fold, being left in the leaves in front. Through this opening or fold in the leaves on his wife's body the husband lets fall from above a weaver's shuttle. An old woman receives the shuttle as it falls, takes it up in her arms and dandles it as if it were a baby, saying, "Oh, what a dear little child! Oh, what a beautiful little child!" Then the husband lets an egg slip through the fold, and when it lies on the ground as an emblem of the afterbirth, he takes his sword and cuts through the banana leaf at the place of the fold, obviously as if he were severing the navel-string.³ Persons of high rank in Java observe the ceremony after a fashion in which the real meaning of the rite is somewhat obscured. The pregnant woman is clothed in a long robe, which her husband, kneeling before her, severs with a stroke of his sword from bottom to top. Then he throws his sword on the ground and runs away as fast as he can.⁴ Among some of the Dyaks of Borneo, when a woman is in hard labour, a wizard is called in, who essays to facilitate the delivery in a rational manner by

² Dr. MacFarlane, quoted by A. C. Haddon, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1890), p. 389 ff.

³ C. Poensen, "Iets over de kleeding der Javanen," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xx. (1876), p. 274 sq.; C. M. Pleyte, "Plichtigheden en gebruiken uit den cyclus van het familieleven der volken van den Indischen Archipel," *Bijdragen tot de*

Taal, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië, xli. (1892), p. 578. A slightly different account of the ceremony is given by J. Kremer ("Hoe de Javanen zijne zielen verzorgt," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xxxvi. (1892), p. 116).

⁴ S. A. Buddingh, "Gebruiken bij Javaansche Groozen," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië*, 1840, deel ii. pp. 239-243.

manipulating the body of the sufferer. Meantime another wizard outside the room exerts himself to attain the same end by means which we should regard as wholly irrational. He, in fact, pretends to be the expectant mother; a large stone attached to his stomach by a cloth wrapt round his body represents the child in the womb, and, following the directions shouted to him by his colleague on the real scene of operations, he moves this make-believe baby about on his body in exact imitation of the movements of the real baby till the infant is born.¹

The same principle of make-believe, so dear to children, has led other peoples to employ a simulation of birth as a form of adoption, and even as a mode of restoring a supposed dead person to life. If you pretend to give birth to a boy, or even to a great bearded man who has not a drop of your blood in his veins, then, in the eyes of primitive law and philosophy, that boy or man is really your son to all intents and purposes. Thus Diodorus tells us that when Zeus persuaded his jealous wife Hera to adopt Hercules, the goddess got into bed, and clasping the burly hero to her bosom, pushed him through her robes and let him fall to the ground in imitation of a real birth; and the historian adds that in his own day the same mode of adopting children was practised by the barbarians.² At the present time it is said to be still in use in Bulgaria and among the Bosnian Turks. A woman will take a boy whom she intends to adopt and push or pull him through her clothes; ever afterwards he is regarded as her very son, and inherits the whole property of his adoptive parents.³ Among the Berawans of Sarawak, when a woman desires to adopt a grown-up man or woman, a great many people assemble and have a feast. The adopting mother, seated in

¹ F. W. Leggit, quoted by H. Ling Roth, *The Nations of Sarawak and British North Borneo* (London, 1896), i. 98 sq.

² Diodorus Siculus, iv. 39.

³ Stanislaus Ciszewski, *Älteste Verwandtschaft bei den Slawen* (Leipzig, 1897), p. 103 sqq. In the Middle Ages a similar form of adoption appears to have prevailed, with the

curious variation that the adopting parent who simulated the act of birth was the father, not the mother. See Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, pp. 160, 464 sq.; J. J. Bachofen, *Das Mutterrecht*, p. 254 sq. F. Liebrecht, however, quotes a mediæval case in which the ceremony was performed by the adopting mother (*Zur Volkskunde*, p. 432).

public on a raised and covered seat, allows the adopted person to crawl from behind between her legs. As soon as he appears in front he is stroked with the sweet-scented blossoms of the areca palm, and tied to the woman. Then the adopting mother and the adopted son or daughter, thus bound together, waddle to the end of the house and back again in front of all the spectators. The tie established between the two by this graphic imitation of childbirth is very strict; an offence committed against an adopted child is reckoned more heinous than one committed against a real child.¹ In ancient Greece any man who had been supposed erroneously to be dead, and for whom in his absence funeral rites had been performed, was treated as dead to society till he had gone through the form of being born again. He was passed through a woman's lap, then washed, dressed in swaddling-clothes, and put out to nurse. Not until this ceremony had been punctually performed might he mix freely with living folk.² In ancient India, under similar circumstances, the supposed dead man had to pass the first night after his return in a tub filled with a mixture of fat and water; there he sat with doubled-up fists and without uttering a syllable, like a child in the womb, while over him were performed all the sacraments that were wont to be celebrated over a pregnant woman. Next morning he got out of the tub and went through once more all the other sacraments he had formerly partaken of from his youth up; in particular, he married a wife or espoused his old one over again with due solemnity.³

Another beneficent use of imitative magic is to heal the sick. For this purpose a Dyak medicine-man will lie down and pretend to be dead. He is accordingly treated like a corpse, is bound up in mats, taken out of the house, and deposited on the ground. After about an hour the other medicine-men loose the pretended dead man and bring him to life; and as he recovers, the sick person is supposed to

¹ For this information I have to thank Dr. C. Howe, Resident Magistrate, of the Beram district, Sarawak.

² Plutarch, *Quæstiones Romanæ*,¹ Hesiychius, s.v. *Δεσφύσιον*.

³ W. Caland, *Die altindischen*

Tödt- und Bestattungsgewisshe (Amsterdam, 1896), p. 89. Among the Hindoos of Kanton the same custom is reported to be still observed. See Major Keble in *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 74, § 452.

recover too.¹ A cure for a tumour, based on the principle of imitative magic, is prescribed by Marcellus of Bordeaux, court physician to Theodosius the First, in his curious work on medicine. It is as follows. Take a root of vervain, cut it across, and hang one end of it round the patient's neck, and the other in the smoke of the fire. As the vervain dries up in the smoke, so the tumour will also dry up and disappear. If the patient should afterwards prove ungrateful to his physician, the man of skill can avenge himself very easily by throwing the vervain into water; for as the root absorbs the moisture once more, the tumour will return.² The same sapient writer recommends you, if you are troubled with pimples, to watch for a falling star, and then instantly, while the star is still shooting from the sky, to wipe the pimples with a cloth or anything that comes to hand. Just as the star falls from the sky, so the pimples will fall from your body; only you must be very careful not to wipe them with your bare hand, or the pimples will be transferred to it.³

Further, imitative magic plays a great part in the measures taken by the rude hunter or fisherman to secure an abundant supply of food. On the principle that like produces like, many things are done by him and his friends in deliberate imitation of the result which he seeks to attain; and, on the other hand, many things are scrupulously avoided because they bear some more or less fanciful resemblance to others which would really be disastrous. The Indians of British Columbia live largely upon the fish which abound in their seas and rivers. If the fish do not come in due season, and the Indians are hungry, a Nootka wizard will make an image of a swimming fish and put it into the water in the direction from which the fish generally appear. This ceremony, accompanied by a prayer to the fish to come, will cause them to arrive at once.⁴ Much more elaborate are the ceremonies performed by the natives of Central Australia for multiplying the witchetty grubs on which they

¹ Archdeacon J. Perham, quoted by H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 280.

² Marcellus, *De Medicamentis*, xv. 82.

³ Marcellus, *op. cit.* xxxiv. 100.

⁴ Franz Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 45 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

partially subsist. One of these ceremonies consists of a pantomime representing the fully-developed insect in the act of emerging from the chrysalis. A long narrow structure of branches is set up to imitate the chrysalis case of the grub. In this structure a number of men, who have the grub for their totem, sit and sing of the creature in its various stages. Then they shuffle out of it in a squatting posture, and as they do so they sing of the insect emerging from the chrysalis. This is supposed to multiply the numbers of the grubs.¹ In the island of Nias, when a wild pig has fallen into the pit prepared for it, the animal is taken out and its back is rubbed with nine fallen leaves, in the belief that this will make nine more wild pigs fall into the pit, just as the nine leaves fell from the tree.² In the East Indian islands of Saparoea, Haroekoe, and Noessa Laut, when a fisherman is about to set a trap for fish in the sea, he looks out for a tree, of which the fruit has been much pecked at by birds. From such a tree he cuts a stout branch and makes of it the principal post in his fish-trap; for he believes that just as the tree lured many birds to its fruit, so the branch cut from that tree will lure many fish to the trap.³ When a Cambodian hunter has set his nets and taken nothing, he strips himself naked, goes some way off, then strolls up to the net as if he did not see it, lets himself be caught in it, and cries, "Hillo! what's this? I'm afraid I'm caught." After that the net is sure to catch game.⁴ A pantomime of the same sort has been acted within living memory in our Scottish Highlands. The Rev. James Macdonald, now of Reay in Caithness, tells us that in his boyhood when he was fishing with companions about Loch Aline and they had had no bites for a long time, they used to make a pretence of throwing one of their fellows overboard and hauling him out of the water, as if he were a fish; after that the trout or silloch would begin to

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 176.

² J. W. Thomas, "De jacht op het eiland Nias," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde*, xxvi. 277.

³ Van Schmid, "Aanteekeningen nopens de zeden, gewoonten en gebruiken, benevens de vooroordeelen en

bijgeloovigheden der bevolking van de eilanden Saparoea, Haroekoe, Noessa Laut," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië*, 1843, xl. ii. p. 601 *et* seq.

⁴ E. Aymonier, "Notes sur les coutumes et croyances superstitieuses des Cambodgiens," *Cochinchine Française: Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 16, p. 157.

nibble, according as the boat was on fresh or salt water.¹ Before a Carrier Indian goes out to snare martens, he sleeps by himself for about ten nights beside the fire with a little stick pressed down on his neck. This naturally causes the fall-stick of his trap to drop down on the neck of the marten.² When an Aleut had struck a whale with a charmed spear, he would not throw again, but returned at once to his home, separated himself from his people in a hut specially constructed for the purpose, where he stayed for three days without food or drink, and without seeing or touching a woman. During this time of seclusion he snorted occasionally in imitation of the wounded and dying whale, in order to prevent the whale which he had struck from leaving the coast. On the fourth day he emerged from his seclusion and bathed in the sea, shrieking in a hoarse voice and beating the water with his hands. Then, taking with him a companion, he repaired to that part of the shore where he expected to find the whale stranded. If the beast was dead, he cut out the place where the death-wound had been inflicted. If it was not dead, he returned to his home and continued washing himself till the whale died.³ On the principles of imitative magic the hunter who mimics a dying whale clearly helps the beast to die in good earnest. Among the Galelareese, who inhabit a district in the northern part of Halmahera, a large island to the west of New Guinea, it is a maxim that when you are loading your gun to go out shooting, you should always put the bullet in your mouth before you insert it in the gun; for by so doing you practically eat the game that is to be hit by the bullet, which therefore cannot possibly miss the mark.⁴ A Malay who has baited a trap for crocodiles, and is awaiting results, is careful in eating his curry always to begin by swallowing

¹ James Macdonald, *Religion and Myth* (London, 1893), p. 3.

² A. G. Morice, "Notes, archaeological, industrial, and sociological, on the Western Dénés," *Transactions of the Canadian Institute*, iv. (1892-93), p. 108; *id.*, *Un pays de l'Ours Noir: chez les sauvages de la Colombie Britannique* (Paris and Lyons, 1897), p. 71.

³ I. Petroff, *Report on the population,*

industries, and resources of Alaska, p. 134-37.

⁴ M. J. van Baarda, "Fabelen, verhalen en overleveringen der Galelareezen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 502. As to the district of Galela in Halmahera, see F. S. A. de Clercq, *Bijdragen tot de Kennis der Residentie Ternate* (Leyden, 1890), p. 117-17.

three lumps of rice successively; for this helps the bait to slide more easily down the crocodile's throat. He is equally scrupulous not to take any bones out of his curry; for, if he did, it seems clear that the sharp-pointed stick on which the bait is skewered would similarly work itself loose, and the crocodile would get off with the bait. Hence in these circumstances it is prudent for the hunter, before he begins his meal, to get somebody else to take the bones out of his curry, otherwise he may at any moment have to choose between swallowing a bone and losing the crocodile.¹

This last rule is an instance of the things which the hunter abstains from doing lest, on the principle that like produces like, they should spoil his luck. Similarly, to take a few more instances, it is a rule with the Galelareese that when you have caught fish and strung them on a line, you may not cut the line through, or next time you go a-fishing your fishing-line will be sure to break.² In the East Indian islands of Saparoea, Haroekoe, and Noessa Laut, any one who comes to the house of a hunter must walk straight in; he may not loiter at the door, for were he to do so, the game would in like manner stop in front of the hunter's snares and then turn back, instead of being caught in the trap.³ For a similar reason it is a rule with the Alfoors of Central Celebes that no one may stand or loiter on the ladder of a house where there is a pregnant woman; any such delay would retard the birth of the child.⁴ Malays engaged in the search for camphor eat their food dry and take care not to pound their salt fine. The reason is that the camphor occurs in the form of small grains deposited in the cracks of the trunk of the camphor tree. Accordingly it seems plain to the Malay that if, while seeking for camphor, he were to eat his salt finely ground, the camphor would be found also in fine grains; whereas by

¹ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 300.

² M. J. van Baarda, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 507.

³ Van Schnijdel, "Aanteekeningen nopens de zeden, gewoonten en gebruiken, benevens de vooroordeelen en bijgeloofigheden der bevolking van de

eilanden Saparoea, Haroekoe, Noessa Laut," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1843, Cl. ii. p. 604.

⁴ A. C. Kruijt, "Een en ander aangaande het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van den Poso-Alfoer," *Mededelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xl. (1896), p. 262 ff.

eating his salt coarse he ensures that the grains of the camphor will also be large.¹ In Laos, a rhinoceros hunter will not wash himself for fear that as a consequence the wounds inflicted on the rhinoceros might not be mortal, and that the animal might disappear in one of the caves full of water in the mountains.² Again, a Blackfoot Indian who has set a trap for eagles, and is watching it, would not eat rosebuds on any account; for he argues that if he did so, and an eagle alighted near the trap, the rosebuds in his own stomach would make the bird itch, with the result that instead of swallowing the bait the eagle would merely sit and scratch himself. Following this line of reasoning the eagle hunter also refrains from using an awl when he is looking after his snares; for surely if he were to scratch with an awl, the eagles would scratch him. The same disastrous consequence would follow if his wives and children at home used an awl while he is out after eagles, and accordingly they are forbidden to handle the tool in his absence for fear of putting him in bodily danger.³ For it is to be observed that the belief in a mysterious bond of sympathy which knits together absent friends and relations, especially at critical times of life, is not a thing of yesterday; it has been cherished from time immemorial by the savage, who carries out the principle to its legitimate consequences by framing for himself and his friends a code of rules which are to be strictly observed by them for their mutual safety and welfare in seasons of danger, anxiety, and distress. In particular, these rules regulate the conduct of persons left at home while a party of their friends is out fishing or hunting or on the war-path. Though we may not be able in every case to explain the curious observances thence arising, all of them clearly assume that people can act by means of sympathetic magic on friends at a distance, and in many of them the action takes the form of doing or avoiding things on account of their supposed resemblance to other things which would really benefit or injure the absent ones. Examples will illustrate this.

¹ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 213.

² E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Saigon, 1885), p. 269.

³ G. R. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales* (London, 1893), pp. 237, 238.

In Laos when an elephant-hunter is starting for the chase, he warns his wife not to cut her hair or oil her body in his absence; for if she cut her hair the elephant would burst the toils, if she oiled herself it would slip through them.¹ When a Dyak village has turned out to hunt wild pigs in the jungle, the people who stay at home may not touch oil or water with their hands during the absence of their friends; for if they did so, the hunters would all be "butter-fingered" and the prey would slip through their hands.² In setting out to look for the rare and precious eagle-wood on the mountains, Tcham peasants enjoin their wives, whom they leave at home, not to scold or quarrel in their absence, for such domestic brawls would lead to their husbands being rent in pieces by bears and tigers.³ A Hottentot woman whose husband is out hunting must do one of two things all the time he is away. Either she must light a fire and keep it burning till he comes back; or if she does not choose to do that, she must go to the water and continue to splash it about on the ground. When she is tired with throwing the water about, her place may be taken by her servant, but the exercise must in any case be kept up without cessation. To cease splashing the water or to let the fire out would be equally fatal to the husband's prospect of a successful bag.⁴ At the other end of the world the Lapps similarly object to extinguish a brand in water while any members of the family are out fishing, since to do so would spoil their luck.⁵ Among the Koniags of Alaska a traveller once observed a young woman lying wrapt in a bearskin in the corner of a hut. On asking whether she were ill, he learned that her husband was out whale-fishing, and that until his return she had to lie fasting in order to ensure a good catch.⁶ Among the Esquimaux of Alaska similar notions prevail. The women during the whaling season remain in comparative idleness, as it is con-

¹ E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos*, p. 25 *et* p.

² Chalmers, quoted by H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 430.

³ E. Aymonier, "Les Tchames et leurs religions," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxiv. (1891), p. 278.

⁴ Th. Hahn, *Tsoul-ji Gnom* (London, 1881), p. 77.

⁵ Leemius, *De Lapponibus Finmarkensibus* (Copenhagen, 1767), p. 500.

⁶ Holmberg, "Ueber die Völker des russischen Amerika," *Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicarum*, iv. (1856), p. 392.

sidered not good for them to sew while the men are out in the boats. If during this period any garments should need to be repaired, the women must take them far back out of sight of the sea and mend them there in little tents in which just one person can sit. And while the crews are at sea no work should be done at home which would necessitate pounding or hewing or any kind of noise; and in the huts of men who are away in the boats no work of any kind whatever should be carried on.¹ When Bushmen are out hunting, any bad shots they may make are set down to such causes as that the children at home are playing on the men's beds or the like, and the wives who allow such things to happen are blamed for their husbands' indifferent marksmanship.² Elephant-hunters in East Africa believe that, if their wives prove unfaithful in their absence, this gives the elephant power over his pursuer, who will accordingly be killed or severely wounded. Hence if a hunter hears of his wife's misconduct, he abandons the chase and returns home.³ An Aleutian hunter of sea-otters thinks that he cannot kill a single animal if during his absence from home his wife should be unfaithful or his sister unchaste.⁴ Many of the indigenous tribes of Sarawak are firmly persuaded that were the wives to commit adultery while their husbands are searching for camphor in the jungle, the camphor obtained by the men would evaporate.⁵ While men of the Toaripi or Motumotu tribe of Eastern New Guinea are away hunting, fishing, fighting, or on any long journey, the people who remain at home must observe strict chastity, and may not let the fire go out. Those of them who stay in the men's club-houses must further abstain from eating certain foods and from touching anything that belongs to others. A breach of these rules might, it is believed, entail the failure of the expedition.⁶ Among some of the

¹ *Arctic Pigeons for the Expedition of 1875* (published by the Royal Geographical Society), p. 261 sq.; *Report of the International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska* (Washington, 1885), p. 39.

² W. H. I. Bleek, *A Brief Account of Bushman Folklore*, p. 19.

³ P. Reichard, *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 427.

⁴ I. Petroff, *Report on the population, industries, and resources of Alaska*, p. 135.

⁵ For this information I am indebted to Dr. C. Hose, Resident Magistrate of the Baram district, Sarawak.

⁶ J. Chalmers, "Toaripi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898), p. 327.

tribes of North-Western New Guinea, when the men are gone on a long journey, as to Ceram or Tidore, the women left at home sing to the moon. The singing takes place in the afternoons, beginning two or three days before the new moon, and lasting for the same time after it. If the silver sickle of the moon is seen in the sky, they raise a loud cry of joy. Asked why they do so, they answer, "Now we see the moon, and so do our husbands, and now we know that they are well; if we did not sing, they would be sick or some other misfortune would befall them."¹ In the Kei Islands, to the south-west of New Guinea, as soon as a vessel that is about to sail for a distant port has been launched, the part of the beach on which it lay is covered as speedily as possible with palm branches, and becomes sacred. No one may thenceforth cross that spot till the ship comes home. To cross it sooner would cause the vessel to perish.²

Where beliefs like these prevail as to the sympathetic connection between friends at a distance, we need not wonder that above everything else war, with its stern yet stirring appeal to some of the deepest and tenderest of human emotions, should quicken in the anxious relations left behind a desire to turn the sympathetic bond to the utmost account for the benefit of the dear ones who may at any moment be fighting and dying far away. Hence, to secure an end so natural and laudable, friends at home are apt to resort to devices which will strike us as pathetic or ludicrous, according as we consider their object or the means adopted to effect it. Thus in some districts of Borneo, when a Dyak is out head-hunting, his wife or, if he is unmarried, his sister must wear a sword day and night in order that he may always be thinking of his weapons; and she may not sleep during the day nor go to bed before two in the morning, lest her husband or brother should thereby be surprised in his sleep by an enemy.³ In other parts of Borneo, when the

¹ J. L. van Hasselt, "Eenige Aanteekeningen nopens de Bewoners der N. Westkust van Nieuw Guinea, meer bepaaldelijk den Stam der Noefoerezen," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxiii. (1889), p. 263.

² C. M. Pleyte, "Ethnographische

Beschrijving der Kei-Eilanden," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x. (1893), p. 831.

³ J. C. E. Tromp, "De Rambai en Sebroeang Dajaka," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxv. 118.

men are away on a warlike expedition, their mats are spread in their houses just as if they were at home, and the fires are kept up till late in the evening and lighted again before dawn, in order that the men may not be cold. Further, the roofing of the house is opened before daylight to prevent the distant husbands, brothers, and sons from sleeping too late, and so being surprised by the enemy.¹ While a Malay of the Peninsula is away at the wars, his pillows and sleeping-mat at home must be kept rolled up. If any one else were to use them, the absent warrior's courage would fail and disaster would befall him. His wife and children may not have their hair cut in his absence, nor may he himself have his hair shorn.² In the island of Timor, while war is being waged, the high priest never quits the temple; his food is brought to him or cooked inside; day and night he must keep the fire burning, for if he were to let it die out, disaster would befall the warriors and would continue so long as the hearth was cold. Moreover, he must drink only hot water during the time the army is absent; for every draught of cold water would damp the spirits of the people, so that they could not vanquish the enemy.³

An old historian of Madagascar informs us that "while the men are at the wars, and until their return, the women and girls cease not day and night to dance, and neither lie down nor take food in their own houses. And although they are very voluptuously inclined, they would not for anything in the world have an intrigue with another man while their husband is at the war, believing firmly that if that happened, their husband would be either killed or wounded. They believe that by dancing they impart strength, courage, and good fortune to their husbands; accordingly during such times they give themselves no rest, and this custom they observe very religiously."⁴ Similarly a traveller of the seventeenth century writes that in Madagascar "when the man is in battle

¹ H. Ling Roth, "Low's Natives of Borneo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xlii. (1893), p. 36.

² W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 524.

³ H. O. Forbes, "On some Tribes of the Island of Timor," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xlii.

(1884), p. 414.

⁴ De Flacourt, *Histoire de la Grande Isle Madagascar* (Paris, 1658), p. 97 39. A statement of the same sort is made by the Abbé Rochon, *Voyage to Madagascar and the East Indies*, translated from the French (London, 1792), p. 46 19.

or under march, the wife continually dances and sings, and will not sleep or eat in her own house, nor admit of the use of any other man, unless she be desirous to be rid of her own; for they entertain this opinion among them, that if they suffer themselves to be overcome in an *intestin war* at home, their husbands must suffer for it, being engaged in a *foreign expedition*; but, on the contrary, if they behave themselves chastely, and dance lustily, that then their husbands, by some certain sympathetical operation, will be able to vanquish all their combatants.¹ We have seen that among the elephant-hunters of East Africa the infidelity of the wife at home is believed to have a similarly disastrous effect on her absent husband. In the Babar Archipelago, also, when the men are at the wars the women at home are bound to chastity, and they must fast besides.² Under similar circumstances in the islands of Leti, Moa, and Lakor the women and children are forbidden to remain inside of the houses and to twine thread or weave.³

When Galelarese men are going away to war, they are accompanied down to the boats by the women. But after the leave-taking is over the women, in returning to their houses, must be careful not to stumble nor fall, and in the house they may neither be angry nor lift up weapons against each other; otherwise the men will fall and be killed in battle.⁴ Similarly, we saw that in Laos domestic brawls at home are supposed to cause the searcher for eagle-wood to fall a prey to wild beasts on the mountains. Further, Galelarese women may not lay down the chopping knives in the house while their husbands are at the wars; the knives must always be hung up on hooks.⁵ The reason for the rule is not given; we may conjecture that it is a fear lest, if the chopping knives were laid down by the women at home, the men would be apt to lay down their weapons in the battle or at other inopportune moments.

¹ John Struys, *Volages and Travels* (London, 1684), p. 32. Struys may have copied from De Flacourt.

² J. G. F. Riedel, *De strik en kruistrijge tussen Sebes en Papua*, p. 341.

³ Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 377.

⁴ M. J. van Baarda, "Fabelen, verhalen en overleveringen der Galelarenzen," *Afdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 507.

⁵ M. J. van Baarda, *loc. cit.*

In the Kei Islands, when the warriors have departed, the women return indoors and bring out certain baskets containing fruits and stones. These fruits and stones they anoint and place on a board, murmuring as they do so, "O lord sun, moon, let the bullets rebound from our husbands, brothers, betrothed, and other relations, just as raindrops rebound from these objects which are smeared with oil." As soon as the first shot is heard, the baskets are put aside, and the women, seizing their fans, rush out of the houses. Then, waving their fans in the direction of the enemy, they run through the village, while they sing, "O golden fans! let our bullets hit, and those of the enemy miss."¹ In this custom the ceremony of anointing stones in order that the bullets may recoil from the men like raindrops from the stones is a piece of pure sympathetic or imitative magic; but the prayer to the sun, that he will be pleased to give effect to the charm, is a religious and perhaps later addition. The waving of the fans seems to be a charm to direct the bullets towards or away from their mark, according as they are discharged from the guns of friends or foes.

Among the Tshi-speaking peoples of the Gold Coast the wives of men who are away with the army paint themselves white, and adorn their persons with beads and charms. On the day when a battle is expected to take place, they run about armed with guns, or sticks carved to look like guns, and taking green paw-paws (fruits shaped somewhat like a melon), they hack them with knives, as if they were chopping off the heads of the foe.² The pantomime is no doubt merely an imitative charm, to enable the men to do to the enemy as the women do to the paw-paws. In the West African town of Framin, while the Ashantee war was raging some years ago, Mr. Fitzgerald Marriott saw a dance performed by women whose husbands had gone as carriers to the war. They were painted white and wore nothing but a short petticoat. At their head was a shrivelled old sorceress in a very short white petticoat, her black hair arranged in a sort of long projecting

¹ C. M. Pleyse, "Etnographische (1893), p. 805.

Beschrijving der Kei-Eilanden," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x.

² A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 226.

horn, and her black face, breasts, arms, and legs profusely adorned with white circles and crescents. All carried long white brushes made of buffalo or horse tails, and as they danced they sang, "Our husbands have gone to Ashantee-land; may they sweep their enemies off the face of the earth!"¹ When the men of the Yuki tribe of Indians in California were away fighting, the women at home did not sleep; they danced without stopping in a circle, chanting and waving leafy wands. For they said that if they danced all the time, their husbands would not grow tired.² In the Kafir district of the Hindu Kush, while the men are out raiding, the women abandon their work in the fields and assemble in the villages to dance day and night. The dances are kept up most of each day and the whole of each night. Sir George Robertson, who reports the custom, more than once watched the dancers dancing at midnight and in the early morning, and could see by the fitful glow of the wood-fire how haggard and tired they looked, yet how gravely and earnestly they persisted in what they regarded as a serious duty.³ The dances of these Kafirs are said to be performed in honour of certain of the national gods, but when we consider the custom in connection with the others which have just been passed in review, we may reasonably surmise that it is or was originally in its essence a sympathetic charm intended to keep the absent warriors wakeful, lest they should be surprised in their sleep by the enemy. When a band of Carib Indians of the Orinoco had gone on the war-path, their friends left in the village used to calculate as nearly as they could the exact moment when the absent warriors would be advancing to attack the enemy. Then they took two lads, laid them down on a bench, and inflicted a most severe scourging on their bare backs. This the youths submitted to without a murmur, supported in their sufferings by the firm conviction, in which they had been bred from childhood, that on the constancy and fortitude

¹ H. P. Fitzgerald Marriott, *The Secret Tribes' Societies of West Africa*, p. 17 (reprinted from *Annuaire Colonial*, the transactions of a Mascaic lodge of London). The lamented Miss Mary H. Kingsley was so kind as to

lend me a copy of this work.

² S. Powers, *Tribes of California* (Washington, 1877), p. 129-30.

³ Sir George Scott Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kush* (London, 1896), pp. 335, 621-626.

with which they bore the cruel ordeal depended the valour and success of their comrades in the battle.¹

Among the many beneficent uses to which a mistaken ingenuity has applied the principle of imitative magic, is that of causing trees and plants to bear fruit in due season. In Thuringen the man who sows flax carries the seed in a long bag which reaches from his shoulders to his knees, and he walks with long strides, so that the bag sways to and fro on his back. It is believed that this will cause the flax to wave in the wind.² In the interior of Sumatra rice is sown by women who, in sowing, let their hair hang loose down their back, in order that the rice may grow luxuriantly and have long stalks.³ Similarly, in ancient Mexico a festival was held in honour of the goddess of maize, or "the long-haired mother," as she was called. It began at the time "when the plant had attained its full growth, and fibres shooting forth from the top of the green ear indicated that the grain was fully formed. During this festival the women wore their long hair unbound, shaking and tossing it in the dances which were the chief feature in the ceremonial, in order that the tassel of the maize might grow in like profusion, that the grain might be correspondingly large and flat, and that the people might have abundance."⁴ It is a Malay maxim to plant maize when your stomach is full, and to see to it that your dibble is thick; for this will swell the ear of the maize.⁵ More elaborate still are the measures taken by an Esthonian peasant woman to make her cabbages thrive. On the day when they are sown she bakes great pancakes, in order that the cabbages may have great broad leaves; and she wears a dazzling white hood in the belief that this will cause the cabbages to have fine white heads. Moreover, as soon as the cabbages are transplanted, a small

¹ Antonio Culla, *Historia Carogrifica natural y evangelica de la Nueva Andalucia de Camana, Guayana y Partientes del Rio Orinoco* (1779), p. 97.

² Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen*, p. 218, § 36.

³ A. L. van Hasselt, *Volksbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra* (Leyden, 1882), p. 323; J. L. van der Toorn, "Het animisme bij den Minang-

kabauit der Padangsche Bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandisch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 64.

⁴ E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, I. (Oxford, 1892), p. 421. Compare Benzeus de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale*, I. 518 ff.

⁵ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 217.

round stone is wrapt up tightly in a white linen rag and set at the end of the cabbage bed, because in this way the cabbage heads will grow very white and firm.¹ For much the same reason a Bavarian sower in sowing wheat will sometimes wear a golden ring, in order that the corn may have a fine yellow colour.² In the Vosges mountains the sower of hemp pulls his nether garments up as far as he can, because he imagines that the hemp he is sowing will attain the precise height to which he has succeeded in hitching up his breeches;³ and in the same region another way of ensuring a good crop of hemp is to dance on the roof of the house on Twelfth Day.⁴ In Swabia and among the Transylvanian Saxons it is a common custom for a man who has sown hemp to leap high on the field, in the belief that this will make the hemp grow tall.⁵ Similarly in many other parts of Germany and Austria the peasant imagines that he makes the flax grow tall by dancing or leaping high, or by jumping backwards from a table; the higher the leap the higher will the flax be that year. The special season for thus promoting the growth of flax is Shrove Tuesday, but in some places it is Candlemas or Walpurgis Night (the eve of May Day). The scene of the performance is the flax field or the farmhouse or the village tavern.⁶ In some parts of eastern Prussia the girls dance

¹ Boeckler-Kreitzwald, *Der Elbten abgriechische Gebräuche, Sitten und Gewohnheiten*, p. 133. Compare F. J. Wielemann, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Elbten*, p. 347.

² Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, ii. p. 207, § 362; *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, ii. 297, iii. 343.

³ L. F. Savé, *Le Folk-lore des Hautes-Pyrenées* (Paris, 1889), p. 142.

⁴ Savé, *op. cit.*, p. 17 19.

⁵ E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 499; A. Heinrich, *Agrarische Sitten und Gebräuche unter den Sachsen Siebenbürgens* (Hermannstadt, 1880), p. 11.

⁶ Kuhn und Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 445, § 354; Grolmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, p. 95, § 664; A. Peter, *Volkskümliches aus österreich-*

isch-Schlesien, ii. 266; Von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 49; E. Sommer, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Sachsen und Thüringen*, p. 148; O. Knoop, *Volksagen, Erzählungen, Aberglauben, Gebräuche und Märchen aus dem östlichen Hinterpommern*, p. 176; A. Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen*, p. 191, § 13; J. F. L. Woeste, *Volksüberlieferungen in der Grafschaft Mark*, p. 56, § 24; *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, ii. 298, iv. 2. pp. 379, 382; A. Heinrich, *Agrarische Sitten und Gebräuche unter den Sachsen Siebenbürgens*, p. 11 19. 1 W. von Schulenberg, *Wendische Volksagen und Gebräuche aus dem Spreewald*, p. 252; J. A. F. Köhler, *Volksbrauch, Aberglauben, Sagen und andre alte Ueberlieferungen im Voigtlande*, p. 368 19. 1 *Die gestrigelte Ruchenphilosophie*

one by one in a large hoop at midnight on Shrove Tuesday. The hoop is adorned with leaves, flowers, and ribbons, and attached to it are a small bell and some flax. Strictly speaking, the hoop should be wrapt in white linen handkerchiefs, but the place of these is often taken by many-coloured bits of cloth, wool, and so forth. While dancing within the hoop each girl has to wave her arms vigorously and cry "Flax grow!" or words to that effect. When she has done, she leaps out of the hoop, or is lifted out of it by her partner.¹ In Anhalt, when the sower had sown the flax, he leaped up and flung the seed-bag high in the air, saying, "Grow and turn green! You have nothing else to do." He hoped that the flax would grow as high as he flung the seed-bag in the air. At Quellendorff, in Anhalt, the first bushel of seed-corn had to be heaped up high in order that the corn-stalks should grow tall and bear plenty of grain.² Among the Ilocans of Luzon it is a rule that the man who sows bananas must have a small child on his shoulder, or the bananas will bear no fruit.³ Here the young child on the sower's shoulder clearly represents, and is expected to promote the growth of, the young bananas.

The notion that a person can influence a plant sympathetically by his act or condition comes out clearly in a remark made by a Malay woman. Being asked why she stripped the upper part of her body naked in reaping the rice, she explained that she did it to make the rice-husks thinner, as she was tired of pounding thick-husked rice.⁴ Clearly, she thought that the less clothing she wore the less

(Chemnitz, 1759), p. 103; M. Toeppen, *Aberglauben aus Meissen*,² p. 68; A. Wailke, *Der deutsche Volksglaube*,³ p. 396, § 657; U. Jahn, *Die deutsche Opfergebräuche bei Ackerbau und Viehzucht*, p. 194 *sq.* According to one account, in leaping from the table you should hold in your hand a long bag containing flax seed (Woeste, *l.c.*). The dancing or leaping is often done specially by girls or women (Kuhn und Schwarte, Grohmann, Witschel, Heinrich, *l.c.*). Sometimes the women dance in the sunlight (*Die geistliche Rockenphilosophie*, *l.c.*); but in Voigtland the leap from the

table should be made by the housewife naked and at midnight on Shrove Tuesday (Köhler, *l.c.*). On Walpurgis Night the leap is made over an alder branch stuck at the edge of the flax field (Sommer, *l.c.*).

¹ E. Lemke, *Volkstümliches in Ostpreussen*, pp. 8-12; M. Toeppen, *l.c.*

² O. Hartung, "Zur Volkskunde aus Anhalt," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, vii. (1897), p. 149 *sq.*

³ F. Blumentritt, "Sitten und Bräuche der Ilocanen," *Globus*, xlviii. No. 12, p. 202.

⁴ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 248.

husk there would be on the rice. Among the Minangkabauers of Sumatra when a rice barn has been built a feast is held, of which a woman far advanced in pregnancy must partake. Her condition will obviously help the rice to be fruitful and multiply.¹ For a similar reason in Syria when a fruit tree does not bear, the gardener gets a pregnant woman to fasten a stone to one of its branches; then the tree will be sure to bear fruit, but the woman will run a risk of miscarriage,² having transferred her fertility, or part of it, to the tree. The practice of loading with stones a tree which casts its fruit is mentioned by Maimonides,³ though the Rabbis apparently did not understand it. The proceeding was most probably an imitative charm designed to load the tree with fruit.⁴ In Swabia they say that if a fruit-tree does not bear, you should keep it loaded with a heavy stone all summer, and next year it will be sure to bear.⁵ The magic virtue of a pregnant woman to communicate fertility is known also to Bavarian and Austrian peasants, who think that if you give the first fruit of a tree to a woman with child to eat, the tree will bring forth abundantly next year.⁶ In Bohemia for a similar purpose the first apple of a

¹ J. L. van der Toorn, "Het animisme bij den Minangkabauer der Padangische Bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 67.

² Eijss Ab'el, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien," *Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina-Forschung*, vii. (1884), p. 112, § 202.

³ Quoted by D. Chwolson, *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus*, ii. 459.

⁴ W. Mannhardt (*Raumkultur*, p. 419) promised in a later investigation to prove that it was an ancient custom at harvest or in spring to load or pelt trees and plants, as well as the representatives of the spirit of vegetation, with stones, in order thereby to express the weight of fruit which was expected. This promise, so far as I know, he did not live to fulfill. Compare, however, his *Mythologische Forschungen*, p. 324.

⁵ E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 249

30. The placing of the stone on the tree is described as a punishment, but this is probably a misunderstanding.

⁶ *Bavaria, Länder- und Volkskunde der Königl. Bayern*, ii. 299; *Vermaleken, Mythen und Bräuche der Völker in Oesterreich*, p. 315. On the other hand, in some parts of North-west New Guinea a woman with child may not plant, or the crop would be eaten up by pigs; and she may not climb a tree in the rice-field, or the crop would fail. See J. L. van Hasselt, "Enige Aanteekeningen zangende de Bewoners der N. Westkust van Nieuw Guinea," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxxii. (1889), p. 264. Similarly the Galelenses say that a pregnant woman must not sweep under a sheddeck tree, or knock the fruit from the bough, else it will taste sour instead of sweet. See M. J. van Baarda, "Fabelen, Verhalen en Overleveringen der Galelenseen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 207.

young tree is sometimes plucked and eaten by a woman who has borne many children, for then the tree will be sure to bear many apples.¹ When a tree bears no fruit, the Galelareese think it is a male; and their remedy is simple. They put a woman's petticoat on the tree, which, being thus converted into a female, will naturally prove prolific.² Arguing similarly from what may be called the infectiousness of qualities or accidents, the same people say that you ought not to shoot with a bow and arrows under a fruit tree, or the tree will cast its fruit even as the arrows fall to the ground;³ and that when you are eating water-melon you ought not to mix the pips which you spit out of your mouth with the pips which you have put aside to serve as seed; for if you do, though the pips you spat out may certainly spring up and blossom, yet the blossoms will keep falling off just as the pips fell from your mouth, and thus these pips will never bear fruit.⁴ Precisely the same train of thought leads the Bavarian peasant to believe that if he allows the graft of a fruit tree to fall on the ground, the tree that springs from that graft will let its fruit fall untimely.⁵ In Nias the day after a man has made preparations for planting rice he may not use fire, or the crop would be parched; he may not spread his mats on the ground, or the young plants would droop towards the earth.⁶

In these cases a person is supposed to influence vegetation sympathetically. He infects trees or plants with qualities or accidents, good or bad, resembling and derived from his own. But on the principle of sympathetic magic the influence is mutual: the plant can infect the man just as much as the man can infect the plant. It is a Galelareese belief that if you eat a fruit which has fallen to the ground, you will yourself contract a disposition to stumble and fall; and that if you partake of something which has been forgotten (such as a sweet potato left in the pot or a banana in the fire), you will become forgetful.⁷ The Galelareese are also of opinion that if

¹ Grehman, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, p. 143, § 1033.

² M. J. van Baarda, *op. cit.* p. 489.

³ M. J. van Baarda, *op. cit.* p. 488.

⁴ M. J. van Baarda, *op. cit.* 496 n.

⁵ *Bavaria, Land- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, ii. 299.

⁶ E. Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias* (Milan, 1890), p. 390.

⁷ M. J. van Baarda, *op. cit.* pp. 466-468.

a woman were to consume two bananas growing from a single head she would give birth to twins.¹ In Vedic times a curious application of this principle supplied a charm by which a banished prince might be restored to his kingdom. He had to eat food cooked on a fire which was fed with wood which had grown out of the stump of a tree which had been cut down. The recuperative power manifested by such a tree would in due course be communicated through the fire to the food, and so to the prince, who ate the food which was cooked on the fire which was fed with the wood which grew out of the tree.² Among the Lkungen Indians of Vancouver Island an infallible means of making your hair grow long is to rub it with fish oil and the pulverised fruit of a particular kind of poplar (*Populus trichocarpa*). As the fruit grows a long way up the tree, it cannot fail to make your hair grow long too.³ Near Charlotte Waters, in Central Australia, there is a tree which sprang up to mark the spot where a blind man died. It is called the Blind Tree by the natives, who think that if it were cut down all the people of the neighbourhood would become blind. A man who wishes to deprive his enemy of sight need only go to the tree by himself and rub it, muttering his wish and exhorting the magic virtue to go forth and do its baleful work.⁴

In this last example the contagious quality, though it emanates directly from a tree, is derived originally from a man—namely, the blind man—who was buried at the place where the tree grew. Similarly, the Central Australians believe that a certain group of stones at Undiara are the petrified boils of an old man who long ago plucked them from his body and left them there; hence any man who wishes to infect his enemy with boils will go to these stones and throw miniature spears at them, taking care that the points of the spears strike the stones. Then the spears are picked up, and thrown one by one in the direction of the person whom it is intended to injure. The spears carry with them the magic virtue from the stones, and the result is an

¹ M. J. van Benda, *op. cit.* p. 467.

² H. Ostenberg, *Die Religion der Veda*, p. 505.

³ Fr. Boas, in *Sixth Report on the*

North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 25 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

⁴ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Cent. Australia*, p. 552.

eruption of painful boils on the body of the victim. Sometimes a whole group of people can be afflicted in this way by a skilful magician.¹ Again, certain qualities are attributed to the dead as such, and it is supposed that these qualities can be communicated by contagion to the living. Thus among the Galelarese, when a young man goes a-wooing at night, he takes a little earth from a grave and strews it on the roof of his sweetheart's house just above the place where her parents sleep. This, he fancies, will prevent them from waking while he converses with his beloved, since the earth from the grave will make them sleep as sound as the dead.² Similarly, a South Slavonian burglar sometimes begins operations by throwing a dead man's bone over the house, saying, "As this bone may waken, so may these people waken"; after that not a soul in the house can keep his or her eyes open.³ Again, Servian and Bulgarian women who chafe at the restraints of domestic life will take the copper coins from the eyes of a corpse, wash them in wine or water, and give the liquid to their husbands to drink. After swallowing it, the husband will be as blind to his wife's peccadilloes as the dead man was on whose eyes the coins were laid.⁴ When a Blackfoot Indian went out eagle-hunting, he used to take a skull with him, because he believed that the skull would make him invisible, like the dead person to whom it had belonged, and so the eagles would not be able to see and attack him.⁵

Again, animals are often conceived to possess qualities or properties which might be useful to man, and imitative magic seeks to transfer or communicate these properties to human beings in various ways. Thus some Bechuana wear a ferret as a charm, because, being very tenacious of life, it will make

¹ Spence and Gillen, *op. cit.* p. 550.

² M. J. van Baarden, "Fabelen, Verhalen en Overleveringen der Galelarezen," *Rijstroken tot de Taal Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandisch Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 462.

³ F. S. Krauss, *Volksgeleue und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 146.

⁴ F. S. Krauss, *op. cit.* p. 140. The custom of placing coins on the eyes of a corpse to prevent them from opening

is not uncommon. Its observance in England is attested by the experienced Mrs. Gamp:—"When Gamp was summoned to his long home, and I see him a-lying in Guy's Hospital with a penny piece on each eye, and his wooden leg under his left arm, I thought I should have fainted away. But I bore up" (*Martha Chudsmut*, ch. xiv.).

⁵ G. W. Biffinsell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 238.

them difficult to kill.¹ Others wear a certain insect, mutilated, but living, for a similar purpose.² Yet other Bechuana warriors wear the hair of a hornless ox among their own hair, and the skin of a frog on their mantle, because a frog is slippery, and the ox, having no horns, is hard to catch; so the man who is provided with these charms believes that he will be as hard to hold as the ox and the frog.³ Again, it seems plain that a South African warrior who twists tufts of rats' hair among his own curly black locks will have just as many chances of avoiding the enemy's spear as the nimble rat has of avoiding things thrown at it; hence in these regions rats' hair is in great demand when war is expected.⁴ In Morocco a fowl or a pigeon may sometimes be seen with a little red bundle tied to its foot; the bundle contains a charm, and it is believed that as the charm is kept in constant motion by the bird, a corresponding restlessness is kept up in the mind of him or her against whom the charm is directed.⁵ One of the ancient books of India prescribes that when a sacrifice is offered for victory, the earth out of which the altar is to be made should be taken from a place where a boar has been wallowing, since the strength of the boar will be in that earth.⁶ When you are playing the one-stringed lute, and your fingers are stiff, the thing to do is to catch some long-legged field spiders and roast them, and then rub your fingers with the ashes; that will make your fingers as lithe and nimble as the spiders' legs—at least so think the Galelareese.⁷ The Lkungen Indians of Vancouver's Island believe that the ashes of wasps rubbed on the faces of warriors going to battle will render the men as pugnacious as wasps, and that a decoction of wasps' nests or of flies administered internally to barren women will make them prolific like

¹ J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, Second Journey*, ii. 306; Barnabas Shaw, *Memoirs of South Africa*, p. 66.

² Casalis, *Les Basutos*, p. 271 sq.

³ *Ibid.* p. 272.

⁴ Rev. James McDonald, "Manners, Customs, Religions, and Superstitions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891),

p. 132.

⁵ A. Leased, *Morocco and the Moors* (London, 1876), p. 272.

⁶ H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 505.

⁷ M. J. van Baarda, "Fabelen, Verhalen en Overleveringen der Galelareezen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlv. (1891)

the insects.¹ When a South Slavonian has a mind to pilfer and steal at market, he has nothing to do but to burn a blind cat, and then throw a pinch of its ashes over the person with whom he is higgling; after that he can take what he likes from the booth, and the owner will not be a bit the wiser, having become as blind as the deceased cat with whose ashes he has been sprinkled. The thief may even ask boldly, "Did I pay for it?" and the deluded huckster will reply, "Why, certainly."² Equally simple and effectual is the expedient adopted by natives of Central Australia who desire to cultivate their beards. They prick the chin all over with a pointed bone, and then stroke it carefully with a magic stick or stone, which represents a kind of rat that has very long whiskers. The virtue of these whiskers naturally passes into the representative stick or stone, and thence by an easy transition to the chin, which, consequently, is soon adorned with a rich growth of beard.³ When a party of these same natives has returned from killing a foe, and they fear to be attacked by the ghost of the dead man in their sleep, every one of them takes care to wear the tip of a rabbit-kangaroo in his hair. Why? Because the rabbit-kangaroo being a nocturnal animal, does not sleep of nights; and therefore a man who wears a tip of its tail in his hair will clearly be wakeful during the hours of darkness.⁴

On the principle of sympathetic magic, inanimate things, as well as plants and animals, may diffuse blessing or bane around them, according to their own intrinsic nature and the skill of the wizard to tap or dam, as the case may be, the stream of weal or woe. Thus, for example, the Galelareese think that when your teeth are being filed you should keep spitting on a pebble, for this establishes a sympathetic connection between you and the pebble, by virtue of which your teeth will henceforth be as hard and durable as a stone. On the other hand, you ought not to comb a child before it has teethed, for if you do, its teeth

¹ Fr. Bosc, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 25 (separate reprint from *Report of the British Association*, 1890).

² F. S. K. *Handbuch und*

edigierter Brauch der Südslaven, p. 147.

³ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 545 sq.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 494 sq.

will afterwards be separated from each other like the teeth of a comb.¹ Nor should children look at a sieve, otherwise they will suffer from a skin disease, and will have as many sores on their bodies as there are holes in the sieve.² Again, if you are imprudent enough to eat while somebody is sharpening a knife, your throat will be cut that same evening, or next morning at latest.³ The disastrous influence thus attributed, under certain circumstances, to a knife in the East Indies, finds its counterpart in a curious old Greek story. A certain king had no child, and he asked a wise man how he could get one. The wise man himself did not know, but he thought that the birds of the air might, and he undertook to inquire of them. For you must know that the sage understood the language of birds, having learned it through some serpents whose life he had saved, and who, out of gratitude, had cleansed his ears as he slept. So he sacrificed two bulls, and cut them up, and prayed the fowls to come and feast on the flesh; only the vulture he did not invite. When the birds came, the wise man asked them what the king must do to get a son; but none of them knew. At last up came the vulture, and he knew all about it. He said that once when the king was a child his royal father was gelding rams in the field, and laid down the bloody knife beside his little son; nay, he threatened the boy with it. The child was afraid and ran away, and the father stuck the knife in a tree. Meanwhile, the bark of the tree had grown round the knife and hidden it. The vulture said that if they found the knife, scraped the rust off it, and gave the rust, mixed with wine, to the king to drink for ten days, he would beget a son. They did so, and it fell out exactly as the vulture had said.⁴ In this story a knife which had gelded rams is supposed to have deprived a boy of his virility merely by being brought near his person.

¹ M. J. van Baarda, "Fabelen, Verhalen en Overleveringen der Gaele-arenen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederland en Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 483.

² M. J. van Baarda, *op. cit.* p. 534.

³ M. J. van Baarda, *op. cit.* p. 468.

⁴ The king was Iphiclus; the wise man was Melampus. See Apollodorus, l. 9. 12; Eustathius on Homer, *Od.*

xi. 292; Schol. on Theocritus, iii. 43. The way in which the king's impotence was cured by the knife is clearly indicated by the scholiast on Theocritus: *μαλθὴ δ' ἀπορροῦς αὐτῷ [scil. τῷ ἄρχοντι] τοῖς πολεῖς τοῦ ναυλῆς*. In this scholium we must correct *ἀπορροῦς* . . . *ἀνέπαρ* into *ἀνέπαρτος* . . . *ῥῆμα*. Eustathius (*l.c.*) quotes the scholium in this latter form: "ἅντα τὰ ἀνέπαρτα ἄνθρωποι καὶ τὰ ζῷα." animals were rams, etc. *l.c.*

Through simple proximity it infected him, so to say, with the same disability which it had already inflicted on the rams; and the loss he thus sustained was afterwards repaired by administering to him in a potion the rust which, having been left on the blade by the blood of the animals, might be supposed to be still imbued with their generative faculty.

The Melanesians believe that certain sacred stones are endowed with miraculous powers which correspond in their nature to the shape of the stone. Thus a piece of water-worn coral on the beach often bears a surprising likeness to a bread-fruit. Hence a man who finds such a coral will lay it at the root of one of his bread-fruit trees in the expectation that it will make the tree bear well. If the result answers his expectation, he will then, for a proper remuneration, take stones of less marked character from other men and let them lie near his, in order to imbue them with the magic virtue which resides in it. Similarly, a stone with little discs upon it is good to bring in money; and if a man found a large stone with a number of small ones under it, like a sow among her litter, he was sure that to offer money upon it would bring him pigs. In these and similar cases the Melanesians ascribe the marvellous power, not to the stone itself, but to its indwelling spirit; and sometimes, as we have just seen, a man endeavours to propitiate the spirit by laying down offerings on the stone.¹ But the conception of spirits that must be propitiated lies outside the sphere of magic, and within that of religion. Where such a conception is found, as here, in conjunction with purely magical ideas and practices, the latter may generally be assumed to be the original stock on which the religious conception has been at some later time engrafted. For there are strong grounds for thinking that, in the evolution of thought, magic has preceded religion. But to this point we shall return presently.

Dwellers by the sea cannot fail to be impressed by the sight of its ceaseless ebb and flow, and are apt, on the principles of that rude philosophy of sympathy and resemblance which here engages our attention, to trace a subtle relation, a secret harmony, between its tides and the life of man, of

¹ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), pp. 181-185.

animals, and of plants. In the flowing tide they see not merely a symbol, but a cause of exuberance, of prosperity, and of life, while in the ebbing tide they discern a real agent as well as a melancholy emblem of failure, of weakness, and of death. The Breton peasant fancies that clover sown when the tide is coming in will grow well, but that if the plant be sown at low water or when the tide is going out, it will never reach maturity, and that the cows which feed on it will burst.¹ His wife believes that the best butter is made when the tide has just turned and is beginning to flow, that milk which foams in the churn will go on foaming till the hour of high water is past, and that water drawn from the well or milk extracted from the cow while the tide is rising will boil up in the pot or saucepan and overflow into the fire.² The Galelareese say that if you wish to make oil, you should do it when the tide is high, for then you will get plenty of oil.³ According to some of the ancients, the skins of seals, even after they had been parted from their bodies, remained in secret sympathy with the sea, and were observed to ruffle when the tide was on the ebb.⁴ Another ancient belief, attributed to Aristotle, was that no creature can die except at ebb tide. The belief, if we can trust Pliny, was confirmed by experience, so far as regards human beings, on the coast of France.⁵ Philostratus also assures us that at Cadiz dying people never yielded up the ghost while the water was high.⁶ A like fancy still lingers in some parts of Europe. On the Cantabrian coast of Spain they think that persons who die of chronic or acute disease expire at the moment when the tide begins to recede.⁷ In Portugal, all along the coast of Wales, and on some parts of the coast of Brittany, a belief is said to prevail that people are born when the tide comes in, and die when it goes out.⁸ Dickens attests the existence of the same superstition in England. "People

¹ P. Sébillot, *Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer*, I. 136.

² P. Sébillot, *op. cit.* I. 135.

³ M. J. van Riarda, "Fabelen, Verhalen en Overleveringen der Galelareezen," *Rijdschap tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandisch Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 499.

⁴ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ix. 42.

⁵ *Ibid.* II. 220.

⁶ Philostratus, *Vit. Apollon.* v. 2.

⁷ P. Sébillot, *Légendes, croyances et superstitions de la mer*, I. 132.

⁸ P. Sébillot, *op. cit.* I. 120-132; M. E. James in *Folklore*, ix. (1898), p. 189.

"can't die, along the coast," said Mr. Peggotty, "except when the tide's pretty nigh out. They can't be born, unless it's pretty nigh in—not properly born till flood."¹ The belief that most deaths happen at ebb tide is said to be held along the east coast of England from Northumberland to Kent.² Shakespeare must have been familiar with it, for he makes Falstaff die "even just between twelve and one, e'en at the turning o' the tide."³ We meet it again on the Pacific coast of North America among the Haidas of the Queen Charlotte Islands. Whenever a good Haida is about to die he sees a canoe manned by some of his dead friends, who come with the tide to bid him welcome to the spirit land. "Come with us now," they say, "for the tide is about to ebb and we must depart."⁴ At the other extremity of America the same fancy has been noted among the Indians of Southern Chili. A Chilote Indian in the last stage of consumption, after preparing to die like a good Catholic, was heard to ask how the tide was running. When his sister told him that it was still coming in, he smiled and said that he had still a little while to live. It was his firm conviction that with the ebbing tide his soul would pass to the ocean of eternity.⁵

To ensure a long life the Chinese have recourse to certain complicated charms, which concentrate in themselves the magical essence emanating, on the principle of similarity or imitation, from times and seasons, from persons and from things. The vehicles employed to transmit these happy influences are no other than grave-clothes. These are provided by many Chinese in their lifetime, and most people have them cut out and sewn by an unmarried girl or a very young woman, wisely calculating that, since such a person is likely to live a great many years to come, a part of her capacity to live long must surely pass into the clothes, and thus stave off for many years the time when they shall be put to their proper use. Further, the garments are made by preference

¹ Dickens, *David Copperfield*, chap. xxx.

² W. Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties of England*, p. 58.

³ *Henry V.* Act ii. Scene 3.

⁴ Rev. C. Hall, "Religion and

Family among the Haidas," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi. (1892), p. 17 sq.

⁵ C. Martin, "Ueber die Eingeborenen von Chile," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix. (1877), p. 179.

in a year which has an intercalary month; for to the Chinese mind it seems plain that grave-clothes made in a year which is unusually long will possess the capacity of prolonging life in an unusually high degree. Amongst the clothes there is one robe in particular on which special pains have been lavished to imbue it with this priceless quality. It is a long silken gown of the deepest blue colour, with the word "longevity" embroidered all over it in thread of gold. To present an aged parent with one of these costly and splendid mantles, known as "longevity garments," is esteemed by the Chinese an act of filial piety and a delicate mark of attention. As the garment purports to prolong the life of its owner, he often wears it, especially on festive occasions, in order to allow the influence of longevity, created by the many golden letters with which it is bespangled, to work their full effect upon his person. On his birthday, above all, he hardly ever fails to don it, for in China common sense bids a man lay in a large stock of vital energy on his birthday, to be expended in the form of health and vigour during the rest of the year. Attired in the gorgeous pall, and absorbing its blessed influence at every pore, the happy owner receives complacently the congratulations of friends and relations, who warmly express their admiration of these magnificent ceremonies, and of the filial piety which prompted the children to bestow so beautiful and useful a present on the author of their being.¹

Another application of the maxim that like produces like is seen in the Chinese belief that the fortunes of a town are deeply affected by its shape, and that they must vary according to the character of the thing which that shape most nearly resembles. Thus it is related that long ago the town of Tsuen-chou-fu, the outlines of which are like those of a carp, frequently fell a prey to the depredations of the neighbouring city of Yung-chun, which is shaped like a fishing-net, until the inhabitants of the former town con-

¹ J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, I. pp. 60-63. Among the *haipina* provided for a woman's burial is almost always one which is adorned with small silver figures of a stag, a tortoise, a peach, and a crane. These being emblems of longevity, it is

supposed that the *gin* which is decorated with them will absorb some of their life-giving power and communicate it to the woman in whose hair it is ultimately to be fastened. See De Groot, *op. cit.* I. pp. 55-57.

ceived the plan of erecting two tall pagodas in their midst. These pagodas, which still tower above the city of Tsuen-chau-fu, have ever since exercised the happiest influence over its destiny by intercepting the imaginary net before it could descend and entangle in its meshes the imaginary carp.¹ Some thirty years ago the wise men of Shanghai were much exercised to discover the cause of a local rebellion. On careful inquiry they ascertained that the rebellion was due to the shape of a large new temple which had most unfortunately been built in the shape of a tortoise, an animal of the very worst character. The difficulty was serious, the danger was pressing; for to pull down the temple would have been impious, and to let it stand as it was would be to court a succession of similar or worse disasters. However, the genius of the local professors of geomancy, rising to the occasion, triumphantly surmounted the difficulty and obviated the danger. By filling up two wells, which represented the eyes of the tortoise, they at once blinded that disreputable animal and rendered him incapable of doing further mischief.²

Thus far we have been considering that branch of sympathetic magic which may be called mimetic or imitative. Its leading principle, as we have seen, is that like produces like, or, in other words, that an effect resembles its cause. On the other hand, sympathetic magic in the strict sense of the word proceeds upon the assumption that things which have once been conjoined must remain ever afterwards, even when quite dissevered from each other, in such a sympathetic relation that whatever is done to the one must similarly affect the other.³ The most familiar example is the magic sympathy which is supposed to exist between a man and any severed portion of his person, as his hair or nails; so that whoever gets possession of human hair or nails may work his will, at any distance, upon the person from whom they were cut. This superstition is world-wide; instances of it in regard to hair and nails will be noticed later on.⁴

¹ J. J. M. de Groot, *op. cit.* iii. 977.

² J. J. M. de Groot, *op. cit.* iii. p. 1043 *sq.*

³ The principles of sympathetic magic, in the strict sense, are lucidly

stated and copiously illustrated by Mr. E. S. Hartland in the second volume of his *Legend of Persuasion*.

⁴ See chap. ii. § 3, "Royal and Priestly Taboos."

Here it may suffice to illustrate the general principle by a few beliefs and customs concerned with other parts of the body.

Among the Australian tribes it was a common practice to knock out one or more of a boy's front teeth at those ceremonies of initiation to which every male member had to submit before he could enjoy the rights and privileges of a full-grown man.¹ The reason of the practice is obscure; all that concerns us here is the evidence of a belief that a sympathetic relation continued to exist between the lad and his teeth after the latter had been extracted from his gums. Thus among some of the tribes about the river Darling, in New South Wales, the extracted tooth was placed under the bark of a tree near a river or water-hole; if the bark grew over the tooth or if the tooth fell into the water, all was well; but if it were exposed and the ants ran over it, the natives believed that the boy would suffer from a disease of the mouth.² Among certain Victorian tribes the tree in which the teeth had thus been concealed was ever afterwards in some sense held sacred. It was made known only to certain persons of the tribe, and the youth himself was never allowed to learn where his teeth had been deposited. If he died, the foot of the tree was stripped of its bark, and the tree itself was killed by kindling a fire about it, "so that it might remain stricken and sore, as a monument of the deceased."³ This latter custom points to a belief that even after being severed from the body the teeth remained so intimately united with it by a secret sympathy, that when it perished they too must be destroyed. Among the Murring and other tribes of New South Wales the extracted tooth was at first taken care of by an old man, and then passed from one headman to another, until it had gone all round the community, when it came back to the lad's father, and finally to the lad himself. But however it was thus conveyed from hand to hand, it might on no account be placed in a bag containing magical substances, for to do so would, they believed, put the owner

¹ As to the diffusion of this custom in Australia see Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 450 *seq.*

² F. S. Banney, in *Journal of the*

Anthropological Institute, xiii. (1884), p. 128.

³ R. Braugh Smyth, *The Aborigines of Victoria*.

of the tooth in great danger.¹ Mr. A. W. Howitt once acted as custodian of the teeth which had been extracted from some novices at a ceremony of initiation, and the old men earnestly besought him not to carry them in a bag in which they knew that he had some quartz crystals. They declared that if he did so the magic of the crystals would pass into the teeth, and so injure the boys.² Nearly a year after Mr. Howitt's return from the ceremony he was visited by one of the principal men of the Murring tribe, who had travelled about three hundred miles from his home to fetch back the teeth. This man explained that he had been sent for them because one of the boys had fallen into ill health, and it was believed that the teeth had received some injury which had affected him. He was assured that the teeth had been kept in a box apart from any substances, like quartz crystals, which could influence them; and he returned home bearing the teeth with him carefully wrapt up and concealed.³ Among the Dieri tribe of South Australia the teeth knocked out at initiation were bound up in emu feathers, and kept by the boy's father or his next of kin until the mouth had healed, and even for long afterwards. Then the father, accompanied by a few old men, performed a ceremony for the purpose of taking all the supposed life out of the teeth. He made a low rumbling noise without uttering any words, blew two or three times with his mouth, and jerked the teeth through his hand to some little distance. After that he buried them about eighteen inches under ground. The jerking movement was meant to show that he thereby took all the life out of the teeth. Had he failed to do so, the boy would, in the opinion of the natives, have been liable to an ulcerated and wry mouth, impediment in speech, and ultimately a distorted face.⁴ This ceremony is interesting as a rare instance of an attempt to break the sympathetic link between a man and a severed part of himself by rendering the part insensitive.

In many parts of the world it is customary to put extracted teeth in some place where they will be found by a

¹ A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii (1884), p. 456 ff.

² *Ibid.* xvi. (1887), p. 55.

³ *Ibid.* xx. (1891), p. 81.

⁴ *Ibid.* xx. (1891), p. 80 sq.

mouse or a rat, in the hope that, through the sympathy which continues to subsist between them and their former owner, his other teeth may acquire the same firmness and excellence as the teeth of these rodents. Thus in Germany it is said to be an almost universal maxim among the people that when you have had a tooth taken out you should insert it in a mouse's hole. To do so with a child's milk-tooth which has fallen out will prevent the child from having toothache. Or you should go behind the stove and throw your tooth backwards over your head, saying, "Mouse, give me your iron tooth; I will give you my bone tooth." After that your other teeth will remain good. German children say, "Mouse, mouse, come out and bring me out a new tooth"; or "Mouse, I give you a little bone; give me a little stone"; or "Mouse, there is an old tooth for you; make me a new one." In Bavaria they say that if this ceremony be observed the child's second teeth will be as white as the teeth of mice.¹ Amongst the South Slavonians, too, the child is taught to throw his tooth into a dark corner and say, "Mouse, mouse, there is a bone tooth; give me an iron tooth instead."² Far away from Germany, at Karatonga, in the Pacific, when a child's tooth was extracted, the following prayer used to be recited:—

"Big rat! little rat!
Here is my old tooth.
Pray give me a new one."

Then the tooth was thrown on the thatch of the house, because rats make their nests in the decayed thatch. The reason assigned for invoking the rats on these occasions was that rats' teeth were the strongest known to the natives.³ In the Seranglao and Gorong archipelagoes, between New Guinea and Celebes, when a child loses his first tooth, he must throw it on the roof, saying, "Mouse, I give you my tooth; give me

¹ A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*,³ p. 330, § 526; J. Vornum, *Volksagen aus Vorarlberg*, p. 67; J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, I. p. 208, §§ 37, 39; G. Lammer, *Volksmedizin und medizinischer Aberglaube in Bayern*, p. 128.

Compare Gschmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, p. 111, §§ 824, 825, p. 169, § 1197.

² F. S. Krauss, *Sitte und Brauch der Südlänen*, p. 546.

³ W. Wyatt Gill, *Journal from the Pacific*, v.

yours instead."¹ In Amboyna the custom is the same, and the form of words is, "Take this tooth, thrown on the roof, as the mouse's share, and give me a better one instead."² In the Kei Islands, to the south-west of New Guinea, when a child begins to get his second teeth, he is lifted up to the top of the roof in order that he may there deposit, as an offering to the rats, the tooth which has fallen out. At the same time some one cries aloud, "O rats, here you have his tooth; give him a golden one instead."³ Among the Ilocans of Luzon, in the Philippines, when children's teeth are loose, they are pulled out with a string and put in a place where rats will be likely to find and drag them away.⁴ In ancient Mexico, when a child was getting a new tooth, the father or mother used to put the old one in a mouse's hole, believing that if this precaution were not taken the new tooth would not issue from the gums.⁵ A different and more barbarous application of the same principle is the Swabian superstition that when a child is teething you should bite off the head of a living mouse, and hang the head round the child's neck by a string, taking care, however, to make no knot in the string; then the child will teethe easily.⁶ In Bohemia the treatment prescribed is similar, though there they recommend you to use a red thread and to string three heads of mice on it instead of one.⁷

Other parts which are commonly believed to remain in a sympathetic union with the body, after the physical connection has been severed, are the navel-string, the afterbirth, and the placenta. Thus, for example, in Mandeling, a district on the west coast of Sumatra, the afterbirth is washed and buried under the house⁸ or put in an earthenware pot, which is carefully shut up and thrown into the river. This is done to avert the supposed unfavourable influence of the

¹ J. G. F. Riedel, *De strik en tros-savige rassen tusschen Salches en Papua*, p. 176.

² Riedel, *op. cit.*, p. 75.

³ C. M. Pleyte, "Ethnographische Beschrijving der Kei-Eilanden," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x. (1893), p. 822.

⁴ F. Blument. Sitten und

Bräuche der Ilocanen," *Globus*, xlviii. No. 12, p. 300.

⁵ Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle Espagne*, p. 316 sq.

⁶ E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 510, § 415.

⁷ Grehmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, p. 111, § 822.

afterbirth on the child, who might, for example, get cold feet or hands through it.¹ In Mandeling, too, the midwife prefers to cut the navel-string with a piece of a flute on which she has first blown; for then the child will be sure to have a fine voice.² In the Babar Archipelago, between New Guinea and Celebes, the placenta are mixed with ashes and put in a small basket, which seven women, each of them armed with a sword, hang up on a tree of a particular kind (*Citrus hystrix*). The women carry swords for the purpose of frightening the evil spirits; otherwise these mischievous beings might get hold of the placenta, and thereby make the child sick.³ In the islands of Saparoea, Haroekoe, and Noessa Laut the midwife buries the afterbirth and strews flowers over it. Sometimes, however, in these islands it is solemnly buried in the sea. Being placed in a pot and closely covered up with a piece of white cotton, it is taken out to sea in a boat. A hole is knocked in the pot to allow it to sink in the water. The man who is charged with the task of heaving the pot and its contents overboard must keep looking straight ahead; if he were to glance to the right or left the child whose afterbirth is in the pot would be sure to squint. And the man who rows or steers the boat must make her keep a straight course; otherwise the child would grow up a gad-about.⁴ Among some tribes of Western Australia it is thought that a man swims well or ill, according as his mother at his birth threw the navel-string into water or not.⁵ In Rhenish Bavaria the navel-string is kept for a while wrapt up in a piece of old linen, and then cut or pricked to pieces according as the child is a boy

¹ H. Ris, "De onderafdeeling Klein Mandalling Oeloe en Pahantan en hare Bevolking met uitzondering van de Oeloes," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xvi. (1896), p. 504.

² A. L. Heyting, "Beschrijving der onder-afldeeling Groot-Mandeling en Batang-Natal," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, xiv. (1897), p. 292.

³ J. G. F. Riedel, *Der sluck en kras-sarige rassen tuschen Selebes en Papua*, p. 354.

⁴ Van Schmid, "Aanteekeninge opens de zeden, gewoonten en gebruiken, benevens de roornsteden en bijgelooigheden der bevolking van de eilanden Saparoea, Haroekoe, Noessa Laut," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1843, dl. ii. p. 523 sq.

⁵ G. F. Moore, *Descriptive Vocabulary of the Language in Common Use amongst the Aborigines of Western Australia*, p. 9 (published along with the author's *Diary of Ten Years' Eventful Life of an Early Settler in Western Australia*, Lond.¹ 1884, but paged separately).¹⁻¹¹

or girl, in order that he or she may grow up to be a skilful workman or a good sempstress.¹ In ancient Mexico they used to give a boy's navel-string to soldiers, to be buried by them on a field of battle, in order that the boy might thus acquire a passion for war. But the navel-string of a girl was buried beside the domestic hearth, because this was believed to inspire her with a love of home and a taste for cooking and baking.² Among the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia the afterbirth of girls is buried at high-water mark, in the belief that this will render them expert at digging for clam. The afterbirth of boys is sometimes exposed at places where ravens will eat it, because the boys will thus acquire the raven's prophetic vision. The same Indians are persuaded that the navel-string may be the means of imparting a variety of accomplishments to its original owner. Thus, if it is fastened to a dancing mask, which is then worn by a skilful dancer, the child will dance well. If it is attached to a knife, which is then used by a cunning carver, the child will carve well. Again, if the parents wish their son to sing beautifully, they tie his navel-string to the baton of a singing master. Then the boy calls on the singing master every morning while the artist is eating his breakfast. The votary of the Muses thereupon takes his baton and moves it twice down the right side and twice down the left side of the boy's body, after which he gives the lad some of his breakfast. That is an infallible way of making the boy a beautiful singer.³ These examples bring out very clearly the belief that the afterbirth and navel-string remain through life, or at least for some considerable time, in sympathetic connection with the child, and that whatever is done to them produces a corresponding effect for good or ill on him or her. Thus the magic practised on them is sympathetic in the strict sense, for it rests on the principle that what is done to a thing affects simultaneously a person with whom the thing was formerly in contact. But in several of the instances the magic is

¹ *Boeckler, Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, iv. 2, p. 346.

² Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle Espagne*, p. 319, compare pp. 24

³ Fr. Boas, in *Eleventh Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 5 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1896*).

mimetic as well as sympathetic, since that which is done to the thing is in a way a copy of what the person is expected to do. We can now understand why the navel-string of the King of Uganda is preserved with the greatest care all through his life. It is wrapt in cloth, and the wrappers increase in number as the king grows from infancy to manhood, until it assumes the appearance of a human figure swathed in cloth. The official who has charge of it is one of the highest ministers of state, and it is his duty from time to time to present the precious bundle to the king.¹

A curious application of the doctrine of sympathy is the relation commonly believed to exist between a wounded man and the agent of the wound, so that whatever is subsequently done by or to the agent must correspondingly affect the patient either for good or evil. Thus Pliny tells us that if you have wounded a man and are sorry for it, you have only to spit on the hand that gave the wound, and the pain of the sufferer will be instantly alleviated.² In Melanesia, if a man's friends get possession of the arrow which wounded him, they keep it in a damp place or in cool leaves, for then the inflammation will be trifling and will soon subside. Meantime the enemy who shot the arrow is hard at work to aggravate the wound by all means in his power. For this purpose he and his friends drink hot and burning juices and chew irritating leaves, for this will clearly inflame and irritate the wound. Further, they keep the bow near the fire to make the wound which it has inflicted hot; and for the same reason they put the arrow-head, if it has been recovered, into the fire. Moreover, they are careful to keep the bow-string taut and to twang it occasionally, for this will cause the wounded man to suffer from tension of the nerves and spasms of tetanus.³ Similarly when a Kwakiutl Indian of British Columbia had bitten a piece out of an enemy's arm, he used to drink hot water afterwards for the purpose of thereby inflaming the wound in his foe's

¹ I am indebted for this information to my friend the Rev. John Rowse, of the Church Missionary Society, missionary in Uganda.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 36.

³ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1906), p. 310.

body.¹ Among the Lkungen Indians of the same region it is a rule that an arrow, or any other weapon that has wounded a man, must be hidden by his friends, who have to be careful not to bring it near the fire till the wound is healed. If a knife or an arrow which is still covered with a man's blood were thrown into the fire, the wounded man would grow very ill.² "It is constantly received and avouched," says Bacon, "that the anointing of the weapon that maketh the wound will heal the wound itself. In this experiment, upon the relation of men of credit (though myself, as yet, am not fully inclined to believe it), you shall note the points following: first, the ointment wherewith this is done is made of divers ingredients, whereof the strangest and hardest to come by are the moss upon the skull of a dead man unburied, and the fats of a boar and a bear killed in the act of generation." The precious ointment compounded out of these and other ingredients was applied, as the philosopher explains, not to the wound but to the weapon, and that even though the injured man was at a great distance and knew nothing about it. The experiment, he tells us, had been tried of wiping the ointment off the weapon without the knowledge of the person hurt, with the result that he was presently in a great rage of pain until the weapon was anointed again. Moreover, "it is affirmed that if you cannot get the weapon, yet if you put an instrument of iron or wood resembling the weapon into the wound, whereby it bleedeth, the anointing of that instrument will serve and work the effect."³ Remedies of the sort which Bacon deemed worthy of his attention are still in vogue in Suffolk. If a man cuts himself with a bill-hook or a scythe he always takes care to keep the weapon bright, and oils it to prevent the wound from festering. If he runs a thorn or, as he calls it, a bush into

¹ Fr. Boas, "The social organization and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895*, p. 440.

² Fr. Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 25 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1896*).

³ Francis Bacon, *Natural History*,

cent. x. § 998. Compare Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, iii. 305, quoting Werchella. In Dryden's play *The Tempest* (Act v. Scene 1) Ariel directs Prospero to anoint the sword which wounded Hippolito and to wrap it up close from the air. See Dryden's *Works*, ed. Scott, vol. iii, p. 191 (first edition).

his hand, he oils or greases the extracted thorn. A man came to a doctor with an inflamed hand, having run a thorn into it while he was hedging. On being told that the hand was festering, he remarked, "That didn't ought to, for I greased the hush well arter I pulled it out." If a horse wounds its foot by treading on a nail, a Suffolk groom will invariably preserve the nail, clean it, and grease it every day, to prevent the foot from festering. Arguing in the same way, a Suffolk woman, whose sister had burnt her face with a flat-iron, observed that "the face would never heal till the iron had been put out of the way; and even if it did heal, it would be sure to break out again every time the iron was heated."¹ Similarly in the Harz mountains they say that if you cut yourself, you ought to smear the knife or the scissors with fat and put the instrument away in a dry place in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. As the knife dries, the wound heals.² Other people, however, in Germany say that you should stick the knife in some damp place in the ground, and that your hurt will heal as the knife rusts.³ Others again, in Bavaria, recommend you to smear the axe or whatever it is with blood and put it under the eaves.⁴

The train of reasoning which thus commends itself to English and German rustics, in common with the savages of Melanesia and America, is carried a step further by the aborigines of Central Australia, who conceive that under certain circumstances the near relations of a wounded man must grease themselves, restrict their diet, and regulate their behaviour in other ways in order to ensure his recovery. Thus when a lad has been circumcised and the wound is not yet healed, his mother may not eat opossum, or a certain kind of lizard, or carpet snake, or any kind of fat, for otherwise she would retard the healing of the boy's

¹ W. W. Groome, "Suffolk Leechcraft," *Folklore*, vi. (1895), p. 126. Cf. *County Folklore: Suffolk*, edited by Lady E. C. Gordon, p. 255. A like belief and practice occur in Sussex (C. Latham, "West Sussex Superstitions," *Folklore Record*, i. 435f.). See further E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus*, ii. 169-172.

² H. Prühle, *Harzblätter* (Leipzig,

1855), p. 82.

³ J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, i. p. 225, § 282.

⁴ *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, iv. 1. p. 223. A further recommendation is to stroke the wound or the instrument with a twig of an ash-tree and then keep the twig in a dark place.

wound. Every day she greases her digging-sticks and never lets them out of her sight; at night she sleeps with them close to her head. No one is allowed to touch them. Every day also she rubs her body all over with grease, as in some way this is believed to help her son's recovery.¹ Another refinement of the same principle is due to the ingenuity of the German peasant. It is said that when one of his beasts breaks its leg, a Hessian farmer will bind up the broken leg of a chair or table with bandages and splints in due form. For nine days thereafter the bandaged chair-leg or table-leg may not be touched or moved. Then the animal that was lame will be whole again.² In this last case it is clear that we have passed wholly out of the region of sympathetic magic in the strict sense and into the region of imitative magic; the chair-leg, which is treated instead of the beast's leg, in no sense belongs to the animal, and the application of bandages to it is a mere simulation of the treatment which a more rational surgery would bestow on the real patient.

The sympathetic connection supposed to exist between a man and the weapon which has wounded him is probably founded on the notion that the blood on the weapon continues to feel with the blood in his body. Strained and unnatural as this idea may seem to us, it is perhaps less so than the belief that magic sympathy is maintained between a person and his clothes, so that whatever is done to the clothes will be felt by the man himself, even though he may be far away at the time. In the Wotjobaluk tribe of Victoria a wizard would sometimes get hold of a man's opossum rug and tie it up with some small spindle-shaped pieces of casuarina wood, on which he had made certain marks, such as likenesses of his victim and of a poisonous snake. This bundle he would then roast slowly in the fire, and as he did so the man who had owned the opossum rug would fall sick. If the patient suspected what was happening, he would send to the wizard and beg him to let him have the rug back. If the wizard consented, * he would

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 250.

² W. Kolbe, *Heidliche Volks-Sitten und Gebräuche im Lichte der heidnischen Vorzeit* (Münch., 1888), p. 87.

give the thing back, telling the sick man's friends to put it in water, so as to wash the fire out." In such cases, we are told, the sick man would feel cooled and would most likely recover.¹ In Tanna, one of the New Hebrides, a man who had a grudge at another and desired his death would try to get possession of a cloth which had touched the sweat of his enemy's body. If he succeeded, he rubbed the cloth carefully over with the leaves and twigs of a certain tree, rolled and bound cloth, twigs, and leaves into a long sausage-shaped bundle, and burned it slowly in the fire. As the bundle was consumed, the victim fell ill, and when it was reduced to ashes, he died.² In this last form of enchantment, however, the magical sympathy may be supposed to exist not so much between the man and the cloth as between the man and the sweat which issued from his body. But in other cases of the same sort it seems that the garment by itself is enough to give the sorcerer a hold upon his victim. The witch in Theocritus, while she melted a waxen image of her faithless lover in order that he might melt with love of her, did not forget to throw into the fire a shred of his cloak which he had dropped in her house.³ In Prussia they say that if you cannot catch a thief the next best thing you can do is to get hold of a garment which he may have shed in his flight; for if you beat it soundly, the thief will fall sick. This belief is firmly rooted in the popular mind. Some sixty or seventy years ago, in the neighbourhood of Berend, a man was detected trying to steal honey, and fled leaving his coat behind him. When he heard that the enraged owner of the honey was mauling his lost coat, he was so alarmed that he took to his bed and died.⁴

These examples may suffice to illustrate the general principles of sympathetic magic both in the wider and

¹ A. W. Howitt, "On Australian medicine men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887), p. 28 sq.

² B. T. Somerville, "Notes on some islands of the New Hebrides," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1894), p. 19.

³ Theocritus, *Id.* iv. 53 sq. Similarly the witch in Virgil (*Ecl.* viii. 92 sqq.)

buries under her threshold certain personal relics (*amulets*) which her lover had left behind.

⁴ Tettau und Tenime, *Folktales of Ostpreussen, Lithauen und Westpreussen* (Berlin, 1837), p. 263 sq. For more evidence of the same sort, see E. S. Hartland, *Legend of Perseus*, li. 86 sqq.

the narrower sense of the term. In a few of the cases cited we have seen that the operation of spirits is assumed, and that an attempt is made to win their favour by prayer and sacrifice. But these cases are exceptional; they exhibit magic tinged and alloyed with religion. Wherever sympathetic magic occurs in its pure unadulterated form, it assumes that in nature one event follows another necessarily and invariably without the intervention of any spiritual or personal agency. Thus its fundamental conception is identical with that of modern science; underlying the whole system is a faith, implicit but real and firm, in the order and uniformity of nature. The magician does not doubt that the same causes will always produce the same effects, that the performance of the proper ceremony, accompanied by the appropriate spell, will inevitably be attended by the desired results, unless, indeed, his incantations should chance to be thwarted and foiled by the more potent charms of another sorcerer. He supplicates no higher power; he sues the favour of no fickle and wayward being; he abases himself before no awful deity. Yet his power, great as he believes it to be, is by no means arbitrary and unlimited. He can wield it only so long as he strictly conforms to the rules of his art, or to what may be called the laws of nature as conceived by him. To neglect these rules, to break these laws in the smallest particular is to incur failure, and may even expose the unskilful practitioner himself to the utmost peril. If he claims a sovereignty over nature, it is a constitutional sovereignty rigorously limited in its scope and exercised in exact conformity with ancient usage. Thus the analogy between the magical and the scientific conceptions of the world is close. In both of them the succession of events is perfectly regular and certain, being determined by immutable laws, the operation of which can be foreseen and calculated precisely; the elements of caprice, of chance, and of accident are banished from the course of nature. Both of them open up a seemingly boundless vista of possibilities to him who knows the causes of things and can touch the secret springs that set in motion the vast and intricate mechanism of the world. Hence the strong attraction which magic and science alike have exercised on the

human mind; hence the powerful stimulus that both have given to the pursuit of knowledge. They lure the weary inquirer, the footsore seeker, on through the wilderness of disappointment in the present by their endless promises of the future; they take him up to the top of an exceeding high mountain and show him, beyond the dark clouds and rolling mists at his feet, a vision of the celestial city, far off, it may be, but radiant with unearthly splendour, bathed in the light of dreams.

The fatal flaw of magic lies not in its general assumption of a succession of events determined by law, but in its total misconception of the nature of the particular laws which govern that succession. If we analyse the various cases of sympathetic magic which have been passed in review in the preceding pages, and which may be taken as fair samples of the bulk, we shall find them to be all mistaken applications of one or other of two great fundamental laws of thought, namely, the association of ideas by similarity and the association of ideas by contiguity in space or time.¹ A mistaken association of similar ideas produces imitative or mimetic magic; a mistaken association of contiguous ideas produces sympathetic magic in the narrower sense of the word. The principles of association are excellent in themselves, and indeed absolutely essential to the working of the human mind. Legitimately applied they yield science; illegitimately applied they yield magic, the bastard sister of science. It is therefore a truism, almost a tautology, to say that all magic is necessarily false and barren; for were it ever to become true and fruitful, it would no longer be magic but science. From the earliest times man has been engaged in a search for general rules whereby to turn the order of natural phenomena to his own advantage, and in the long search he has scraped together a great hoard of such maxims, some of them golden and some of them mere dross. The true or golden rules constitute the body of applied science which we call the arts; the false are magic.

If magic is thus next of kin to science, we have still to inquire how it stands related to religion. But the view we take of that relation will necessarily be coloured by the idea

¹ Compare E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,² i. 715 seq.

which we have formed of the nature of religion itself; hence a writer may reasonably be expected to define his conception of religion before he proceeds to investigate its relation to magic. There is probably no subject in the world about which opinions differ so much as the nature of religion, and to frame a definition of it which would satisfy every one must obviously be impossible. All that a writer can do is, first, to say clearly what he means by religion, and afterwards to employ the word consistently in that sense throughout his work. By religion, then, I understand a propitiation or conciliation of powers superior to man which are believed to direct and control the course of nature and of human life. In this sense it will readily be perceived that religion is opposed in principle both to magic and to science. For all conciliation implies that the being conciliated is a conscious or personal agent, that his conduct is in some measure uncertain, and that he can be prevailed upon to vary it in the desired direction by a judicious appeal to his interests, his appetites, or his emotions. Conciliation is never employed towards things which are regarded as inanimate, nor towards persons whose behaviour in the particular circumstances is known to be determined with absolute certainty. Thus in so far as religion assumes the world to be directed by conscious agents who may be turned from their purpose by persuasion, it stands in fundamental antagonism to magic as well as to science, both of which take for granted that the course of nature is determined, not by the passions or caprice of personal beings, but by the operation of immutable laws acting mechanically.¹ In magic, indeed, the assumption is only implicit, but in science it is explicit. It is true that magic often deals with spirits, which are personal agents of the kind assumed by religion; but whenever it does so in its proper form, it treats them exactly in the same fashion

¹ The opposition of principle between magic and religion is well brought out by Sir A. C. Lyall in his *Asiatic Studies*, First Series (London, 1890), i. 99 *seq.* It is also insisted on by Mr. F. B. Jevons in his *Introduction to the History of Religion* (London, 1896). The distinction is clearly apprehended and sharply main-

tained by Professor H. Oldenberg in his notable book *Die Religion des Veda* (Berlin, 1894); see especially pp. 58 *sq.*, 311 *seq.*, 476 *seq.* When I wrote this book originally I failed to realise the extent of the opposition, because I had not formed a clear general conception of the nature of religion, and was disposed to class magic loosely under it.

as it treats inanimate agents—that is, it constrains or coerces instead of conciliating or propitiating them as religion would do. In ancient Egypt, for example, the magicians claimed the power of compelling even the highest gods to do their bidding, and actually threatened them with destruction in case of disobedience.¹ Similarly in India at the present day the great Hindoo trinity itself of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva is subject to the sorcerers, who, by means of their spells, exercise such an ascendancy over the mightiest deities, that these are bound submissively to execute on earth below, or in heaven above, whatever commands their masters the magicians may please to issue.² This radical conflict of principle between magic and religion sufficiently explains the relentless hostility with which in history the priest has often pursued the magician. The haughty self-sufficiency of the magician, his arrogant demeanour towards the higher powers, and his unabashed claim to exercise a sway like theirs could not but revolt the priest, to whom, with his awful sense of the divine majesty, and his humble prostration in presence of it, such claims and such a demeanour must have appeared an impious and blasphemous usurpation of prerogatives that belong to God alone. And sometimes, we may suspect, lower motives concurred to whet the edge of the priest's hostility. He professed to be the proper medium, the true intercessor between God and man, and no doubt his interests as well as his feelings were often injured by a rival practitioner, who preached a surer and smoother road to fortune than the rugged and slippery path of divine favour.

Yet this antagonism, familiar as it is to us, seems to have made its appearance comparatively late in the history of religion. At an earlier stage the functions of priest and sorcerer were often combined or, to speak perhaps more correctly, were not yet differentiated from each other. To serve his purpose man wooed the good-will of gods or spirits by prayer and sacrifice, while at the same time he had recourse to ceremonies and forms of words which he

¹ A. Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Ägypter* (Münster i. W., 1860), pp. 142-145, 148; G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient clas-*

sique: les origines (Paris, 1895), p. 212 sq.

² Dubois, *Allores, institutions et croyances des peuples de l'Inde*, li. 60 sqq.

hoped would of themselves bring about the desired result without the help of god or devil. In short, he performed religious and magical rites simultaneously; he uttered prayers and incantations almost in the same breath, knowing or recking little of the theoretical inconsistency of his behaviour, so long as by hook or crook he contrived to get what he wanted. Instances of this fusion or confusion of magic with religion have already met us in the practices of Melanesians and of some East Indian islanders.¹ So far as the Melanesians are concerned, the general confusion cannot be better described than in the words of Dr. R. H. Codrington:—"That invisible power which is believed by the natives to cause all such effects as transcend their conception of the regular course of nature, and to reside in spiritual beings, whether in the spiritual part of living men or in the ghosts of the dead, being imparted by them to their names and to various things that belong to them, such as stones, snakes, and indeed objects of all sorts, is that generally known as *mana*. Without some understanding of this it is impossible to understand the religious beliefs and practices of the Melanesians; and this again is the active force in all they do and believe to be done in magic, white or black. By means of this men are able to control or direct the forces of nature, to make rain or sunshine, wind or calm, to cause sickness or remove it, to know what is far off in time and space, to bring good luck and prosperity, or to blast and curse." "By whatever name it is called, it is the belief in this supernatural power, and in the efficacy of the various means by which spirits and ghosts can be induced to exercise it for the benefit of men, that is the foundation of the rites and practices which can be called religious; and it is from the same belief that everything which may be called Magic and Witchcraft draws its origin. Wizards, doctors, weather-mongers, prophets, diviners, dreamers, all alike, everywhere in the islands, work by this power. There are many of these who may be said to exercise their art as a profession; they get their property and influence in this way. Every considerable village or settlement is sure to have some one who can control the weather and the waves, some one who knows how to treat sickness,

¹ See above, pp. 19, 33, 45.

some one who can work mischief with various charms. There may be one whose skill extends to all these branches; but generally one man knows how to do one thing, and one another. This various knowledge is handed down from father to son, from uncle to sister's son, in the same way as is the knowledge of the rites and methods of sacrifice and prayer; and very often the same man who knows the sacrifice knows also the making of the weather, and of charms for many purposes besides. But as there is no order of priests, there is also no order of magicians or medicine-men. Almost every man of consideration knows how to approach some ghost or spirit, and has some secret of occult practices."¹

The same confusion of magic and religion has survived among peoples that have risen to higher levels of culture. It was rife in ancient India and ancient Egypt; it is by no means extinct among European peasantry at the present day. With regard to ancient India we are told by an eminent Sanscrit scholar that "the sacrificial ritual at the earliest period of which we have detailed information is pervaded with practices that breathe the spirit of the most primitive magic."² Again, the same writer observes that "the ritual of the very sacrifices for which the metrical prayers were composed is described in the other Vedic texts as saturated from beginning to end with magical practices which were to be carried out by the sacrificial priests." In particular he tells us that the rites celebrated on special occasions, such as marriage, initiation, and the anointment of a king, "are complete models of magic of every kind, and in every case the forms of magic employed bear the stamp of the highest antiquity."³ Speaking of the importance of magic in the East, and especially in Egypt, Professor Maspero remarks that "we ought not to attach to the word magic the degrading idea which it almost inevitably calls up in the mind of a modern. Ancient magic was the very foundation of religion. The faithful who desired to obtain some favour

¹ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 191 ff.

² *Ibid.* p. 477. For particular examples of the blending of magical with religious ritual in ancient India see pp. 311 *seq.*, 369 *seq.*, 476 *seq.*, 522 *seq.* of the same work.

³ H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 59.

from a god had no chance of succeeding except by laying hands on the deity, and this arrest could only be effected by means of a certain number of rites, sacrifices, prayers, and chants, which the god himself had revealed, and which obliged him to do what was demanded of him."¹ According to another distinguished Egyptologist "the belief that there are words and actions by which man can influence all the powers of nature and all living things, from animals up to gods, was inextricably interwoven with everything the Egyptians did and everything they left undone. Above all, the whole system of burial and of the worship of the dead is completely dominated by it. The wooden puppets which relieved the dead man from toil, the figures of the maid-servants who baked bread for him, the sacrificial formulas by the recitation of which food was procured for him, what are these and all the similar practices but magic? And as men cannot help themselves without magic, so neither can the gods; the gods also wear amulets to protect themselves, and use magic spells to constrain each other."² But though we can perceive the union of discrepant elements in the faith and practice of the ancient Egyptians, it would be rash to assume that the people themselves did so. "Egyptian religion," says Professor Wiedemann, "was not one and homogeneous; it was compounded of the most heterogeneous elements, which seemed to the Egyptian to be all equally justified. He did not care whether a doctrine or a myth belonged to what, in modern scholastic phraseology, we should call faith or superstition; it was indifferent to him whether we should rank it as religion or magic, as worship or sorcery. All such classifications were foreign to the Egyptian. To him no one doctrine seemed more or less justified than another. Nay, he went so far as to allow the most flagrant contradictions to stand peaceably side by side."³

Among the ignorant classes of modern Europe the same confusion of ideas, the same mixture of religion and magic, crops up in various forms. Thus we are told that in France

¹ G. Maspero, *Études de mythologie et d'archéologie égyptiennes* (Paris, 1893), i. 106.

² A. Erman, *Ägypten und ägypt-*

isches Leben im Altertum, p. 471.

³ A. Wiedemann, "Ein ägyptischer Weltschöpfungsmythos," *Am Uryssli*, N.F., ii. (1898), p. 95 ff.

"the majority of the peasants still believe that the priest possesses a secret and irresistible power over the elements. By reciting certain prayers which he alone knows and has the right to utter, yet for the utterance of which he must afterwards demand absolution, he can, on an occasion of pressing danger, arrest or reverse for a moment the action of the eternal laws of the physical world. The winds, the storms, the hail, and the rain are at his command and obey his will. The fire also is subject to him, and the flames of a conflagration are extinguished at his word."¹ For example, French peasants used to be, perhaps are still, persuaded that the priests could celebrate, with certain special rites, a "Mass of the Holy Spirit," of which the efficacy was so miraculous that it never met with any opposition from the divine will; God was forced to grant whatever was asked of Him in this form, however rash and importunate might be the petition. No idea of impiety or irreverence attached to the rite in the minds of those who, in some of the great extremities of life, sought by this singular means to take the kingdom of heaven by storm. The secular priests generally refused to say the "Mass of the Holy Spirit"; but the monks, especially the Capuchin friars, had the reputation of yielding with less scruple to the entreaties of the anxious and distressed.² In the constraint thus supposed by Catholic peasantry to be laid by the priest upon the deity we seem to have an exact counterpart of the power which, as we saw, the ancient Egyptians ascribed to their magicians.³ Again, to take another example, in many villages of Provence the priest is still reputed to possess the faculty of averting storms. It is not every priest who enjoys this reputation; and in some villages when a change of pastors takes place, the parishioners are eager to learn whether the new incumbent has the power (*pouder*), as they call it. At the first sign of a heavy storm they put him to the proof by inviting him to exorcise the threatening clouds; and if the result answers to their hopes, the new shepherd is assured of the sympathy and respect of his flock. In some parishes, where

¹ J. Lecheux, *Esquisses du Bocage normanno et montoisilleure* (Paris and Rouen, 1845), p. 308.

² Amélie Boquet, *La Normandie*

³ See above, p. 64.

the reputation of the curate in this respect stood higher than that of his rector, the relations between the two have been so strained in consequence, that the bishop has had to translate the rector to another benefice.¹ Again, Gascon peasants believe that to revenge themselves on their enemies bad men will sometimes induce a priest to say a mass called the Mass of Saint Sécaire. Very few priests know this mass, and three-fourths of those who do know it would not say it for love or money. None but wicked priests dare to perform the gruesome ceremony, and you may be quite sure that they will have a very heavy account to render for it at the last day. No curate or bishop, not even the archbishop of Auch, can pardon them; that right belongs to the pope of Rome alone. The Mass of Saint Sécaire may be said only in a ruined or deserted church, where owls mope and hoot, where bats flit in the gloaming, where gypsies lodge of nights, and where toads squat under the desecrated altar. Thither the bad priest comes by night with his light o' love, and at the first stroke of eleven he begins to mumble the mass backwards, and ends just as the clocks are knelling the midnight hour. His leman acts as clerk. The host he blesses is black and has three points; he consecrates no wine, but instead he drinks the water of a well into which the body of an unbaptized infant has been flung. He makes the sign of the cross, but it is on the ground and with his left foot. And many other things he does which no good Christian could look upon without being struck blind and deaf and dumb for the rest of his life. But the man for whom the mass is said withers away little by little, and nobody can say what is the matter with him; even the doctors can make nothing of it. They do not know that he is slowly dying of the Mass of Saint Sécaire.²

Yet though magic is thus found to fuse and amalgamate with religion in many ages and in many lands, there are some grounds for thinking that this fusion is not primitive,

¹ L. J. B. Bérenger-Féraud, *Superstitions et merveilles* (Paris, 1896), L. 455 sq., iii. 217 sq., 222 sq. Compare *id.*, *Reminiscences populaires de la Provence* (Paris, 1885), p. 288 sq.; D. Monnier, *Traditions popu-*

laires comparées (Paris, 1854), p. 31 sqq.

² J. F. Bladé, *Quatorze Superstitions Populaires de la Gascogne* (Agen, 1883), p. 16 sq.

and that there was a time when man trusted to magic alone for the satisfaction of such wants as transcended his immediate animal cravings. In the first place a consideration of the fundamental notions of magic and religion may incline us to surmise that magic is older than religion in the history of humanity. We have seen that on the one hand magic is nothing but a mistaken application of the very simplest and most elementary processes of the mind, namely the association of ideas by virtue of resemblance or contiguity; and on the other hand that religion assumes the operation of conscious or personal agents, superior to man, behind the visible screen of nature. Obviously the conception of personal agents is more complex than a simple recognition of the similarity or contiguity of ideas; and a theory which assumes that the course of nature is determined by conscious agents is more abstruse and recondite, and requires for its apprehension a far higher degree of intelligence and reflection than the view that things succeed each other simply by reason of their contiguity or resemblance. The very beasts associate the ideas of things that are like each other or that have been found together in their experience; and they could hardly survive for a day if they ceased to do so. But who attributes to the animals a belief that the phenomena of nature are worked by a multitude of invisible animals or by one enormous and prodigiously strong animal behind the scenes? It is probably no injustice to the brutes to assume that the honour of devising a theory of this latter sort must be reserved for human reason. Thus, if magic be deduced immediately from elementary processes of reasoning, and be, in fact, an error into which the mind falls almost spontaneously, while religion rests on conceptions which the merely animal intelligence can hardly be supposed to have yet attained to, it becomes probable that magic arose before religion in the evolution of our race, and that man essayed to bend nature to his wishes by the sheer force of spells and enchantments before he strove to coax and mollify a coy, capricious, or irascible deity by the soft insinuation of prayer and sacrifice.

The conclusion which we have thus reached deductively from a consideration of the fundamental ideas of religion and

magic is confirmed inductively by what we know of the lowest existing race of mankind. To the student who investigates the development of vegetable and animal life on our globe, Australia serves as a sort of museum of the past, a region in which strange species of plants and animals, representing types that have long been extinct elsewhere, may still be seen living and thriving, as if on purpose to satisfy the curiosity of these later ages as to the fauna and flora of the antique world. This singularity Australia owes to the comparative smallness of its area, the waterless and desert character of a large part of its surface, and its remote situation, severed by wide oceans from the other and greater continents. For these causes, by concurring to restrict the number of competitors in the struggle for existence, have mitigated the fierceness of the struggle itself; and thus many a quaint old-fashioned creature, many an antediluvian oddity, which would long ago have been rudely elbowed and hustled out of existence in more progressive countries, has been suffered to jog quietly along in this preserve of Nature's own, this peaceful garden, where the hand on the dial of time seems to move more slowly than in the noisy bustling world outside. And the same causes which have favoured the survival of antiquated types of plants and animals in Australia, have conserved the aboriginal race at a lower level of mental and social development than is now occupied by any other set of human beings spread over an equal area elsewhere. Without metals, without houses, without agriculture, the Australian savages represent the stage of material culture which was reached by our remote ancestors in the Stone Age; and the rudimentary state of the arts of life among them reflects faithfully the stunted condition of their minds. - Now in regard to the question of the respective priority of magic or religion in the evolution of thought, it is very important to observe that among these rude savages, while magic is universally practised, religion in the sense of a propitiation or conciliation of the higher powers seems to be nearly unknown. Roughly speaking, all men in Australia are magicians, but not one is a priest; everybody fancies he can influence his fellows or the course of nature by sympathetic magic, but nobody dreams of pro-

pituitating gods or spirits by prayer and sacrifice.¹ "It may be truly affirmed," says a recent writer on the Australians, "that there was not a solitary native who did not believe as firmly in the power of sorcery as in his own existence; and while anybody could practise it to a limited extent, there were in every community a few men who excelled in pretension to skill in the art. The titles of these magicians varied with the community, but by unanimous consent the

¹ In the south-eastern parts of Australia, where the conditions of life in respect of climate, water, and vegetation are more favourable than elsewhere, some faint beginnings of religion appear in the shape of a slight regard for the comfort of departed friends. Thus some Victorian tribes are said to have kindled fires near the bodies of their dead in order to warm the ghost, but "the recent custom of providing food for it is derided by the intelligent old aborigines as 'white fellow's gummon'" (J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 50 *sq.*). Some tribes in this south-eastern region are further reported to believe in a supreme spirit, who is regarded sometimes as a benevolent, but more frequently as a malevolent being (A. W. Howitt in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884), p. 191). Brewin, the supreme being of the Kurnai, was at first identified by two intelligent members of the tribe with Jesus Christ, but on further reflection they thought he must be the devil (L. Fison and A. W. Howitt, *Kauilari and Kurnai*, p. 255). But whether viewed as gods or devils, it does not seem that these spirits were ever worshipped. See A. W. Howitt in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884), p. 459. It is worth observing that in the same districts which thus exhibit the germs of religion, the organisation of society and the family has also made the greatest advance. The cause is probably the same in both cases, namely a more plentiful supply of food due to the greater fertility of the soil. See A. W. Howitt in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xviii. (1889), p. 32 *sq.* On the other hand, in the

barren and barren regions of Central Australia, where magic attains its highest importance, religion seems to be entirely wanting. See Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*. The traces of a higher faith in Australia, where they occur, are probably sometimes due to European influence. "I am strongly of opinion," says one who knew the aborigines well, "that those who have written to show that the blacks had some knowledge of God, practised prayer, and believed in places of reward and punishment beyond the grave, have been imposed upon, and that until they had learnt something of Christianity from missionaries and others, the blacks had no beliefs or practices of the sort. Having heard the missionaries, however, they were not slow to invent what I may call kindred statements with aboriginal accessories, with a view to please and surprise the whites" (E. M. Carr, *The Australian Race*, i. 45). Sometimes too the reported belief of the natives in a Great or Good Spirit may rest merely on a misunderstanding. Mr. Loimster Fison informs me (in a letter dated 3rd June 1899) that a German missionary, Mr. Siebert, resident in the Dieri tribe of Central Australia, has ascertained that their Mura Mura, which Mr. Fison explained to be the Good Spirit (*Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 260), is nothing more or less than the ancestors in the "dream times." There are male and female Mura Mura—husbands, wives, and children—just as among the Dieri at the present day. Mr. Fison adds: "The more I learn about savage tribes the more I am convinced that among them the ancestors grow into gods."

whites have called them 'doctors,' and they correspond to the medicine-men and rain-makers of other barbarous nations. The power of the doctor is only circumscribed by the range of his fancy. He communes with spirits, takes aerial flights at pleasure, kills or cures, is invulnerable and invisible at will, and controls the elements."¹

But if in the most primitive state of human society now open to observation on the globe we find magic thus conspicuously present and religion conspicuously absent, may we not reasonably conjecture that the civilised races of the world have also at some period of their history passed through a similar intellectual phase, that they attempted to force the great powers of nature to do their pleasure before they thought of courting their favour by offerings and prayer—in short that, just as on the material side of human culture there has everywhere been an Age of Stone, so on the intellectual side there has everywhere been an Age of Magic?² There are reasons for answering this question in the affirmative. When we survey the existing races of mankind from Greenland to Tierra del Fuego, or from Scotland to Singapore, we observe that they are distinguished one from the other by a great variety of religions, and that these distinctions are not, so to speak, merely coterminous with the broad distinctions of race, but descend into the minuter subdivisions of states and commonwealths, nay, that they honeycomb the town, the village, and even the family, so that the surface of society all over the world is cracked and seamed, wormed and sapped with rents and fissures and yawning crevasses opened up by the disintegrating influence of religious dissension. Yet when we have penetrated through these differences, which affect mainly the intelligent and thoughtful part of the community, we shall find under-

¹ J. Mathew, *Engelshook and Cross*, p. 142. Similarly among the Fœrgians, another of the lowest races of mankind, almost every old man is a magician, who is supposed to have the power of life and death, and to be able to control the weather. But the members of the French scientific expedition to Cape Horn could detect nothing worthy the name of religion among these savages. See *Mission Scientifique du*

Cape Horn, vii. "Anthropologie, Ethnographie," par P. Hyades et J. Deniker (Paris, 1891), pp. 253-257.

² The suggestion has been made by Prof. H. Oldenberg (*Die Religion des Veda*, p. 59), who seems, however, to regard a belief in spirits as part of the raw material of magic. If the view which I have put forward tentatively is correct, faith in magic is probably older than a belief in spirits.

lying them all a solid stratum of intellectual agreement among the dull, the weak, the ignorant, and the superstitious, who constitute, unfortunately, the vast majority of mankind. One of the great achievements of the century which is now nearing its end is to have run shafts down into this low mental stratum in many parts of the world, and thus to have discovered its substantial identity everywhere. It is beneath our feet—and not very far beneath them—here in Europe at the present day, and it crops up on the surface in the heart of the Australian wilderness and wherever the advent of a higher civilisation has not crushed it under ground. This universal faith, this truly Catholic creed, is a belief in the efficacy of magic. While religious systems differ not only in different countries, but in the same country in different ages, the system of sympathetic magic remains everywhere and at all times substantially alike in its principles and practice. Among the ignorant and superstitious classes of modern Europe it is very much what it was thousands of years ago in Egypt and India, and what it now is among the lowest savages surviving in the remotest corners of the world. If the test of truth lay in a show of hands or a counting of heads, the system of magic might appeal, with far more reason than the Catholic Church, to the proud motto, "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,*" as the sure and certain credential of its own infallibility.

It is not our business here to consider what bearing the permanent existence of such a solid layer of savagery beneath the surface of society, and unaffected by the superficial changes of religion and culture, has upon the future of humanity. The dispassionate observer, whose studies have led him to plumb its depths, can hardly regard it otherwise than as a standing menace to civilisation. We seem to move on a thin crust which may at any moment be rent by the subterranean forces slumbering below. From time to time a hollow murmur underground or a sudden spurt of flame into the air tells of what is going on beneath our feet. Now and then the polite world is startled by a paragraph in a newspaper which tells how in Scotland an image has been found stuck full of pins for the purpose of killing an obnoxious laird or minister, how a woman has been slowly

roasted to death as a witch in Ireland, or how a girl has been murdered and chopped up in Russia to make those candles of human tallow by whose light thieves hope to pursue their midnight trade unseen.¹ But whether the influences that make for further progress, or those that threaten to undo what has already been accomplished, will ultimately prevail; whether the kinetic energy of the minority or the dead weight of the majority of mankind will prove the stronger force to carry us up to higher heights or to sink us into lower depths, are questions rather for the sage, the moralist, and the statesman, whose eagle vision scans the future, than for the humble student of the present and the past. Here we are only concerned to ask how far the uniformity, the universality, and the permanence of a belief in magic, compared with the endless variety and the shifting character of religious creeds, raises a presumption that the former represents a ruder and earlier phase of the human mind, through which all the races of mankind have passed or are passing on their way to religion and science.

If an Age of Religion has thus everywhere, as I venture to surmise, been preceded by an Age of Magic, it is natural that we should inquire what causes have led mankind, or rather a portion of them, to abandon magic as a principle of faith and practice and to betake themselves to religion instead. When we reflect upon the multitude, the variety, and the complexity of the facts to be explained, and the scantiness of our information regarding them, we shall be ready to acknowledge that a full and satisfactory solution of so profound a problem is hardly to be hoped for, and that the most we can do in the present state of our knowledge is to hazard a more or less plausible conjecture. With all due diffidence, then, I would suggest that a tardy recognition of the inherent falsehood and barrenness of magic set the more thoughtful part of mankind to cast about for a truer theory of nature and a more fruitful method of turning her resources to account. The shrewder intelligences must in time have come to perceive that magical

¹ See above, p. 17 *ap.*; "The Witch-burning at Clonmel," *Folklore*, vi. (1895), pp. 373-384; F. S. Krauss,

Folkgläub und religiöser Brauch der Sudeten, p. 144 *app.*

ceremonies and incantations did not really effect the results which they were designed to produce, and which the majority of their simpler fellows still believed that they did actually produce. This great discovery of the inefficacy of magic must have wrought a radical though probably slow revolution in the minds of those who had the sagacity to make it. The discovery amounted to this, that men for the first time recognised their inability to manipulate at pleasure certain natural forces which hitherto they had believed to be completely within their control. It was a confession of human ignorance and weakness. Man saw that he had taken for causes what were no causes, and that all his efforts to work by means of these imaginary causes had been vain. His painful toil had been wasted, his curious ingenuity had been squandered to no purpose. He had been pulling at strings to which nothing was attached ; he had been marching, as he thought, straight to his goal, while in reality he had only been treading in a narrow circle. Not that the effects which he had striven so hard to produce did not continue to manifest themselves. They were still produced, but not by him. The rain still fell on the thirsty ground ; the sun still pursued his daily, and the moon her nightly journey across the sky ; the silent procession of the seasons still moved in light and shadow, in cloud and sunshine across the earth ; men were still born to labour and sorrow, and still, after a brief sojourn here, were gathered to their fathers in the long home hereafter. All things indeed went on as before, yet all seemed different to him from whose eyes the old scales had fallen. For he could no longer cherish the pleasing illusion that it was he who guided the earth and the heaven in their courses, and that they would cease to perform their great revolutions were he to take his feeble hand from the wheel. In the death of his enemies and his friends he no longer saw a proof of the resistless potency of his own or of hostile enchantments ; he now knew that friends and foes alike had succumbed to a force stronger than any that he could wield, and in obedience to a destiny which he was powerless to control.

Thus cut adrift from his ancient moorings and left to toss on a troubled sea of doubt and uncertainty, his old

happy confidence in himself and his powers rudely shaken, our primitive philosopher must have been sadly perplexed and agitated till he came to rest, as in a quiet haven after a tempestuous voyage, in a new system of faith and practice, which seemed to offer a solution of his harassing doubts and a substitute, however precarious, for that sovereignty over nature which he had reluctantly abdicated. If the great world went on its way without the help of him or his fellows, it must surely be because there were other beings, like himself, but far stronger, who, unseen themselves, directed its course and brought about all the varied series of events which he had hitherto believed to be dependent on his own magic. It was they, as he now believed, and not he himself, who made the stormy wind to blow, the lightning to flash, and the thunder to roll; who had laid the foundations of the solid earth and set bounds to the restless sea that it might not pass; who caused all the glorious lights of heaven to shine; who gave the fowls of the air their meat and the wild beasts of the desert their prey; who bade the fruitful land to bring forth in abundance, the high hills to be clothed with forests, the bubbling springs to rise under the rocks in the valleys, and green pastures to grow by still waters; who breathed into man's nostrils and made him live, or turned him to destruction by famine and pestilence and war. To these mighty beings, whose handiwork he traced in all the gorgeous and varied pageantry of nature, man now addressed himself, humbly confessing his dependence on their invisible power, and beseeching them of their mercy to furnish him with all good things, to defend him from the perils and dangers by which our mortal life is compassed about on every hand, and finally to bring his immortal spirit, freed from the burden of the body, to some happier world beyond the reach of pain and sorrow, where he might rest with them and with the spirits of good men in joy and felicity for ever.

In this, or some such way as this, the deeper minds may be conceived to have made the great transition from magic to religion. But even in them the change can hardly ever have been sudden; probably it proceeded very slowly, and required long ages for its more or less perfect accomplish-

ment. For the recognition of man's powerlessness to influence the course of nature on a grand scale must have been gradual ; he cannot have been shorn of the whole of his fancied dominion at a blow. Step by step he must have been driven back from his proud position ; foot by foot he must have yielded, with a sigh, the ground which he had once viewed as his own. Now it would be the wind, now the rain, now the sunshine, now the thunder, that he confessed himself unable to wield at will ; and as province after province of nature thus fell from his grasp, till what had once seemed a kingdom threatened to shrink into a prison, man must have been more and more profoundly impressed with a sense of his own helplessness and the might of the invisible beings by whom he believed himself to be surrounded. Thus religion, beginning as a slight and partial acknowledgment of powers superior to man, tends with the growth of knowledge to deepen into a confession of man's entire and absolute dependence on the divine ; his old free bearing is exchanged for an attitude of lowliest prostration before the mysterious powers of the unseen. But this deepening sense of religion, this more perfect submission to the divine will in all things, affects only those higher intelligences who have breadth of view enough to comprehend the vastness of the universe and the littleness of man. Small minds cannot grasp great ideas ; to their narrow comprehension, their purblind vision, nothing seems really great and important but themselves. Such minds hardly rise into religion at all. They are, indeed, drilled by their betters into an outward conformity with its precepts and a verbal profession of its tenets ; but at heart they cling to their old magical superstitions, which may be discountenanced and forbidden, but cannot be eradicated by religion, so long as they have their roots deep down in the mental framework and constitution of the great majority of mankind.

The reader may well be tempted to ask, How was it that intelligent men did not sooner detect the fallacy of magic ? How could they continue to cherish expectations that were invariably doomed to disappointment ? With what heart persist in playing venerable antics that led to nothing, and mumbling solemn balderdash that remained without effect ?

Why cling to beliefs which were so flatly contradicted by experience? How dare to repeat experiments that had failed so often? The answer seems to be that the fallacy was far from easy to detect, the failure by no means obvious, since in many, perhaps in most cases, the desired event did actually follow, at a longer or shorter interval, the performance of the rite which was designed to bring it about; and a mind of more than common acuteness was needed to perceive that, even in these cases, the rite was not necessarily the cause of the event. A ceremony intended to make the wind blow or the rain fall, or to work the death of an enemy, will always be followed, sooner or later, by the occurrence it is meant to bring to pass; and primitive man may be excused for regarding the occurrence as a direct result of the ceremony, and the best possible proof of its efficacy. Similarly, rites observed in the morning to help the sun to rise, and in spring to wake the dreaming earth from her winter sleep, will invariably appear to be crowned with success, at least within the temperate zones; for in these regions the sun lights his golden fire in the east every morning, and year by year the vernal earth decks herself afresh with a rich mantle of green. Hence the practical savage, with his conservative instincts, might well turn a deaf ear to the subtleties of the theoretical doubter, the philosophic radical, who presumed to hint that sunrise and spring might not, after all, be direct consequences of the punctual performance of certain daily or yearly devotions, and that the sun might perhaps continue to rise and trees to blossom though the devotions were occasionally intermitted, or even discontinued altogether. These sceptical doubts would naturally be repelled by the other with scorn and indignation as airy reveries subversive of the faith, and manifestly contradicted by experience. "Can anything be plainer," he might say, "than that I light my twopenny candle on earth and that the sun then kindles his great fire in heaven? I should be glad to know whether, when I have put on my green robe in spring, the trees do not afterwards do the same? These are facts patent to everybody, and on them I take my stand. I am a plain practical man, not one of your theorists and splitters of hairs and choppers of logic. Theories and speculation and all that may be very well in

their way, and I have not the least objection to your indulging in them, provided, of course, you do not put them in practice. But give me leave to stick to facts ; then I know where I am." The fallacy of this reasoning is obvious to us, because it happens to deal with facts about which we have long made up our minds. But let an argument of precisely the same calibre be applied to matters which are still under debate, and it may be questioned whether a British audience would not applaud it as sound, and esteem the speaker who used it a safe man—not brilliant or showy, perhaps, but thoroughly sensible and hard-headed. If such reasonings could pass muster among ourselves, need we wonder that they long escaped detection by the savage?

The patient reader may remember—and the impatient reader who has quite forgotten is respectfully reminded—that we were led to plunge into the labyrinth of magic, in which we have wandered for so many pages, by a consideration of two different types of man-god. This is the clue which has guided our devious steps through the maze, and brought us out at last on higher ground, whence, resting a little by the way, we can look back over the path we have already traversed and forward to the longer and steeper road we have still to climb.

As a result of the foregoing discussion, the two types of human gods may conveniently be distinguished as the religious and the magical man-god respectively. In the former, a being of an order different from and superior to man is supposed to become incarnate, for a longer or a shorter time, in a human body, manifesting his superhuman power and knowledge by miracles wrought and prophecies uttered through the medium of the fleshly tabernacle in which he has deigned to take up his abode. This may also appropriately be called the inspired or incarnate type of man-god. In it the human body is merely a frail earthly vessel filled with a divine and immortal spirit. On the other hand, a man-god of the magical sort is nothing but a man who possesses in an unusually high degree powers which most of his fellows arrogate to themselves on a smaller scale ; for in rude society there is hardly a person who does not dabble in magic. Thus, whereas a man-god of the former or inspired type

derives his divinity from a deity who has stooped to hide his heavenly radiance behind a dull mask of earthly mould, a man-god of the latter type draws his extraordinary power from a certain physical sympathy with nature. He is not merely the receptacle of a divine spirit. His whole being, body and soul, is so delicately attuned to the harmony of the world that a touch of his hand or a turn of his head may send a thrill vibrating through the universal framework of things; and conversely his divine organism is acutely sensitive to such slight changes of environment as would leave ordinary mortals wholly unaffected. But the line between these two types of man-god, however sharply we may draw it in theory, is seldom to be traced with precision in practice, and in what follows I shall not insist on it.

To readers long familiarised with the conception of natural law, the belief of primitive man that he can rule the elements must be so foreign that it may be well to illustrate it by examples. When we have seen that in early society men who make no pretence at all of being gods, do nevertheless commonly believe themselves to be invested with powers which to us would seem supernatural, we shall have the less difficulty in comprehending the extraordinary range of powers ascribed to persons who are actually regarded as divine.

Of all natural phenomena there are, perhaps, none which civilised man feels himself more powerless to influence than the rain, the sun, and the wind; yet all these are commonly supposed by savages to be in some degree under their control.

In all countries where the deposit of moisture is uncertain and irregular, and where consequently vegetation and animals are liable to suffer either from prolonged droughts or excessive rains, man has attempted to regulate the heavenly water-supply to suit his own convenience. Such attempts are by no means confined, as the cultivated reader might imagine, to the naked inhabitants of those sultry lands like Central Australia and some parts of Eastern and Southern Africa, where often for months together the pitiless sun beats down out of a blue and cloudless sky on the parched and gaping earth. They are, or used to be, common enough among outwardly civilised folk in the moister climate of

Europe. The means adopted to compass the wished-for end is often imitative magic; the desired event is supposed to be produced by mimicking it. Thus, for example, in a village near Dorpat, in Russia, when rain was much wanted, three men used to climb up the fir-trees of an old sacred grove. One of them drummed with a hammer on a kettle or small cask to imitate thunder; the second knocked two fire-brands together and made the sparks fly, to imitate lightning; and the third, who was called "the rain-maker," had a bunch of twigs with which he sprinkled water from a vessel on all sides.¹ In Halmahera, or Gilolo, a large island to the west of New Guinea, a wizard makes rain by dipping a branch of a particular kind of tree in water and then scattering the moisture from the dripping bough over the ground.² In Ceram it is enough to dedicate the bark of a certain tree to the spirits, and lay it in water.³ In New Britain the rain-maker wraps some leaves of a red and green striped creeper in a banana-leaf, moistens the bundle with water, and buries it in the ground; then he imitates with his mouth the plashing of rain.⁴ Amongst the Omaha Indians of North America, when the corn is withering for want of rain, the members of the sacred Buffalo Society fill a large vessel with water and dance four times round it. One of them drinks some of the water and spirts it into the air, making a fine spray in imitation of a mist or drizzling rain. Then he upsets the vessel, spilling the water on the ground; whereupon the dancers fall down and drink up the water, getting mud all over their faces. Lastly, they spirt the water into the air, making a fine mist. This saves the corn.⁵ In spring-time the Natchez of North America used to club together to purchase favourable weather for their crops from the wizards. If rain was needed, the wizards fasted and danced with pipes full of water in their mouths. The pipes

¹ W. Murrhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldculte*, p. 342, note.

² C. F. H. Campen, "De Godsdienstbegrippen der Halmaherische Aflooren," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde*, xxvii, 447.

³ J. G. F. Rindé, *De stiel- en kruisheilige vassen tusschen Saltes en*

Papua, p. 114.

⁴ K. Parkinson, *In Bismarck Archipel*, p. 143.

⁵ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 347. Compare Charlevoix, *Voyage dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, li. 187.

were perforated like the nozzle of a watering-can, and through the holes the rain-maker blew the water towards that part of the sky where the clouds hung heaviest. But if fine weather was wanted, he mounted the roof of his hut, and with extended arms, blowing with all his might, he beckoned to the clouds to pass by.¹ Among the Shushwap Indians of British Columbia twins are credited with the power of making good or bad weather at pleasure. To produce rain, they take a small basket filled with water, which they spill into the air; to bring clear weather they shake a small, flat piece of wood which is attached to a stick by a string.² Among the Swazies and Hlubiés of South-Eastern Africa the rain-doctor draws water from a river with various mystic ceremonies, and carries it into a cultivated field. Here he throws it in jets from his vessel high into the air, and the falling spray is believed to draw down the clouds and to make rain by sympathy.³ To squirt water from the mouth is a West African mode of making rain.⁴ Among the Wahuma, on the Albert Nyanza Lake, the rain-maker pours water into a vessel in which he has first placed a dark stone as large as the hand. Pounded plants and the blood of a black goat are added to the water, and with a bunch of magic herbs the sorcerer sprinkles the mixture towards the sky.⁵ In this charm special efficacy is no doubt attributed to the dark stone and the black goat, their colour being chosen from its resemblance to that of the rain-clouds, as we shall see presently. During the summer months frequent droughts occur among the Japanese alps. To procure rain a party of hunters armed with guns climb to the top of Mount Jonendake, one of the most imposing peaks in the range. By kindling a bonfire, discharging their guns, and rolling great masses of rocks down the cliffs, they represent the wished-for storm; and rain is supposed always to follow within a few days.⁶ Amongst the Wotjobaluk tribe of

¹ *Lettres éphémères et curieuses*, nouvelle édition, vii. 29 sq.

² Fr. Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 92 (separate reprint from *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

³ J. Macdonald, *Religions and Myth* (London, 1893), p. 10.

⁴ Latani, *Religion historique de l'Éthiopie occidentale*, II. 180.

⁵ Fr. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha im Heren von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 388.

⁶ W. Westac, in *The Geographical Journal*, vii. (1896), p. 143; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*,

Victoria the rain-maker dipped a bunch of his own hair in water, sucked out the water and squirted it westward, or he twirled the ball round his head, making a spray like rain.¹ Other Australian tribes employ human hair as a rain-charm in other ways. In Western Australia the natives pluck hair from their arm-pits and thighs and blow them in the direction from which they wish the rain to come. But if they wish to prevent rain, they light a piece of sandal wood, and beat the ground with the burning brand.² When the rivers were low and water scarce in Victoria, the wizard used to place human hair in the stream, accompanying the act with chants and gesticulation. But if he wished to make rain, he dropped some human hair in the fire. Hair was never burnt at other times for fear of causing a great fall of rain.³ The Arab historian Makrisi describes a method of stopping rain which is said to have been resorted to by a tribe of nomads called Alqamar in Hadramaut. They cut a branch from a certain tree in the desert, set it on fire, and then sprinkled the burning brand with water. After that the vehemence of the rain abated,⁴ just as the water vanished when it fell on the glowing brand.

In the torrid climate of Queensland the ceremonies necessary for wringing showers from the cloudless heaven are naturally somewhat elaborate. A prominent part in them is played by a "rain-stick." This is a thin piece of wood about twenty inches long, to which three "rain-stones" and hair cut from the beard have been fastened. The "rain-stones" are pieces of white quartz-crystal. Three or four such sticks may be used in the ceremony. About noon the men who are to take part in it repair to a lonely pool, into which one of them dives and fixes a hollow log vertically in the mud. Then they all go into the water, and, forming a

xvii. (1897), p. 30; *Id.*, *Monstrousness and Exploration in the Japanese Alps*, p. 161. The ceremony is not purely magical, for it is intended to attract the attention of the powerful spirit who has a small shrine on the top of the lacustrine.

¹ A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine-Men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887), p. 35.

² R. Salgado, *Mémoires historiques sur l'Australie* (Paris, 1854), p. 262.

³ W. Stanbridge, "On the Aborigines of Victoria," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S., i. (1861), p. 300.

⁴ P. B. Nowakowski, *Magasin de valles Hadramout libelles arabes edités et illustrés* (Bonn, 1866), p. 25 sq.

rough circle round the man in the middle, who holds the rain-stick aloft, they begin stamping with their feet as well as they can, and splashing the water with their hands from all sides on the rain-stick. The stamping, which is accompanied by singing, is sometimes a matter of difficulty, since the water may be four feet deep or more. The singing over, the man in the middle dives out of sight and attaches the rain-stick to the hollow log under water. Then coming to the surface, he quickly climbs on to the bank and spits out on dry land the water which he imbibed in diving. Should more than one of these rain-sticks have been prepared, the ceremony is repeated with each in turn. While the men are returning to camp they scratch the tops of their heads and the inside of their shins from time to time with twigs; if they were to scratch themselves with their fingers alone, they believe that the whole effect of the ceremony would be spoiled. On reaching the camp they paint their faces, arms, and chest with broad bands of gypsum. During the rest of the day the process of scratching, accompanied by the song, is repeated at intervals, and thus the performance comes to a close. No woman may set eyes on the rain-stick or witness the ceremony of its submergence; but the wife of the chief rain-maker is privileged to take part in the subsequent rite of scratching herself with a twig. When the rain does come, the rain-stick is taken out of the water; it has done its work.¹ At Roxburgh, in Queensland, the ceremony is somewhat different. A white quartz-crystal which is to serve as the rain-stone is obtained in the mountains and crushed to powder. Next a tree is chosen of which the stem runs up straight for a long way without any branches. Against its trunk saplings from fifteen to twenty feet long are then propped in a circle, so as to form a sort of shed like a bell-tent, and in front of the shed an artificial pond is made in the ground. The men, who have collected within the shed, now come forth and, dancing and singing round the pond, mimic the cries and antics of various aquatic birds and animals, such as ducks and frogs. Meanwhile the women are stationed some twenty yards or so away. When the men

¹ W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines* (Brisbane and London, 1897), p. 167.

Have done pretending to be ducks, frogs, and so forth, they march round the women in single file, throwing the pulverised quartz-crystals over them. On their side the women hold up shields, pieces of bark, and so on over their heads, making believe that they are sheltering themselves from a heavy shower of rain.¹ Both these ceremonies are cases of mimetic magic; the splashing of the water over the rain-stick is as clearly an imitation of a shower as the throwing of the powdered quartz-crystal over the women.

The Dieri of Central Australia enact a somewhat similar pantomime for the same purpose. In a dry season their lot is a hard one. No fresh herbs or roots are to be had, and as the parched earth yields no grass, the emus, reptiles, and other creatures which generally furnish the natives with food grow so lean and wizened as to be hardly worth eating. At such a time of severe drought the Dieri, loudly lamenting the impoverished state of the country and their own half-starved condition, call upon the spirits of their remote ancestors, which they call *Mura Mura*, to grant them power to make a heavy rainfall. For they believe that the clouds are bodies in which rain is generated by their own ceremonies or those of neighbouring tribes, through the influence of the *Mura Mura*. The way in which they set about drawing rain from the clouds is this. A hole is dug about twelve feet long and eight or ten broad, and over this hole a conical hut of logs and branches is made. Two men, supposed to have received a special inspiration from the *Mura Mura*, are bled by an old and influential man with a sharp flint; and the blood, drawn from their arms below the elbow, is made to flow on the other men of the tribe, who sit huddled together in the hut. At the same time the two bleeding men throw handfuls of down about, some of which adheres to the blood-stained bodies of their comrades, while the rest floats in the air. The blood is thought to represent the rain, and the down the clouds. During the ceremony two large stones are placed in the middle of the hut; they stand for gathering clouds and presage rain. Then the men who were bled carry away the two stones for about ten or fifteen miles, and place them as high as they can in the tallest tree. Meanwhile the other

¹ W. E. Roth, *op. cit.* p. 168.

men gather gypsum, pound it fine, and throw it into a water-hole. This the Mura Mura see, and at once they cause clouds to appear in the sky. Lastly, the men, young and old, surround the hut, and, stooping down, charge at it with their heads, like so many rams. Thus they force their way through it and reappear on the other side, repeating the process till the hut is wrecked. In doing this they are forbidden to use their hands or arms; but when the heavy logs alone remain, they are allowed to pull them out with their hands. "The piercing of the hut with their heads symbolises the piercing of the clouds; the fall of the hut, the fall of the rain."¹ Obviously, too, the act of placing high up in trees the two stones, which stand for clouds, is a way of making the real clouds to mount up in the sky. The Dieri also imagine that the foreskins taken from lads at circumcision have a great power of producing rain. Hence the Great Council of the tribe always keeps a small stock of foreskins ready for use. They are carefully concealed, being wrapt up in feathers with the fat of the wild dog and of the carpet snake. A woman may not see such a parcel opened on any account. When the ceremony is over, the foreskin is buried, its virtue being exhausted. After the rains have fallen, some of the tribe always undergo a surgical operation, which consists in cutting the skin of their chest and arms with a sharp flint. The wound is then tapped with a flat stick to increase the flow of blood, and red ochre is rubbed into it. Raised scars are thus produced. The reason alleged by the natives for this practice is that they are pleased with the rain, and that there is a connection between the rain and the scars. Apparently the operation is not very painful, for the patient laughs and jokes while it is going on. Indeed, little children have been seen to crowd round the operator and patiently take their turn; then after being operated on, they ran away, expanding their little chests and singing for the rain to beat upon them. However, they were not so well pleased next day, when they felt

¹ S. Gason, "The Dieri Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 276 *seq.*; A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and other Kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthro-*

logical Institute, xi. (1891), p. 91 *seq.* These writers speak of the Mura Mura as a single spirit; Mr. Gason calls him the Good Spirit. But see above, p. 72, note.

their wounds stiff and sore.¹ In Java, when rain is wanted, two men will sometimes thrash each other with supple rods till the blood flows down their backs; the streaming blood represents the rain, and no doubt is supposed to make it fall on the ground.²

Among the Arunta tribe of Central Australia a celebrated rain-maker resides at the present day in what is called by the natives the Rain Country (*Kartwila quathila*), a district about fifty miles to the east of Alice Springs. He is the head of a group of people who have the water for their totem, and when he is about to engage in a ceremony for the making of rain he summons other men of the water totem from neighbouring groups to come and help him. When all are assembled, they march into camp, painted with red and yellow ochre and pipeclay, and wearing bunches of eagle-hawk feathers on the crown and sides of the head. At a signal from the rain-maker they all sit down in a line and, folding their arms across their breasts, chant certain words for a time. Then at another signal from the master of the ceremonies they jump up and march in single file to a spot some miles off, where they camp for the night. At break of day they scatter in all directions to look for game, which is then cooked and eaten; but on no account may any water be drunk, or the ceremony would fail. When they have eaten, they adorn themselves again in a different style from before, broad bands of white bird's down being glued by means of human blood to their stomach, legs, arms, and forehead. Meanwhile a special hut of boughs has been made by some older men not far from the main camp. Its floor is strewn with a thick layer of gum leaves to make it soft, for a good deal of time has to be spent lying down here. Close to the entrance of the hut a shallow trench, some thirty yards long, is excavated in the ground. At sunset the performers, arrayed in all the finery of white down, march to the hut. On reaching it the young men go in first and lie face downwards at the inner end, where they have to stay till the ceremony is over; none of them is

¹ A. W. Howitt, *op. cit.* p. 92 sq.

² J. Kroeber, "Regenmaken, Oed-joeng, Tooverij onder de Javanen,"

Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap, xxx. (1886), p. 113.

allowed to quit it on any pretext. Meanwhile, outside the hut the older men are busy decorating the rain-maker. Hair girdles, covered with white down, are placed all over his head, while his cheeks and forehead are painted with pipeclay; and two broad bands of white down pass across the face, one over the eyebrows and the other over the nose. The front of his body is adorned with a broad band of pipeclay fringed with white down, and rings of white down encircle his arms. Thus decorated, with patches of bird's down adhering by means of human blood to his hair and the whole of his body, the disguised man is said to present a spectacle which, once seen, can never be forgotten. He now takes up a position close to the opening of the hut. Then the old men sing a song, and when it is finished, the rain-maker comes out of the hut and stalks slowly twice up and down the shallow trench, quivering his body and legs in a most extraordinary way, every nerve and fibre seeming to be agitated. While he is thus engaged the young men, who had been lying flat on their faces, get up and join the old men in chanting a song with which the movements of the rain-maker seem to accord. But as soon as he re-enters the hut, the young men at once prostrate themselves again; for they must always be lying down when he is in the hut. The performance is repeated at intervals during the night, and the singing goes on with little intermission until, just when the day is breaking, the rain-maker executes a final quiver, which lasts longer than any of the others, and seems to exhaust his remaining strength completely. Then he declares the ceremony to be over, and at once the young men jump to their feet and rush out of the hut, screaming in imitation of the spur-winged plover. The cry is heard by the men and women who have been left at the main camp, and they take it up with weird effect.¹

Although we cannot, perhaps, divine the meaning of all the details of this curious ceremony, the analogy of the Queensland and the Dieri ceremonies, described above, suggests that we have here a rude attempt to represent the

¹ F. J. Gillen, in *Report of the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia*, part iv., *Anthropology* (London and Melbourne, 1896),

pp. 177-179; Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 189-193.

gathering of rain-clouds and the other accompaniments of a rising storm. The hut of branches, like the structure of logs among Diebi, and perhaps the conical shed in Queensland, may possibly stand for the vault of heaven, from which the rain-clouds, represented by the chief actor in his quaint costume of white down, come forth to move in ever-shifting shapes across the sky, just as he struts quivering up and down the trench. The other performers, also adorned with bird's down, who burst from the tent with the cries of plovers, probably imitate birds that are supposed to harbinger or accompany rain.¹ This interpretation is confirmed by other ceremonies in which the performers definitely assimilate themselves to the celestial or atmospheric phenomena which they seek to produce. Thus in Mabuiag, a small island in Torres Straits, when a wizard desired to make rain, he took some bush or plant and painted himself black and white, "All along same as clouds, black behind, white he go first." He further put on a large woman's petticoat to signify raining clouds. On the other hand, when he wished to stop the rain, he put red paint on the crown of his head, "possibly to represent the shining sun," and he inserted a small ball of red paint in another part of his person. By and by he expelled this ball, "Like breaking a cloud so that sun he may shine." He then took some bushes and leaves of the pandanus, mixed them together, and placed the compound in the sea. Afterwards he removed them from the water, dried them, and burnt them so that the smoke went up, thereby typifying, as Professor Haddon was informed, the evaporation and dispersal of the clouds.² Again, it is said that if a Malay woman puts upon her head an inverted earthenware pan, and then, setting it upon the ground, fills it with water and washes the cat in it till the animal is nearly drowned, heavy rain will certainly follow. In this performance the inverted pan is intended, as Mr. Skeat was told, to symbolise the vault of heaven.³ Further, among

¹ It is curious to find in Australia the same association between the plover and rain which has procured for the bird its name in English, French (*pluvier*, from the Latin *pluvius*), and German (*Regenpfeifer*). Ornithologists seem not to agree as to the reason for this

association in the popular mind.

² A. C. Haddon, "The Ethnography of the Western Tribe of Torres Straits," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890), p. 401.

³ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 108.

the Nootkas of British Columbia twins are believed to have the power of making good or bad weather. They make rain by painting their faces black and then washing them,¹ which may perhaps be taken to represent the rain dripping from the dark clouds. Conversely, among the Angoni of Central Africa there is a woman who stops rain by tying a strip of white calico round her black head,² probably in imitation of the sky clearing after a heavy storm. Oddly enough, the Baronga, on the shores of Delagoa in South-Eastern Africa, ascribe to twins the same power of influencing the weather which is attributed to them by the Nootkas far away on the Pacific coast of North America. They bestow the name of *Tila*—that is, the sky—on a woman who has given birth to twins, and the infants themselves are called the children of the sky. Now when the storms which generally burst in the months of September and October have been looked for in vain, when a drought with its prospect of famine is threatening, and all nature, scorched and burnt up by a sun that has shone for six months from a cloudless sky, is panting for the beneficent showers of the South-African spring, the women perform ceremonies to bring down the longed-for rain on the parched earth. Stripping themselves of all their garments, they assume in their stead girdles and head-dresses of grass, or short petticoats made of the leaves of a particular sort of creeper. Thus attired, uttering peculiar cries and singing ribald songs, they go about from well to well, cleansing them of the mud and impurities which have accumulated in them. The wells, it may be said, are merely holes in the sand where a little turbid unwholesome water stagnates. Further, the women must repair to the house of one of their gossips who has given birth to twins, and must drench her with water, which they carry in little pitchers. Having done so they go on their way, shrieking out their loose songs and dancing immodest dances. No man may see these leaf-clad women going their rounds. If they meet a man, they maul him and thrust him aside. When they have cleansed the wells, they must go and pour

¹ Fr. Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 40 (separate extract from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

² *British Central Africa Gazette*, No. 86 (vol. v. No. 6), 30th April 1898, p. 3.

water on the graves of their ancestors in the sacred grove. It often happens, too, that at the bidding of the wizard they go and pour water on the graves of twins. For they think that the grave of a twin ought always to be moist, for which reason twins are regularly buried near a lake. If all their efforts to procure rain prove abortive, they will remember that such and such a twin was buried in a dry place on the side of a hill. "No wonder," says the wizard in such a case, "that the sky is fiery. Take up his body and dig him a grave on the shore of the lake." His orders are at once obeyed, for this is supposed to be the only means of bringing down the rain. The Swiss missionary who reports this strange superstition has also suggested what appears to be its true explanation. He points out that as the mother of twins is called by the Baronga "the sky," they probably think that to pour water on her is equivalent to pouring water on the sky itself; and if water be poured on the sky, it will of course drip through it, as through the nozzle of a gigantic watering-pot, and fall on the earth beneath. A slight extension of the same train of reasoning explains why the desired result is believed to be expedited by drenching the graves of twins, who are the Children of the Sky.¹

These facts strongly support an interpretation which Professor Oldenberg has given of the rules to be observed by a Brahman who would learn a particular hymn of the ancient Indian collection known as the Samaveda. The hymn, which bears the name of the *Śakvari* song, was believed to embody the might of Indra's weapon, the thunderbolt; and hence, on account of the dreadful and dangerous potency with which it was thus charged, the bold student who essayed to master it had to be isolated from his fellow-men, and to retire from the village into the forest. Here for a space of time, which might vary, according to different doctors of the law, from one to twelve years, he had to observe certain rules of life, among which were the following. Thrice a day he had to touch water; he must wear black

¹ H. A. Junod, *Les Baronga* (Nouchatel, 1898), pp. 412, 416 *seq.* The reason for calling twins "Children of the Sky" is obscure. Are they supposed in some mysterious way to stand for the sun and moon?

garments and eat black food; when it rained, he might not seek the shelter of a roof, but had to sit down under the dripping sky and say to it, "Water is the Śakvari song"; when the lightning flashed he said, "That is like the Śakvari song"; when the thunder pealed, he said, "The Great One is making a great noise." He might never cross a running stream without touching water; he might never set foot on a ship unless his life were in danger, and even then he must be sure to touch water when he went on board; "for in water," so ran the saying, "lies the virtue of the Śakvari song." When at last he was allowed to learn the song itself, he had to dip his hands in a vessel of water in which plants of all sorts had been placed. If a man walked in the way of all these precepts, the rain-god Parjanya, it was said, would send rain at the wish of that man. It is clear, as Professor Oldenberg well points out, that "all these rules are intended to bring the Brahman into union with water, to make him, as it were, an ally of the water powers, and to guard him against their hostility. The black garments and the black food have the same significance; no one will doubt that they refer to the rain-clouds when he remembers that a black victim is sacrificed to procure rain; 'it is black, for such is the nature of rain.' In respect of another rain-charm it is said plainly, 'He puts on a black garment edged with black, for such is the nature of rain.' We may therefore assume that here in the circle of ideas and ordinances of the Vedic schools there have been preserved magical practices of the most remote antiquity, which were intended to prepare the rain-maker for his office and dedicate him to it."¹

It is interesting to observe that where an opposite result is desired, primitive logic enjoins the weather-doctor to observe precisely opposite rules of conduct. In the tropical island of Java, where the rich vegetation attests the abundance of the rainfall, ceremonies for the making of rain are unknown, but ceremonies for the prevention of it are not uncommon. When a man is about to give a great feast in the rainy season and has invited many people, he goes to a weather-doctor and asks him to "prop up the clouds that may be lowering." If the doctor consents to exert his

¹ H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 420 sq.

professional powers, he begins to regulate his behaviour by certain rules as soon as his customer has departed. He must observe a fast, and may neither drink nor bathe; what little he eats must be eaten dry, and in no case may he touch water. The host, on his side, and his servants, both male and female, must neither wash clothes nor bathe so long as the feast lasts, and they have all during its continuance to observe strict chastity. The doctor seats himself on a new mat in his bedroom, and before a small oil lamp he murmurs, shortly before the feast takes place, the following prayer or incantation: "Grandfather and Grandmother Sroekoel" (the name seems to be taken at random; others are sometimes used), "return to your country. Akkemat is your country. Put down your water-cask, close it properly, that not a drop may fall out." While he utters this prayer the sorcerer looks upwards, burning incense the while.¹

The reader will observe how exactly the Javanese observances, which are intended to prevent rain, form the antithesis of the Indian observances, which aim at producing it. The Indian sage is commanded to touch water thrice a day regularly as well as on various special occasions; the Javanese wizard must not touch it at all. The Indian lives out in the forest, and even when it rains he must not take shelter; the Javanese sits snugly in his own house on a new mat. The one signifies his sympathy with water by receiving the rain on his person and speaking of it respectfully; the other lights a lamp, burns incense, and bids the water-powers begone and not suffer a drop to fall. Yet the principle on which both act is the same; each of them, by a sort of childish make-believe, identifies himself with the phenomenon which he desires to produce. It is the old fallacy that the effect resembles its cause: if you would make wet weather, you must be wet; if you would make drought, you must be dry.

In South-Eastern Europe at the present day ceremonies are observed for the purpose of rain-making which not only rest on the same general train of thought as the preceding, but even in their details resemble the ceremonies practised

¹ G. G. Batten, *Glimpses of the Eastern Archipelago* (Singapore, 1894), p. 68 *iq.*

with the same intention by the Baronga of Delagoa Bay. Among the Greeks of Thessaly and Macedonia, when a drought has lasted a long time, it is customary to send a procession of children round to all the wells and springs of the neighbourhood. At the head of the procession walks a girl adorned with flowers, whom her companions drench with water at every halting-place, while they sing an invocation, of which the following is part:—

“Perperia, all fresh bedewed,
Freshen all the neighbourhood;
By the woods, on the highway,
As thou goest, to God now pray:
O my God, upon the plain,
Send thou us a still, small rain;
That the fields may fruitful be,
And vines in blossom we may see;
That the grain be full and sound,
And wealthy grow the folks around.”¹

In time of drought the Servians strip a girl to her skin and clothe her from head to foot in grass, herbs, and flowers, even her face being hidden behind a veil of living green. Thus disguised she is called the Dodola, and goes through the village with a troop of girls. They stop before every house; the Dodola keeps turning herself round and dancing, while the other girls form a ring about her singing one of the Dodola songs, and the housewife pours a pail of water over her. One of the songs they sing runs thus:—

“We go through the village;
The clouds go in the sky;
We go faster,
Faster go the clouds;
They have overtaken us,
And wetted the corn and the vine.”

A similar custom is observed in Greece, Bulgaria, and Roumania.² In such customs the leaf-clad girl appears to personify vegetation, and the drenching of her with water is certainly an imitation of rain. The words of the last song,

¹ Lucy M. J. Garnett, *The Women of Turkey and their Folklore. The Christian Women*, p. 123 *sq.*

² W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 329 *sq.*; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,¹

i. 493 *sq.*; W. Schindl, *Das Jahr und seine Tage in Meinung und Brauch der Rumänen Siebenbürgens*, p. 17; E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest*, ii. 15; *Folklore*, i. (1890), p. 320.

however, taken in connection with the constant movement which the chief actress in the performance seems expected to keep up, points to some comparison of the girl or her companions to clouds moving through the sky. This again reminds us of the odd quivering movement kept up by the Australian rain-maker, who, in his disguise of white down, may perhaps represent a cloud.¹

Bathing is practised as a rain-charm in some parts of Southern and Western Russia. Sometimes after service in church the priest in his robes has been thrown down on the ground and drenched with water by his parishioners. Sometimes it is the women who, without stripping off their clothes, bathe in crowds on the day of St. John the Baptist, while they dip in the water a figure made of branches, grass, and herbs, which is supposed to represent the saint.² In Kursk, a province of Southern Russia, when rain is much wanted, the women seize a passing stranger and throw him into the river, or souce him from head to foot.³ Later on we shall see that a passing stranger is often taken for a deity or the personification of some natural power. In Minahassa, a province of North Celebes, the priest bathes as a rain-charm.⁴ In Kumaon, a district of North-West India, when rain fails they sink a Brahman up to his lips in a tank or pond, where he repeats the name of a god of rain for a day or two. When this rite is duly performed, rain is sure to fall.⁵ For the same purpose village girls in the Punjab will pour a solution of cow-dung in water upon an old woman who happens to pass; or they will make her sit down under the roof-spout of a house and get a wetting when it rains.⁶ In the Solok district of Sumatra, when a

¹ See above, p. 89. This perpetual turning or whirling movement is required of the actors in other European ceremonies of a superstitious character. See below, pp. 208, 213, 214, 219. I am far from feeling sure that the explanation of it suggested in the text is the true one. But I do not remember to have met with any other.

² J. Fricke, "Regenmüher in Ost-europa," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, iii. (1893), p. 85. For the bathing of the priest compare

W. Mannhardt, *Brannkultus*, p. 331, note 2.

³ W. Mannhardt, *Brannkultus*, p. 331.

⁴ J. G. F. Riedel, "De Minahassa in 1825," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xviii. 526.

⁵ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii. p. 134, § 285.

⁶ W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India* (Allahabad, 1894), p. 44.

drought has lasted a long time, a number of half-naked women take a half-witted man to a river; and there besprinkle him with water as a means of compelling the rain to fall.¹ In some parts of Bengal, when drought threatens the country, troops of children of all ages go from house to house and roll and tumble in puddles which have been prepared for the purpose by pouring water into the courtyards. This is supposed to bring down rain. Again, in Dubrajpur, a village in the Birbhum district of Bengal, when rain has been looked for in vain, people will throw dirt or filth on the houses of their neighbours, who abuse them for doing so. Or they drench the lame, the halt, the blind, and other infirm persons, and are reviled for their pains by the victims. This vituperation is believed to bring about the desired result by drawing down showers on the parched earth.² Similarly, in the Shahpur district of Bengal it is said to be customary in time of drought to spill a pot of filth on the threshold of a notorious old shrew, in order that the fluent stream of foul language in which she vents her feelings may accelerate the lingering rain.³ In these latter customs the means adopted for bringing about the desired result appears to be not so much imitative magic as the beneficent virtue which, curiously enough, is often attributed to curses and maledictions.⁴

¹ J. L. van der Toorn, "Het animisme bij den Minangkabauet der Padjagoische Bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 93.

² Sarat Chandra Mitra, "On Some Ceremonies for producing Rain," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, iii. (1893), pp. 25, 27; *id.*, in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, v. p. 136, § 373.

³ *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. p. 102, § 791.

⁴ When a Greek sower sowed cummin he had to curse and swear all the time, otherwise the crop would not turn out well (Theophrastus, *Hist. Plant.* viii. 3; Plutarch, *Quæst. Conviv.* vii. 2. 2). Euthonian fishermen believe that they never have such good luck as when some one is

angry with them and curses them. Hence before a fisherman goes out to fish, he will play a rough practical joke on a comrade in order to be abused and execrated by him. The more the latter storms and curses, the better the other is pleased; every curse brings at least three fish into his net. See Boettler-Krietzfeldt, *Der Ektan abergläubische Götterglaube, Wesen und Geschichte*, p. 90 29. In India "much virtue is ascribed to abuse in this district of Behar. It is supposed to bring good luck in some cases. On occasion of marriages, people who accompany the marriage procession to the bride's house are often vilely abused by the women folk of the bride's family, in the belief that it will lead on to the good fortune of the newly-wedded couple. In the same way on the occasion of the *Jamānastīya*

Women are sometimes supposed to be able to make rain by ploughing, or pretending to plough. Thus in the Caucasian province of Georgia, when a drought has lasted long, marriageable girls are yoked in couples with an ox-yoke on their shoulders, a priest holds the reins, and thus harnessed they wade through rivers, puddles, and marshes, praying, screaming, weeping, and laughing.¹ In a district of Transylvania, when the ground is parched with drought, some girls strip themselves naked, and, led by an older woman, who is also naked, they steal a harrow and carry it across the field to a brook, where they set it afloat. Next they sit on the harrow and keep a tiny flame burning on each corner of it for an hour. Then they leave the harrow in the water and go home.² A similar rain-charm is resorted to in some parts of India; naked women drag a plough across a field by night, while the men keep carefully out of the way, for their presence would break the spell.³ As performed at Chunar in Bengal on the twenty-fourth of July 1891 the ceremony was this. Between nine and ten in the evening a barber's wife went from door to door and invited the women to engage in ploughing. They all assembled in a field from which men were excluded. Three women of a husbandman's family then stripped themselves naked; two of them were yoked like oxen to the plough, while the third held the handle. They next began to imitate the operation

Day in Behar, . . . brothers are allowed by sisters to their heart's content, and this is done under the impression that it will prolong the lives of the brothers and bring good luck to them" (Sarat Chandra Mitra in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, ii. 398 sq.). In the same district of India if any one is rendered sinful by looking at the "moon of ill omen" (on the fourth day of the waxing moon in the month Bhādra, corresponding to August-September) he is absolved from all sin if he contrives to get reviled by somebody. In order to procure absolution in this odd fashion he throws bricks into a neighbour's house, and the result seldom fails to fulfil his hopes. For a similar reason in Bengal the sin-laden man will seek to

ease his conscience and rid himself of his burden by robbing a neighbour's orchard or cutting down his plants. In these cases, however, he sometimes gets more than he bargained for, since the person whose premises he invades with these virtuous intentions does not always stop short at bad language. See Sarat Chandra Mitra, *loc. cit.*; *id.*; in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, N.S., xxix. (1897), p. 482.

¹ J. Reinegg, *Beschreibung des Kaukasus*, ii. 114.

² Manuhandi, *Bauerkultus*, p. 533; Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest*, ii. 40.

³ *Punjab Notes and Queries*, iii. pp. 41, 125, 88, 173, 513.

of ploughing. The one who held the plough cried out, "O mother earth! bring parched grain, water, and chaff. Our stomachs are breaking to pieces from hunger and thirst." Then the landlord and accountant approached them and laid down some grain, water, and chaff in the field. After that the women dressed and returned home. "By the grace of God," adds the gentleman who reports the ceremony, "the weather changed almost immediately, and we had a good shower."¹ Sometimes as they draw the plough the women sing a hymn to Vishnu, in which they seek to enlist his sympathy by enumerating the ills which the people are suffering from the want of rain. In some cases they discharge volleys of abuse at the village officials, and even at the landlord, whom they compel to drag the plough.² These ceremonies are all the more remarkable because in ordinary circumstances Hindoo women never engage in agricultural operations like ploughing and harrowing. Yet in drought it seems to be women of the highest or Brahman caste who are chosen to perform what at other times would be regarded as a menial and degrading task. Occasionally, when hesitation is felt at subjecting Brahman ladies to this indignity, they are allowed to get off by merely touching the plough early in the morning, before people are astir; the real work is afterwards done by the ploughmen.³

Sometimes the rain-charm operates through the dead. Thus in New Caledonia the rain-makers blackened them-

¹ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, i, p. 220, § 1161.

² Sarat Chandra Mitra, "On the Haa Parauri, or the Behari Women's Ceremony for producing Rain," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*, N.S., xlix. (1897), pp. 471-484; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, iv. No. 7 (1898), pp. 384-388.

³ Sarat Chandra Mitra, "On some Ceremonies for producing Rain," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, lii. 25. On these Indian rain-charms compare W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 41 *seq.*

Mr. E. S. Hartland suggests that such customs furnish the key to the legend of Lady Godiva (*Folklore*, i. (1890), p. 223 *seq.*). Some of the features of the ceremonies, though not the ploughing, reappear in a rain-charm practised by the Rajpoots of Bengal. The women make two images of Hudum Deo out of mud or cow-dung, and carry them away into the fields by night. There they strip themselves naked, and dance round the images singing obscene songs. See H. H. Risley, *The Tribes and Castes of Bengal: Ethnographic Glossary* (Calcutta, 1891-92), i. 498. We have seen (p. 91) that lewd songs form part of an African rain-charm.

selves all over, dug up a dead body, took the bones to a cave, jointed them, and hung the skeleton over some taro leaves. Water was poured over the skeleton to run down on the leaves. They believed that the soul of the deceased took up the water, converted it into rain, and showered it down again.¹ In Russia, if common report may be believed, it is not long since the peasants of any district that chanced to be afflicted with drought used to dig up the corpse of some one who had drunk himself to death and sink it in the nearest swamp or lake, fully persuaded that this would ensure the fall of the needed rain. About twenty years ago the prospect of a bad harvest, caused by a prolonged drought, induced the inhabitants of a village in the Tarashchansk district to dig up the body of a Raskolnik, or Dissenter, who had died in the preceding December. Some of the party beat the corpse, or what was left of it, about the head, exclaiming, "Give us rain!" while others poured water on it through a sieve.² Here the pouring of water through a sieve seems plainly an imitation of a shower, and reminds us of the manner in which Strepsiades in Aristophanes imagined that rain was made by Zeus.³ We have seen that the Baronga of Delagoa Bay drench the tombs of their ancestors, especially the tombs of twins, as a rain-charm.⁴ Among some of the Indian tribes in the region of the Orinoco it was customary for the relations of a deceased person to disinter his bones a year after burial, burn them, and scatter the ashes to the winds, because they believed that the ashes were changed into rain, which the dead man sent in return for his obsequies.⁵ The Chinese are convinced that when human bodies remain unburied, the souls of their late owners feel the discomfort of rain, just as living men would do if they were exposed without shelter to the inclemency of the weather. These wretched souls, therefore, do all in their power to prevent the rain from falling, and often their efforts are only too successful. Then drought ensues, the most dreaded of all calamities in China, because bad harvests, dearth, and

¹ G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 345 *sq.*

² W. E. S. Ralston, *The Songs of the Russian People*, p. 425 *sq.*

³ Aristophanes, *Claudi*, 372.

⁴ Above, p. 91 *sq.*

⁵ A. Caillin, *Historia Geographica natural y etnografica de Nueva Andaluza, Provincias de Caimaba, Guayana y Vertientes del Rio Orinoco*, p. 93.

famine follow in its train. Hence it has been a common practice of the Chinese authorities in time of drought to inter the dry bones of the unburied dead for the purpose of putting an end to the scourge and conjuring down the rain.¹

Animals, again, often play an important part in these weather-charms. An ancient Indian mode of making rain was to throw an otter into the water.² When some of the Blackfoot Indians were at war in summer and wished to bring on a tempest, they would take a kit-fox skin and rub it with dirt and water, which never failed to be followed by a storm of rain.³ Often in order to give effect to the charm the animal must be black. Thus an ancient Indian way of bringing on rain was to set a black horse with his face to the west and rub him with a black cloth till he neighed.⁴ To procure rain the Peruvian Indians used to set a black sheep in a field, poured *chica* over it, and gave the animal nothing to eat until rain fell.⁵ Once when a drought lasting five months had burnt up their pastures and withered the corn, the Caffres of Natal had recourse to a famous witch, who promised to procure rain without delay. A black sheep having been produced, an incision was made in the animal near the shoulder and the gall taken out. Part of this the witch rubbed over her own person, part she drank, part was mixed with medicine. Some of the medicine was then rubbed on her body; the rest of it, attached to a stick, was fixed in the fence of a calves' pen. The woman next harangued the clouds. When the sheep was to be cooked, a new fire was procured by the friction of fire-sticks; in ordinary circumstances a brand would have been taken from one of the huts.⁶ Among the Wambugwe, a Bantu people of Eastern Africa, when the sorcerer desires to make rain he takes a black sheep and a black calf in bright sunshine, and has them placed upon the roof of the large common hut in

¹ J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, iii. 918 sqq.

² H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 507.

³ G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge-Tells*, p. 262.

⁴ A. Hillebrandt, *Vedische Opfer*

und Zauber (Strassburg, 1897), p. 120.

⁵ Acosta, *History of the Indies*, bk. v. ch. xxviii. (vol. ii. p. 376, Hakluyt Society).

⁶ J. Shooter, *The Caffers of Natal and the Zulul Country* (London, 1857), p. 212 sqq.

which the people live together. Then he slits open the stomachs of the animals and scatters their contents in all directions. After that he pours water and medicine into a vessel; if the charm has succeeded, the water boils up and rain follows. On the other hand, if the sorcerer wishes to prevent rain from falling, he withdraws into the interior of the hut, and there heats a rock-crystal in a calabash.¹ In a district of Sumatra, in order to procure rain, all the women of the village, scantily clad, go to the river, wade into it, and splash each other with the water. A black cat is thrown into the stream and made to swim about for a while, then allowed to escape to the bank, pursued by the splashing of the women.² The Garos of Assam offer a black goat on the top of a very high mountain in time of drought.³ Among the Matabele the rain-charm employed by sorcerers was made from the blood and gall of a black ox.⁴ In all these cases the colour of the animal is part of the charm; being black, it will darken the sky with rain-clouds. So the Bechuanas burn the stomach of an ox at evening, because they say, "The black smoke will gather the clouds and cause the rain to come."⁵ The Timorese sacrifice a black pig to the Earth-goddess for rain, a white or red one to the Sun-god for sunshine.⁶ Among the high mountains of Japan there is a district in which, if rain has not fallen for a long time, a party of villagers goes in procession to the bed of a mountain torrent, headed by a priest, who leads a black dog. At the chosen spot they tether the beast to a stone, and make it a target for their bullets and arrows. When its life-blood bespatters the rocks, the peasants throw down their weapons and lift up their voices in supplication to the

¹ O. Baermann, *Durch Mesopotamien zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, 1894), p. 188.

² A. L. van Hasselt, *Volkverhaal van Midde-Sumatra*, p. 320 sq.; J. L. van der Toorn, "Het animisme bij den Minangkabauer der Padagogische Boencalanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Folkloriekunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 93.

³ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 88.

⁴ L. Deele, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 154.

⁵ *Folklore Journal*, edited by the Working Committee of the South African Folklore Society, i. (1879), p. 34.

⁶ J. S. G. Gramberg, "Éne maand in de binnenlanden van Timor," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxvi. p. 209; H. Zondervan, "Timor en de Timorezen," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, v. (1888), Afdeling, meer uitgegeve artikelen, p. 402 sq.

dragon divinity of the stream, exhorting him to send down forthwith a shower to cleanse the spot from its defilement. Custom has prescribed that on these occasions the colour of the victim shall be black, as an emblem of the wished-for rain-clouds. But if fine weather is wanted, the victim must be white, without a spot.¹

The intimate association of frogs and toads with water has earned for these creatures a widespread reputation as custodians of rain; and hence they often play a part in charms designed to draw needed showers from the sky. Some of the Indians of the Orinoco held the toad to be the god or lord of the waters, and for that reason feared to kill the creature, even when they were ordered to do so. They have been known to keep frogs under a pot and to beat them with rods when there was a drought.² It is said that the Aymara Indians of Peru and Bolivia often make little images of frogs and other aquatic animals and place them on the tops of the hills as a means of bringing down rain.³ In some parts of South-Eastern Australia, where the rainfall is apt to be excessive, the natives feared to injure Tidelek, the frog, or Bluk, the bull-frog, because they were said to be full of water instead of intestines, and great rains would follow if one of them were killed. The frog family was often referred to as Bunjil Willung or Mr. Rain. A tradition ran that once upon a time long ago the frog drank up all the water in the lakes and rivers, and then sat in the dry

¹ W. Weston, *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps* (London, 1896), p. 162 *sq.*; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897), p. 30; *id.*, in *The Geographical Journal*, vii. (1896), p. 143 *sq.*

² A. Cuatrecasas, *Historia Coa-graphica natural y evangelica del Nuevo Andabala, Provincias de Camacha, Guayana y Vertientes del Rio Orinoco*, p. 96; Colombia, being a geographical, etc., account of the country, i. 642 *sq.*; A. Bastian, *Die Culturländer des alten Amerika*, ii. 216.

³ D. Forbes, "On the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru," *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*,

ii. 237, note. On the supposed relation of the frog or toad to water in America, see further E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, i. 420 *sq.*, 425 *sqq.* He observes that "throughout the New World, from Florida to Chile, the worship of the frog or toad, as the offspring of water and the symbol of the waterspout, accompanied the cultivation of maize" (p. 425). A species of water toad is called by the Araucanians of Chili *goue*, "which signifies lord of the water, as they believe that it watches over the preservation and contributes to the salubrity of the waters" (J. I. Molina, *Geographical, Natural, and Civil History of Chili*, London, 1809, i. 179).

reed beds swollen to an enormous size, saying, "Bluk! bluk!" in a deep gurgling voice. All the other animals wandered about gaping and gasping for a drop of moisture, but finding none, they agreed that they must all die of thirst unless they could contrive to make the frog laugh. So they tried one after the other, but for a long time in vain. The red-headed grey cockatoos bobbed their heads and screeched their funniest jokes. But the frog did not so much as look their way. He just said, "Bluk! bluk!" and continued to contemplate the sky with an air of deep abstraction. The crows performed in their best style, and the sea-trout danced on his tail, but all to no purpose. At last the conger eel and his relations, hung round with lake grass and gay sea-weed, reared themselves on their tails and pranced round the fire. This was too much for the frog. He opened his mouth and laughed till the water ran out and the lakes and streams were full once more.¹ We have seen that some of the Queensland aborigines imitate the movements and cries of frogs as part of a rain-charm.² The Thompson River Indians of British Columbia and some people in Europe think that to kill a frog brings on rain.³ In Kumaon, a district of North-Western India, one way of bringing on rain when it is needed is to hang a frog with its mouth up on a tall bamboo or on a tree for a day or two. The notion is that the god of rain, seeing the creature in trouble, will take pity on it and send the rain.⁴ Beliefs like these might easily develop into a worship of frogs regarded as personifying the powers of water and rain. In the Rig Veda there is a hymn about frogs which appears to be substantially a rain-charm.⁵ The Newars, the aboriginal inhabitants of Nepal, worship the frog as a creature associated with the demi-god Nagas in the production and control of

¹ Mary E. B. Howitt, *Falllore and Legends of some Victorian Tribes* (in manuscript). The story is told in an abridged form by Mr. A. W. Howitt (*Journal Anthropol. Inst.* xviii. (1889), p. 54, 79).

² Above, p. 85.

³ J. Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii, part iv. (April 1900), p. 346.

A. Kuhn, *Sagen, Gebräuche und Aberglauben von Westfalen*, ii. p. 80, § 254; Gerndt, *The Land beyond the Flood*, ii. 13.

⁴ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii. p. 134, § 285.

⁵ M. Bloomfield, "On the 'Frog-hymn,' Rig Veda. vii. 103," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, xvii. (1896), pp. 173-179.

rain and the water-supply, on which the welfare of the crops depends. A sacred character is attributed to the little animal, and every care is taken not to molest or injure it. The worship of the frog is performed on the seventh day of the month Kartik (October), usually at a pool which is known to be frequented by frogs, although it is not essential to the efficacy of the rite that a frog should be actually seen at the time. After carefully washing his face and hands, the priest takes five brazen bowls and places in them five separate offerings, namely, rice, flowers, milk and vermillion, ghee and incense, and water. Lighting the pile of ghee and incense, the priest says, "Hail, Paramésvara Bhūminātha! I pray you receive these offerings and send us timely rain, and bless our crops!"¹

Among some tribes of South Africa, when too much rain falls, the wizard, accompanied by a large crowd, repairs to the house of a family where there has been no death for a very long time, and there he burns the skin of a coney. As it burns he shouts, "The rabbit is burning," and the cry is taken up by the whole crowd, who continue shouting till they are exhausted.² This no doubt is supposed to stop the rain. Equally effective is a method adopted by gypsies in Austria. When the rain has continued to pour steadily for a long time, to the great discomfort of these homeless vagrants, the men of the band assemble at a river and divide themselves into two parties. Some of them cut branches with which to make a raft, while the others collect hazel leaves and cover the raft with them. A witch thereupon lays a dried serpent, wrapt in white rags, on the raft, which is then carried by several men to the river. Women are not allowed to be present at this part of the ceremony. While the procession moves towards the river, the witch marches behind the raft singing a song, of which the burden is a statement that gypsies do not like water, and have no urgent need of serpents' milk, coupled with the expression of a hope that the serpent may see his way to swallow the water, that he may run to his

¹ A. L. Waddell, "Frog-Worship among the Newars," *The Indian Antiquary*, xiii. (1893), pp. 292-294. The title Bhūminātha, "Lord or Protector of the Soil," is specially reserved for the frog. The title Paramésvara is

given to all the Newar divinities.

² J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890), p. 295.

mother and drink milk from her breasts, and that the sun may shine out, bringing back mirth and jollity to gypsy hearts. Transylvanian gypsies will sometimes expose the dried carcass of a serpent to the pouring rain, "in order that the serpent may convince himself of the inclemency of the weather, and so grant the people's wish."¹

In this last example an attempt is made to improve the weather by subjecting the being who controls it to some discomfort. Similarly, in Muzaffarnagar, a town of the Punjab, when the rains are excessive, the people draw a figure of a certain Muni or Rishi Agastya on a loin-cloth and put it out in the rain, or they paint his figure on the outside of the house and let the rain wash it off. This Muni or Rishi Agastya is a great personage in the native folklore, and enjoys the reputation of being able to stop the rain. It is supposed that he will exercise his power as soon as he is thus made to feel in effigy the misery of wet weather.² On the other hand, when rain is wanted at Chhatarpur, in the Madras Presidency, they paint two figures with their legs up and their heads down on a wall that faces east; one of the figures represents Indra, the other Megha Raja, the lord of rain. They think that in this uncomfortable position these powerful beings will soon be glad to send the much-needed showers.³ In a Japanese village, when the guardian divinity had long been deaf to the peasants' prayers for rain, they at last threw down his image and, with curses loud and long, hurled it head foremost into a stinking rice-field. "There," they said, "you may stay yourself for a while, to see how *you* will feel after a few days' scorching in this broiling sun that is burning the life from our cracking fields."⁴ In the like circumstances the Feloupes of Senegambia cast down their fetishes and drag them about the fields, cursing them till rain falls.⁵ The Chinese make a huge dragon of paper or wood to represent the rain-god, and carry it about in pro-

¹ H. von Wlislocki, *Völkerglaube und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner* (Münster i. W., 1891), p. 54 sq.

² W. Crooke, *An Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 45.

³ W. Crooke, *op. cit.* p. 44.

⁴ W. Weston, *Mountaineering and Exploration in the Japanese Alps* (London, 1895), p. 162.

⁵ Béranger-Féraud, *Les peuplades de la Sénégambie*, p. 291.

cession; but if no rain follows, the mock dragon is execrated and torn in pieces.¹ In Okunomura, a Japanese village not far from Tokio, when rain is wanted, an artificial dragon is made out of straw, reeds, bamboos, and magnolia leaves. Preceded by a Shinto priest, attended by men carrying paper flags, and followed by others beating a big drum, the dragon is carried in procession from the Buddhist temple and finally thrown into a waterfall.² About the year 1710 the island of Tsong-ming, which belongs to the province of Nanking, was afflicted with a drought. The viceroy of the province, after the usual attempts to soften the heart of the local deity by burning incense-sticks had been made in vain, sent word to the idol that if rain did not fall by such and such a day, he would have him turned out of the city and his temple razed to the ground. The threat had no effect on the obdurate divinity; the day of grace came and went, and yet not a drop of rain fell. Then the indignant viceroy forbade the people to make any more offerings at the shrine of this unfeeling deity, and commanded that the temple should be shut up and seals placed on the doors. This soon produced the desired effect. Cut off from his base of supplies, the idol had no choice but to surrender at discretion. Rain fell in a few days, and thus the god was reinstated in the affections of the faithful.³ When the rice-crop is endangered by long drought, the governor of Battambang, a province of Siam, goes in great state to a certain pagoda and prays to Buddha for rain. Then, accompanied by his suite and followed by an enormous crowd, he adjourns to a plain behind the pagoda. Here a dummy figure has been made up, dressed in bright colours, and placed in the middle of the plain. A wild music begins to play; maddened by the din of drums and cymbals and crackers, and goaded on by their drivers, the elephants charge down on the dummy and trample it to pieces. After this, Buddha will soon give rain.⁴ When the spirits withhold rain or sunshine, the Comanches whip a slave; if

¹ Han, *L'empire chinois*, i. 241.

² R. Lange, "Bitten um Regen in Japan," *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, lii. (1893), p. 334 sq.

³ *Lettres éloquentes et curieuses*, xviii.

210.

⁴ Brien, "Aperçu sur la province de Battambang," *Cochinchine Française: Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 25, p. 6 sq.

the gods prove obstinate, the victim is almost flayed alive.¹

Another way of constraining the rain-god is to disturb him in his haunts. This seems to be the reason why rain is supposed to follow the troubling of a sacred spring. The Dards believe that if a cow-skin or anything impure is placed in certain springs, storms will follow.² In the mountains of Farghana there was a place where rain began to fall as soon as anything dirty was thrown into a certain famous well.³ Again, in Tabaristan there was said to be a cave in the mountain of Tak which had only to be defiled by filth or milk for the rain to begin to fall, and to continue falling till the cave was cleansed.⁴ Gervasius mentions a spring, into which if a stone or a stick were thrown, rain would at once issue from it and drench the thrower.⁵ There was a fountain in Munster such that if it were touched or even looked at by a human being, it would at once flood the whole province with rain.⁶ When rain was long of coming in the Canary Islands, the priestesses used to beat the sea with rods to punish the water-spirit for his higgardliness.⁷ Sometimes an appeal is made to the pity of the gods. When their corn is being burnt up by the sun, the Zulus look out for a "heaven bird," kill it, and throw it into a pool. Then the heaven melts with tenderness for the death of the bird; "it wails for it by raining, wailing a funeral wail."⁸ In times of drought the Guanches of Teneriffe led their sheep to sacred ground, and there they separated the lambs from their dams, that their plaintive bleating might touch the heart of the god.⁹ A Hindoo method of stopping rain is to pour hot oil in the left ear of a dog. The animal howls with pain, his howls are heard by Indra, and out of pity for the beast's sufferings the

¹ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 520.

² Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindu Kosh*, p. 95.

³ Albirink, *The Chronology of Ancient Nations*, translated and edited by C. E. Sachse (London, 1879), p. 235. This and the following passage were pointed out to me by my late friend, W. Robertson Smith.

⁴ Albirink, *loc. cit.*

⁵ Gervasius von Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ed. F. Liebrecht, p. 41 19.

⁶ Giraldus Cambrensis, *Topography of Ireland*, ch. 7. Compare W. Mannhardt, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 541 note.

⁷ J. B. Héring-Fernández, *Superstitions et superstitions*, i. 473.

⁸ Callaway, *Religious System of the Amasuto*, p. 407 19.

⁹ Baclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, xii. 100.

god stops the rain.¹ A peculiar mode of making rain was adopted by some of the heathen Araha. They tied two sorts of bushes to the tails and hind legs of their cattle, and, setting fire to the bushes, drove the cattle to the top of a mountain, praying for rain.² This may be, as Wellhausen suggests, an imitation of lightning on the horizon;³ but it may also be a way of threatening the sky, as some West African rain-makers put a pot of inflammable materials on the fire and blow up the flames, threatening that if heaven does not soon give rain they will send up a blaze which will set the sky on fire.⁴

Stones are often supposed to possess the property of bringing on rain, provided they be dipped in water or sprinkled with it, or treated in some other appropriate manner. In a Samoan village a certain stone was carefully housed as the representative of the rain-making god, and in time of drought his priests carried the stone in procession and dipped it in a stream.⁵ Among the Ta-ta-thi tribe of New South Wales, the rain-maker breaks off a piece of quartz-crystal and spits it towards the sky; the rest of the crystal he wraps in emu feathers, soaks both crystal and feathers in water, and carefully hides them.⁶ In the Keramin tribe of New South Wales the wizard retires to the bed of a creek, drops water on a round flat stone, then covers up and conceals it.⁷ When the Wakondjo, a tribe of Central Africa, desire rain, they send to the Wawamba, who dwell at the foot of snowy mountains, and are the happy possessors of a "rain-stone." In consideration of a proper payment, the Wawamba wash the precious stone, anoint it with oil, and put it in a pot full of water. After that the rain cannot fail to come.⁸ In some parts of Mongolia, when the people desire rain, they fasten a bezoar stone to a willow twig, and place it in pure water,

¹ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii, p. 135, § 285.

² Rasmussen, *Addimenta ad historiam Arabum ante Islamismum*, p. 67 sq.

³ J. Wellhausen, *Reise arabischen Hochlandes*, p. 157 (first edition).

⁴ Labat, *Relation historique de l'Éthiopie orientale*, li. 18a.

⁵ G. Turner, *Samoas*, p. 145.

⁶ A. L. P. Cameron, "Notes on

some Tribes of New South Wales," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiv. (1885), p. 362. For other uses of quartz-crystal in ceremonies for the making of rain, see above, pp. 84, 85.

⁷ A. L. P. Cameron, *loc. cit.* Compare E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, li. 377.

⁸ Fr. Stöhlmann, *Alt Äthio Pascha aus Harar von Äthien* (Berlin, 1894), p. 654.

uttering incantations or prayers at the same time.¹ Conversely, when Dr. Radloff's Mongolian guide wished to stop the rain, he tied a rock-crystal by a short string to a stick, held the stone over the fire, and then swung the stick about in all directions, while he chanted an incantation.² Water is scarce with the fierce Apaches, who roam the arid wastes of Arizona and New Mexico, for springs are few and far between in these burning wildernesses, where the intense heat would be unendurable were it not for the great dryness of the air. The stony beds of the streams are waterless in the plains; but if you ascend for some miles the profound cañons that worm their way into the heart of the wild and rugged mountains, you come in time to a current trickling over the sand, and a mile or two more will bring you to a stream of a tolerable size flowing over boulders and screened from the fierce sun by walls of rock that tower on either hand a thousand feet into the air, their parched sides matted with the fantastic forms of the prickly cactus, and their summits crested with pines, whose black shapes, stirred by breezes that are unfelt in the hot and airless depths of the ravine, look like moving fringes to the narrow strip of blue sky far overhead. In such a land we need not wonder that the thirsty Indians seek to procure rain by magic. They take water from a certain spring and throw it on a particular point high up on a rock; the welcome clouds then soon gather, and rain begins to fall.³ But customs of this sort are not confined to the wilds of Africa and Asia or the torrid deserts of Australia and the New World. They have been practised in the cool air and under the grey skies of Europe. There is a fountain called Barenton, of romantic fame, in those "wild woods of Broceliande," where, if legend be true, the wizard Merlin still sleeps his magic slumber in the hawthorn shade. Thither the Breton peasants used to resort when they needed rain. They caught some of the water in a tankard

¹ G. Timkowski, *Travels of the Russian Mission through Mongolia to China* (London, 1827), i. 402 sq.

² W. Radloff, *Asiatic Siberia* (Leipzig, 1884), ii. 179 sq.

³ *The American Antiquarian*, viii.

339. Vivid descriptions of the scenery and climate of Arizona and New Mexico will be found in Captain J. G. Bourke's *On the Border with Gosh* (New York, 1891); see for example pp. 1 sq., 18 sq., 23 sq., 30 sq., 34 sq., 41 sq., 185, 190 sq.

and threw it on a slab near the spring.¹ On Snowdon there is a lonely tarn called Dulyn, or the Black Lake, lying "in a dismal dingle surrounded by high and dangerous rocks." A row of stepping-stones runs out into the lake, and if any one steps on the stones and throws water so as to wet the farthest stone, which is called the Red Altar, "it is but a chance that you do not get rain before night, even when it is hot weather."² In these cases it appears probable that, as in Samoa, the stone is regarded as more or less divine. This appears from the custom sometimes observed of dipping the cross in the Fountain of Barenton to procure rain, for this is plainly a Christian substitute for the old pagan way of throwing water on the stone.³ At various places in France it is, or used till lately to be, the practice to dip the image of a saint in water as a means of procuring rain. Thus, beside the old priory of Commagny, a mile or two to the south-west of Moulins-Engilbert, there is a spring of St. Gervais, whither the inhabitants go in procession to obtain rain or fine weather according to the needs of the crops. In times of great drought they throw into the basin of the fountain an ancient stone image of the saint that stands in a sort of niche from which the fountain flows.⁴ At Collobrières and Carpentras, both in Provence, a similar practice was observed with the images of St. Pons and St. Gens respectively.⁵ In several villages of Navarre prayers for rain used to be offered to St. Peter, and by way of enforcing them the villagers carried the image of the saint in procession to the river, where they thrice invited him to reconsider his resolution and to grant their prayers; then, if he was still obstinate, they plunged him in the water, despite the remonstrances of the clergy, who pleaded with as much truth as piety that a simple caution or

¹ J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 184; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, i. 498; L. J. B. Béranger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, iii. 190 sq. Compare A. de Noss, *Customs, myths and traditions des provinces de France*, p. 216; San Marte, *Die Arthur Sage*, pp. 105 sq., 155 sq.

² J. Rhys, *Celtic Heathendom*, p. 185 sq.

³ J. Rhys, *op. cit.* p. 187. The same thing is done at the fountain of Sainte

Anne, near Gerdre, in Brittany. See P. Sébillot, *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne*, i. 72.

⁴ G. Herve, "Quelques superstitions de Morvan," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 4me série, iii. (1892), p. 530.

⁵ Béranger-Féraud and de Mortillet, in *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, 4me série, ii. (1891), pp. 306, 310 sq.; Béranger-Féraud, *Superstitions et survivances*, i. 427.

admonition administered to the image would produce an equally good effect. After this the rain was sure to fall within twenty-four hours.¹ Catholic countries do not enjoy a monopoly of making rain by ducking holy images in water. In Mingrelia, when the crops are suffering from want of rain, they take a particularly holy image and dip it in water every day till a shower falls;² and in the Far East the Shans drench the images of Buddha with water when the rice is perishing of drought.³ In all such cases the practice is probably at bottom a sympathetic charm, however it may be disguised under the appearance of a punishment or a threat.

The application of water to a miraculous stone is not the only way of securing its good offices in the making of rain. In the island of Uist, one of the outer Hebrides, there is a stone cross opposite to St. Mary's church, which the natives used to call the Water-cross. When they needed rain, they set the cross up; and when enough rain had fallen, they laid it flat on the ground.⁴ In Aurora, one of the New Hebrides islands, the rain-maker puts a tuft of leaves of a certain plant in the hollow of a stone; over it he lays some branches of a pepper-tree pounded and crushed, and to these he adds a stone which is believed to possess the property of drawing down showers from the sky. All this he accompanies with incantations, and finally covers the whole mass up. In time it ferments, and steam, charged with magical virtue, goes up and makes clouds and rain. The wizard must be careful, however, not to pound the pepper too hard, as otherwise the wind might blow too strong.⁵ Sometimes the stone derives its magical virtue from its likeness to a real or imaginary animal. Thus, at Kota Gadang in Sumatra, there is a stone which, with the help of a powerful imagination, may perhaps be conceived to bear a faint and distant resemblance to a cat. Naturally, therefore, it possesses the property of eliciting showers from the sky, since in Sumatra, as we have seen, a

¹ Le Brun, *Histoire critique des pratiques superstitieuses* (Amsterdam, 1733), l. 245 *sq.*; Béranger-Fénel, *Superstitions et sorcelleries*, i. 477.

² Lambert, "Relation de la Colchide ou Mingrelie," *Voyages au Nord*, vii. 174 (Amsterdam, 1725).

³ H. S. Hallist, *A Thousand Miles*

on an Elephant in the Shan States (Edinburgh and London, 1890), p. 264.

⁴ Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in Pinkerton's *Travels and Travels*, iii. 594.

⁵ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 201.

real black cat plays a part in ceremonies for the production of rain. Hence the stone is sometimes smeared with the blood of fowls, rubbed, and incensed, while a charm is uttered over it.¹ At Eneti, in Washington Territory, there is an irregular basaltic rock on which a face, said to be that of the thunder-bird, has been hampered. The Indians of the neighbourhood long believed that to shake the rock would cause rain by exciting the wrath of the thunder-bird.²

Like other peoples, the Greeks and Romans sought to obtain rain by magic, when prayers and processions³ had proved ineffectual. For example, in Arcadia, when the corn and trees were parched with drought, the priest of Zeus dipped an oak branch into a certain spring on Mount Lycaeus. Thus troubled, the water sent up a misty cloud, from which rain soon fell upon the land.⁴ A similar mode of making rain is still practised, as we have seen, in Halma-hera near New Guinea.⁵ The people of Crannon in Thessaly had a bronze chariot which they kept in a temple. When they desired a shower they shook the chariot and the shower fell.⁶ Probably the rattling of the chariot was meant to imitate thunder; we have already seen that mock thunder and lightning form part of a rain-charm in Russia and Japan.⁷ The legendary Salmoneus of Thessaly made mock

¹ J. L. van der Toorn, "Het animisme bij den Minangkabauer der Padjagrasche Bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 86. As to the cat in rain-making ceremonies, see above, p. 102.

² Myron Eels, "The Twana, Cushman, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1887*, p. 672.

³ As to such prayers, see Pausanias, ii. 25. 10; Marcus Antoninus, v. 7; Petronius, 44; Tertullian, *Apolo.* 40, cp. 22 and 23; P. Caner, *Delectus Inscriptionum Græcarum*,² No. 162; H. Collitz and E. Bechtel, *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inscriptionen*, No. 3718; Ch. Michel, *Recueil d'inscriptions Grecques*, No. 1004; O. Luders, *Die alenysischen Künstler* (Berlin, 1873), p. 264p.

⁴ Pausanias, viii. 38. 4.

⁵ See above, p. 82.

⁶ Antigonos, *Hist. Mirab.* 15 (*Scriptores rerum mirabilium Græci*, ed. A. Westermann, p. 64 sq.). Antigonos mentions that the hedge of the city was a representation of the chariot with a couple of ravens perched on it. This hedge appears on existing coins of Crannon, with the addition of a pitcher resting on the chariot (B. V. Head, *Historia Numorum*, p. 249). Hence Professor A. Furtwängler has conjectured, with great probability, that a pitcher full of water was placed on the real chariot when rain was wanted, and that the spilling of the water, as the chariot shook, was intended to imitate a shower of rain. See A. Furtwängler, *Meistwerke der griechischen Plastik*, pp. 257-263.

⁷ Above, pp. 82, 83.

thunder by dragging bronze kettles behind his chariot, or by driving over a bronze bridge, while he hurled blazing torches in imitation of lightning. It was his impious wish to mimic the thundering car of Zeus as it rolled across the vault of heaven. Indeed he declared that he was actually Zeus, and caused sacrifices to be offered to himself as such.¹ Near a temple of Mars, outside the walls of Rome, there was kept a certain stone known as the *lapis manalis*. In time of drought the stone was dragged into Rome, and this was supposed to bring down rain immediately.² There were Etruscan wizards who made rain or discovered springs of water, it is not certain which. They were thought to bring the rain or the water out of their bellies.³ The legendary Telchines in Rhodes are described as magicians who could change their shape and bring clouds, rain, and snow.⁴ The Athenians sacrificed boiled, not roast meat to the Seasons, begging them to avert drought and dry heat and to send due warmth and timely rain.⁵ This is an interesting example of the admixture of religion with sorcery, of sacrifice with magic. The Athenians dimly conceived that in some way the water in the pot would be transmitted through the boiled meat to the deities, and then sent down again by them in the form of rain.⁶ In a similar spirit the prudent Greeks made it a rule always to pour honey, but never wine, on the altars of the sun-god, pointing out, with great show of reason, how expedient it was that a

¹ Apollodorus, l. 9. 7; Virgil, *Aen.* vi. 585 sq.; Servius on Virgil, l.c.

² Festus, s.vv. *agualicium* and *manalem lapidem*, pp. 2, 128, ed. Müller; Nodding Marcellus, s.v. *trullum*, p. 637, ed. Quicherat; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 175; Fulgentius, "Expos. serm. antiq." s.v. *manalis lapides*, *Mythogr. Lat.* ed. Staveren, p. 769 sq. It has been suggested that the stone derived its name and its virtue from the *manes* or spirits of the dead (E. Hoffmann, in *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*, N.F. 50 (1895), pp. 482-485). Mr. Wards Fowler supposes that the stone "was either the object of some splashing or pouring, or was itself hollow and was filled with water which was to be poured out in imita-

tion of the desired rain" (*Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, London, 1899, p. 233).

³ Nodding Marcellus, s.v. *agualix*, p. 69, ed. Quicherat. In favour of taking *agualix* as rain-maker is the use of *agualicium* in the sense of rain-making. Compare K. O. Müller, *Die Etrusker*, ed. W. Deecke, ii. 318 sq.

⁴ Diodorus Siculus, v. 55.

⁵ Philochorus, cited by Athenaeus, xiv. p. 656 A.

⁶ Among the Barotsi, on the upper Zambesi, "the sorcerers or witch-doctors go from village to village with remedies which they cook in great cauldrons to make rain" (A. Bertrand, *The Kingdom of the Barotsi*, London, 1899, p. 277).

god on whom so much depended should keep strictly sober.¹

This last instance introduces us to a second class of natural phenomena which primitive man commonly supposes to be in some degree under his control and dependent on his exertions. He fancies he can make the sun to shine, and can hasten or stay its going down. At an eclipse the Ojebways used to think that the sun was being extinguished. So they shot fire-tipped arrows in the air, hoping thus to rekindle his expiring light.² Conversely during an eclipse of the moon some Indian tribes of the Orinoco used to bury lighted brands in the ground; because, said they, if the moon were to be extinguished, all fire on earth would be extinguished with her, except such as was hidden from her sight.³ During an eclipse of the sun the Kamtschatkans used to bring out fire from their huts and pray the great luminary to shine as before.⁴ But the prayer addressed to the sun shows that this ceremony was religious rather than magical. Purely magical, on the other hand, was the ceremony observed on similar occasions by the Chillchotin Indians of North-Western America. Men and women tucked up their robes, as they do in travelling, and then leaning on staves, as if they were heavy laden, they continued to walk in a circle till the eclipse was over.⁵ Apparently they thought thus to support the falling steps of the sun in the sky. After the autumnal equinox, in like manner, the ancient Egyptians held a festival called "the nativity of the sun's walking-stick," because, as the luminary declined daily in the sky, and his light and heat diminished, he was supposed to need a staff on which to lean.⁶ In New Caledonia when a wizard desires to make sunshine, he takes some plants and corals to the burial-ground, and makes them into a bundle,

¹ Phylarchus, cited by Athenæus, xv. p. 694 E. If the conjectural reading τοῖς Ἑσπερίαις in place of τοῖς Ἑλλησιν be the true one, the rule was *not* observed by the Greeks, but by the people of Emesa in Syria, where there was a famous worship of the sun.

² Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 84.

³ Gumilla, *Histoire de l'Orénoque*

(Avignon, 1758), iii. 243-57.

⁴ S. Krascheninnikow, *Beschreibung der Landes Kamtschatka* (Lening, 1766), p. 217.

⁵ A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their manners and customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Toronto, Third Series*, vii. (1888-89), p. 154.

⁶ Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 52.

adding two locks of hair cut from a living child (his own child if possible), also two teeth or an entire jawbone from the skeleton of an ancestor. He then climbs a high mountain whose top catches the first rays of the morning sun. Here he deposits three sorts of plants on a flat stone, places a branch of dry coral beside them, and hangs the bundle of charms over the stone. Next morning he returns to this rude altar, and at the moment when the sun rises from the sea he kindles a fire on the altar. As the smoke curls up, he rubs the stone with the dry coral, invokes his ancestors and says: "Sun! I do this that you may be burning hot, and eat up all the clouds in the sky." The same ceremony is repeated at sunset.¹ When the sun rises behind clouds—a rare event in the bright sky of Southern Africa—the Sun clan of the Bechuanas say that he is grieving their heart. All work stands still, and all the food of the previous day is given to matrons or old women. They may eat it and may share it with the children they are nursing, but no one else may taste it. The people go down to the river and wash themselves all over. Each man throws into the river a stone taken from his domestic hearth, and replaces it with one picked up in the bed of the river. On their return to the village the chief kindles a fire in his hut, and all his subjects come and get a light from it. A general dance follows.² In these cases it seems that the lighting of the flame on earth is supposed to rekindle the solar fire. Such a belief comes naturally to people who, like the Sun clan of the Bechuanas, deem themselves the veritable kinsmen of the sun. The Banks Islanders make sunshine by means of a mock sun. They take a very round stone, called a *vat loa* or sunstone, wind red braid about it, and stick it with owls' feathers to represent rays, singing the proper spell in a low voice. Then they hang it on some high tree, such as a banyan or a casuarina, in a sacred place. Or the stone is

¹ Glaumont, "Usages, mœurs et costumes des Néo-Calédoniens," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi. 116.

² Arbousset et Duhamel, *Voyage d'exploration au nord-est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, p. 350 sq.

For the kinship with the sacred object (totem) from which the clan takes its name, see *ibid.* pp. 350, 422, 424. Other people have claimed kinship with the sun, as the Natchez of North America (*Voyages au Nord*, v. 24) and the Incas of Peru.

laid on the ground with white rods radiating from it to imitate sunbeams.¹ Sometimes the mode of making sunshine is the converse of that of making rain. Thus we have seen that a white or red pig is sacrificed for sunshine, while a black one is sacrificed for rain.² Some of the New Caledonians drench a skeleton to make rain, but burn it to make sunshine.³

In a pass of the Peruvian Andes stand two ruined towers on opposite hills. Iron hooks are clamped into their walls for the purpose of stretching a net from one tower to the other. The net is intended to catch the sun.⁴ On a small hill in Fiji grew a patch of reeds, and travellers who feared to be belated used to tie the tops of a handful of reeds together to prevent the sun from going down.⁵ As to this my friend the Rev. Lorimer Fison writes to me: "I have often seen the reeds tied together to keep the sun from going down. The place is on a hill in Lakomba, one of the eastern islands of the Fijian group. It is on the side—not on the top—of the hill. The reeds grow on the right side of the path. I asked an old man the meaning of the practice, and he said, 'We used to think the sun would see us, and know we wanted him not to go down till we got past on our way home again.'"⁶ But perhaps the original intention was to entangle the sun in the reeds, just as the Peruvians try to catch him in the net. Stories of men who have caught the sun in a noose are widely spread.⁷ In New Guinea, when a Motu man is hunting or travelling late in the afternoon and fears to be overtaken by darkness, he will sometimes take a piece of twine, loop it, and look through the loop at the sun. Then he pulls the loop into a knot and says, "Wait until we get home, and we will give you the fat of a pig." After that he passes the string to the man behind him, and then it is thrown away. In a similar case a

¹ R. H. Codrington, in *Journ. Anthrop. Instit.* x. (1881), p. 278; *id.*, *The Melanesians* (Oxford, 1891), p. 184.

² Above, p. 102.

³ Turner, *Savane*, p. 346. See above, p. 100.

⁴ Bastian, *Die Völker des südlichen Asien*, iv. 174. The name of the place is Andakmaylas.

⁵ Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i. 250.

⁶ Mr. Fison's letter is dated August 26, 1898.

⁷ Schöndorff, *The American Indians*, p. 97 *sup.*; Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 61 *sq.*; Turner, *Savane*, p. 200 *sq.*

Motumotu man of New Guinea says, "Sun, do not be in a hurry; just wait until I get to the end." And the sun waits. The Motumotu do not like to eat in the dark; so if the food is not yet ready, and the sun is sinking, they say "Sun, stop; my food is not ready, and I want to eat by you."¹ Here the looking at the sinking sun through a loop and then drawing the loop into a knot appears to be a purely magical ceremony designed to catch the sun in the mesh; but the request that the luminary would kindly stand still till home is reached or the dinner cooked, coupled with the offer of a slice of fat bacon as an inducement to him to comply with the request, is thoroughly religious. Jerome of Prague, travelling among the heathen Lithuanians early in the fifteenth century, found a tribe who worshipped the sun and venerated a large iron hammer. The priests told him that once the sun had been invisible for several months, because a powerful king had shut it up in a strong tower; but the signs of the zodiac had broken open the tower with this very hammer and released the sun. Therefore they adored the hammer.² When an Australian blackfellow wishes to stay the sun from going down till he gets home, he puts a sod in the fork of a tree, exactly facing the setting sun.³ For the same purpose an Indian of Yucatan, journeying westward, places a stone in a tree or pulls out some of his eyelashes and blows them towards the sun.⁴ South African natives, in travelling, will put a stone in a branch of a tree or place some grass on the path with a stone over it, believing that this will cause their friends to keep the meal waiting till their arrival.⁵ In these, as in previous examples, the purpose apparently is to retard the sun. But why should the act of putting a stone or a sod in a tree be supposed to effect this? A partial explanation is suggested by another Australian custom. In their journeys the natives are accustomed to place stones in trees at

¹ J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, p. 172.

² Aeneas Sylvius, *Opera* (Bâle, 1571), p. 418 [wrongly numbered 420].

³ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, II. 134; Curr, *The Australian Race*, I. 50.

⁴ Fontcouverte, *History of Yucatan*, p. 118; Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale*, II. 51.

⁵ *South African Folklore Journal*, I. 34.

different heights from the ground in order to indicate the height of the sun in the sky at the moment when they passed the particular tree. Those who follow are thus made aware of the time of day when their friends in advance passed the spot.¹ Possibly the natives, thus accustomed to mark the sun's progress, may have slipped into the confusion of imagining that to mark the sun's progress was to arrest it at the point marked. On the other hand, to make it go down faster, the Australians throw sand into the air and blow with their mouths towards the sun,² perhaps to waft the lingering orb westward and bury it under the sands into which it appears to sink at night.

Once more, the savage thinks he can make the wind to blow or to be still. When the day is hot and a Yakut has a long way to go, he takes a stone which he has chanced to find in an animal or fish, winds a horse-hair several times round it, and ties it to a stick. He then waves the stick about, uttering a spell. Soon a cool breeze begins to blow.³ The Wind clan of the Omahas flap their blankets to start a breeze which will drive away the mosquitoes.⁴ When a Haida Indian wishes to obtain a fair wind, he fasts, shoots a raven, singes it in the fire, and then going to the edge of the sea sweeps it over the surface of the water four times in the direction in which he wishes the wind to blow. He then throws the raven behind him, but afterwards picks it up and sets it in a sitting posture at the foot of a spruce-tree, facing towards the required wind. Propping its beak open with a stick, he requests a fair wind for a certain number of days; then going away he lies covered up in his mantle till another Indian asks him for how many days he has desired the wind, which question he answers.⁵ When a sorcerer in New Britain wishes to make a wind blow in a certain direction, he throws burnt lime in the air, chanting

¹ E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 365.

² Curt, *The Australian Race*, iii. 145.

³ Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien*, ii. 510.

⁴ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the*

Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1884), p. 241; *id.*, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 410.

⁵ G. M. Dawson, "On the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands," *Geological Survey of Canada, Report of progress for 1878-1879*, p. 124 B.

a song all the time. Then he waves sprigs of ginger and other plants about, throws them up and catches them. Next he makes a small fire with these sprigs on the spot where the lime has fallen thickest, and walks round the fire chanting. Lastly, he takes the ashes and throws them on the water.¹ If a Hottentot desires the wind to drop, he takes one of his fattest skins and hangs it on the end of a pole, in the belief that by blowing the skin down the wind will lose all its force and must itself fall.² Fuegian wizards throw shells against the wind to make it drop.³ On the other hand, when a Persian peasant desires a strong wind to winnow his corn, he rubs a kind of bastard saffron and throws it up into the air; after that the breeze soon begins to blow.⁴ Some of the Indians of Canada believed that the winds were caused by a fish like a lizard. When one of these fish had been caught, the Indians advised the Jesuit missionaries to put it back into the river as fast as possible in order to calm the wind, which was contrary.⁵ When the Kei Islanders wish to obtain a favourable wind for their friends at sea, they dance in a ring, both men and women, swaying their bodies to and fro, while the men hold handkerchiefs in their hands.⁶ In Melanesia there are everywhere weather-doctors who can control the powers of the air and are willing to supply wind or calm in return for a proper remuneration. For instance, in Santa Cruz the wizard makes wind by waving the branch of a tree and chanting the appropriate charm.⁷ In another Melanesian island a missionary observed a large shell filled with earth, in which an oblong stone, covered with red ochre, was set up, while the whole was surrounded by a fence of sticks strengthened by a creeper which was twined in and out the uprights. On asking a native what these

¹ W. Powell, *Wanderings in a Wild Country*, p. 169.

² Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* (Amsterdam, 1686), p. 389.

³ *Mission Scientifique du Cap Horn*, VII (Paris, 1891), p. 257.

⁴ J. Richardson, *A Dictionary of Persian, Arabic, and English*, new edition (London, 1829), p. 131, 19.

⁵ *Relation des Jésuites*, 1836, p. 38 (Canadian reprint). On the other hand, some of the New South Wales

aborigines thought that a wished-for wind would not rise if shell-fish were roasted at night (D. Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, London, 1804, p. 389).

⁶ C. M. Pleyte, "Ethnographische Beschreibung der Kei Eilanden," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Oorlogkundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x. (1893), 7.

⁷ R. H. Slingston, *The Melanesians*, p. 101.

things meant, he learned that the wind was here fenced or bound round, lest it blow hard; the imprisoned wind would not be able to blow again until the fence that kept it in should have rotted away.¹ A method of making wind which is practised in New Guinea is to strike a "wind-stone" lightly with a stick; to strike it hard would bring on a hurricane.² So in Scotland witches used to raise the wind by dipping a rag in water and beating it thrice on a stone, saying:

"I knock this rag upone this stane
To raise the wind in the divellis name,
It sall not lye till I please againe."³

At Victoria, the capital of Vancouver's Island, there are a number of large stones not far from what is called the Battery. Each of them represents a certain wind. When an Indian wants any particular wind, he goes and moves the corresponding stone a little; were he to move it too much, the wind would blow very hard.⁴ On the altar of Fladda's chapel, in the island of Fladdahuan (one of the Hebrides), lay a round bluish stone which was always moist. Windbound fishermen walked sunwise round the chapel and then poured water on the stone, whereupon a favourable breeze was sure to spring up.⁵ In Gigha, an island off the western coast of Argyleshire, there is a well named Tobarath Bhuathaig or "The lucky well of Beathag," which used to be famous for its power of raising the wind. It lies at the foot of a hill facing north-east near an isthmus called Tarbat. Six feet above where the water gushes out, there is a heap of stones which forms a cover to the sacred spring. When a person wished for a fair wind, either to leave the island or to bring home his absent friends, this part was opened with great solemnity, the stones were carefully removed, and the well cleaned with a wooden dish or a

¹ J. Palmer, quoted by R. H. Codrington, *The Melanians*, p. 207, note.

² W. Morckson, "Some Recollections of New Guinea Customs," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, 1896, p. 186.

³ J. G. Dalyell, *The Islanders of Scotland*, p. 1.

⁴ Fr. Ross, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 26 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

⁵ Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, III. 627; Miss C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides*, p. 166 sq.

clam shell. This being done, the water was thrown several times in the direction from which the wished-for wind was to blow, and this action was accompanied by a certain form of words, which the person repeated every time he threw the water. When the ceremony was over, the well was again carefully shut up to prevent fatal consequences, it being firmly believed that, were the place left open, a storm would arise which would overwhelm the whole island.¹ The Esthonians have various odd ways of raising a wind. They scratch their finger, or hang up a serpent, or strike an axe into a house-beam in the direction from which they wish the wind to blow, while at the same time they whistle. The notion is that the gentle wind will not let an innocent being or even a beam suffer without coming and breathing softly to assuage the pain.²

In Mabuiag, an island between New Guinea and Australia, there were men whose business was to make wind for such as wanted it. When engaged in his professional duties the wizard painted himself black behind and red on his face and chest. The red in front typified the red cloud of morning, the black represented the dark blue sky of night. Thus arrayed he took some bushes, and, when the tide was low, fastened them at the edge of the reef so that the flowing tide made them sway backwards and forwards. But if only a gentle breeze was needed, he fastened them nearer to the shore. To stop the wind he again painted himself red and black, the latter in imitation of the clear blue sky, and then removing the bushes from the reef he dried and burnt them. The smoke as it curled up was believed to stop the wind: "Smoke he go up and him clear up on top."³ Amongst the Kurnai tribe of Gippsland in Victoria there used to be a noted raiser of storms who went by the name of Bunjil Kraura or "Great West Wind." This wind makes the tall slender trees of the Gippsland forests to rock and sway so that the natives could not climb them in search of opossums. Hence the people were forced to propitiate Bunjil Kraura

¹ W. Fraser, in *Simclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, viii. 52 note.

² Boeckler-Kreutzfeld, *Der Esten abergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten* (St. Petersburg, 1854),

p. 10.
³ A. J. A. of the
Journal
 xiz. 118

addon, "The Ethnography of the Tribe of Torres Straits," *Anthropological Institute*, 401 ap.

by liberal offerings of weapons and rugs, whenever the tree-tops bent before a gale. Having received their gifts, Bunjil Kraura would bind his head with swathes of stringy bark and lull the storm to rest with a song which consisted of the words "Wear—string—Westwind," repeated again and again.¹ Apparently the wizard identified himself with the wind, and fancied that he could bind it by tying string round his own head. The Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia believe that twins are nothing but salmon transformed, and hence they prevent twins from going near a river or the sea, lest they should be changed back into salmon and glide away, with a shimmer of silvery scales, through the clear water. In their childhood twins can summon any wind by merely moving their hands; and when the Indians pray to the wind to be still they say, "Calm down, breath of the twins!"² In Greenland a woman in childbed and for some time after delivery is supposed to possess the power of laying a storm. She has only to go out of doors, fill her mouth with air, and coming back into the house blow it out again.³ In antiquity there was a family at Corinth which enjoyed the reputation of being able to still the raging wind; but we do not know in what manner its members exercised a useful function, which probably earned for them a more solid recompense than mere repute among the seafaring population of the isthmus.⁴ Finnish wizards used to sell wind to storm-stayed mariners. The wind was enclosed in three knots; if they undid the first knot, a moderate wind sprang up; if the second, it blew half a gale; if the third, a hurricane.⁵ Indeed the Esthonians, whose country is divided from Finland only by an arm of the sea, still believe in the magical powers of their northern neighbours. The bitter winds that blow in spring from the north and north-east, bringing ague and

¹ Mary E. B. Howitt, *Folklore and Legends of some Victorian Tribes* (in manuscript).

² Ft. Buss, in *Fifth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Co*, p. 51 (separate reprint from the *Journal of the British Association for 1882*).

³ Egede, *Description* of Greenland, second edition (London 1787), p. 196, note.

⁴ Hesychius and Suidas, s.v. ἀνεμολογοί; Eusebiius, on Homer, *Od.* x. 22, p. 1645. Compare J. Töpfer, *Attische Genealogie*, p. 112, who conjectures that the Eodanemi or Heodanemi at Athens may also have claimed the power of hailing the winds.

⁵ Olaus Magnus, *Gentium Septentr.* *Hist.* iii. 15.

rheumatic inflammations in their train, are set down by the simple Esthonian peasantry to the machinations of the Finnish wizards and witches. In particular they regard with special dread three days in spring to which they give the name of Days of the Cross; one of them falls on the Eve of Ascension Day. The people in the neighbourhood of Fellin fear to go out on these days lest the cruel winds from Lappland should smite them dead. A popular Esthonian song runs:

"Wind of the Cross! rushing and mighty!
Heavy the blow of thy wings sweeping past!
Wild wailing wind of misfortune and sorrow,
Wizards of Finland ride by on the blast."¹

It is said, too, that sailors, beating up against the wind in the Gulf of Finland, sometimes see a strange sail heave in sight astern and overhaul them hand over hand. On she comes with a cloud of canvas—all her studding-sails out—right in the teeth of the wind, forging her way through the foaming billows, dashing back the spray in sheets from her cutwater, every sail swollen to bursting, every rope strained to cracking. Then the sailors know that she hails from Finland.²

The art of tying up the wind in three knots, so that the more knots are loosed the stronger will blow the wind, has been attributed to wizards in Lappland and to witches in the island of Lewis and the Isle of Man.³ Shetland seamen still buy winds from old women who claim to rule the storms. There are said to be ancient crones in Lerwick now who live by selling wind.⁴ In the early part of the nineteenth century Sir Walter Scott visited one of these witches at Stromness in the Orkneys. He says: "We clomb, by steep and dirty lanes, an eminence rising above the town, and commanding a fine view. An old hag lives in a wretched cabin on this height, and subsists by selling winds. Each captain of a

¹ Boedler-Kreutzwald, *Der Eksten* *the Isle of Man*, ii. 166; Miss C. F. *abergläuische Gebräuche, Weisen und* Gordon *ming, In the Hebrides*, p. 254 sq.

² Dana, *Two Years before the Mast*, ch. vi.

³ J. Schaffer, *Laponia* (Frankfurt, 1673), p. 144; J. Train, *Account of*

⁴ *Ki* *Social Life in Scotland*, W. Scott, *Pirate*, note compare Shakespeare, *3c. 3, line 11.*

merchantman, between jest and earnest, gives the old woman sixpence, and she boils her kettle to procure a favourable gale. She was a miserable figure; upwards of ninety, she told us, and dried up like a mummy. A sort of clay-coloured cloak, folded over her head, corresponded in colour to her corpse-like complexion. Fine light-blue eyes, and nose and chin that almost met, and a ghastly expression of cunning, gave her quite the effect of Hecate."¹ A Norwegian witch has boasted of sinking a ship by opening a bag in which she had shut up a wind.² Ulysses received the winds in a leathern bag from Aeolus, King of the Winds.³ The Motumotu in New Guinea think that storms are sent by an Oiabu sorcerer; for each wind he has a bamboo which he opens at pleasure.⁴

Often the stormy wind is regarded as an evil being who may be intimidated, driven away, or killed. When the darkening of the sky indicates the approach of a tornado, a South African magician will repair to a height whither he collects as many people as can be hastily summoned to his assistance. Directed by him, they shout and bellow in imitation of the gust as it swirls roaring about the huts and among the trees of the forest. Then at a signal they mimic the crash of the thunder, after which there is a dead silence for a few seconds; then follows a screech more piercing and prolonged than any that preceded, dying away in a tremulous wail. The magician fills his mouth with a foul liquid which he squirts in defiant jets against the approaching storm as a kind of menace or challenge to the spirit of the wind; and the shouting and wailing of his assistants are meant to frighten the spirit away. The performance lasts until the tornado either bursts or passes away in another direction. If it bursts, the reason is that the magician who sent the storm was more powerful than he who endeavoured to avert

¹ J. G. Lockhart, *Memoirs of the Life of Sir Walter Scott*, iii. 203 (first edition).

² C. Lesenius, *De Lapponia Finmarkens, etc., commentarii*, 154.

³ Homer, *Odyssey*, x. 400. It is said that Proteus, the Ethiopian, used in a

leathern bag; when they escape from it he pursues them, beats them, and shuts them up again. See E. Veckenstedt, *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Germanen* (Lübeck), i. 153. The statements of this writer, however, are to be received with caution.

⁴ J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, p. 177.

it.¹ When storms and bad weather have lasted long and food is scarce with the Central Esquimaux, they endeavour to conjure the tempest by making a long whip of seaweed, armed with which they go down to the beach and strike out in the direction of the wind, crying, "Tada (it is enough)!" Once when north-westerly winds had kept the ice long on the coast and food was becoming scarce, the Esquimaux performed a ceremony to make a calm. A fire was kindled on the shore, and the men gathered round it and chanted. An old man then stepped up to the fire and in a coaxing voice invited the demon of the wind to come under the fire and warm himself. When he was supposed to have arrived, a vessel of water, to which each man present had contributed, was thrown on the flames by an old man, and immediately a flight of arrows sped towards the spot where the fire had been. They thought that the demon would not stay where he had been so badly treated. To complete the effect, guns were discharged in various directions, and the captain of a European vessel was invited to fire on the wind with cannon.² On the twenty-first of February 1883 a similar ceremony was performed by the Esquimaux of Point Barrow, Alaska, with the intention of killing the spirit of the wind. Women drove the demon from their houses with clubs and knives, with which they made passes in the air; and the men, gathering round a fire, shot him with their rifles and crushed him under a heavy stone the moment that steam rose in a cloud from the smouldering embers, on which a tub of water had just been thrown.³

When a gust lifts the hay in the meadow, the Breton peasant throws a knife or a fork at it to prevent the devil from carrying off the hay.⁴ Similarly in the Estonian island of Oesel, when the reapers are busy among the corn and the wind blows about the ears that have not yet been tied into sheaves,

¹ J. Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*, p. 7.

² Fr. Boas, "The Central Esquimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1888), p. 593.

³ *Arctic Papers for the Expedition of*

1875 (Royal Geographical Society), p. 274.

⁴ J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), p. 432.

⁵ P. S. la Hante, *Contes populaires de* 16, p. 302 sq.

the reapers slash at it with their sickles.¹ The custom of flinging a knife or a hat at a whirlwind is observed alike by German, Slavonian, and Esthonian rustics; they think that a witch or wizard is riding on the wind, and that the knife, if it hits the witch, will be reddened by her blood or will disappear altogether, sticking in the wound it has inflicted.² Sometimes Esthonian peasants run shrieking and shouting behind a whirlwind, hurling sticks and stones into the flying dust.³ When the wind blows down their huts, the Payaguas of South America snatch up firebrands and run against the wind, menacing it with the blazing brands, while others beat the air with their fists to frighten the storm.⁴ When the Guaycurus are threatened by a severe storm, the men go out armed, and the women and children scream their loudest to intimidate the demon.⁵ During a tempest the inhabitants of a Batta village in Sumatra have been seen to rush from their houses armed with sword and lance. The rajah placed himself at their head, and with shouts and yells they hewed and hacked at the invisible foe. An old woman was observed to be especially active in the defence of her house, slashing the air right and left with a long sabre.⁶ In Australia the huge columns of red sand that move rapidly across a desert

¹ Holzmayer, "Ossiana," *Verhandlungen der gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*, vii. 2, p. 34.

² Kuhn und Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 454, § 406; W. Mannhardt, *Die Götter der Deutschen und nordischen Völker* (Berlin, 1860), p. 99; *id.*, *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*, p. 85; Boeckler-Kreutzwald, *Der Echten obergläubische Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten*, p. 109; F. S. Krauss, *Volksgebräuche und religiöser Brauch der Südslawen*, p. 117. In some parts of Austria and Germany, when a storm is raging, the people open a window and throw out a handful of meal, saying to the wind, "There, that's for you, stop!" See A. Peter, *Volkskulturbilder aus österreichisch-Schlesien*, ii. 259; Gelman, *Deutsche Mythen*, 529; Zingerle, *Sitten Bräuche und Sagen des Tiroler Volkes*,¹ p. 1 1646. Similarly an old Irishman seen to fling handfuls

cloud of dust blown along a road, and she explained her behaviour by saying that she wished to give something to the fairies who were playing in the dust (*Folklore*, *ic.* (1893), p. 352). But these are sacrifices to appease, not ceremonies to constrain the spirits of the air; thus they belong to the domain of religion rather than to that of magic. The ancient Greeks sacrificed to the winds. See P. Stengel, "Die Opfer der Hellenen an die Winde," *Hermes*, xvi. (1881), pp. 346-350; and my note on Pausanias, ii. 12. 1.

³ J. G. Kohl, *Die deutsch-norischen Ostseeprovinzen*, ii. 278.

⁴ Azara, *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale*, ii. 137.

⁵ Charlevoix, *Histoire du Paraguay*, ii. 76.

⁶ W. A. Henry, "Bijdrage tot de Kennis der Bataklanden," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde*, xvi. 23 *ij.*

tract are thought by the natives to be spirits passing along. Once an athletic young black ran after one of these moving columns to kill it with boomerangs. He was away two or three hours, and came back very weary saying he had killed Koochee (the demon), but that Koochee had growled at him and he must die.¹ Of the Bedouins of Eastern Africa it is said that "no whirlwind ever sweeps across the path without being pursued by a dozen savages with drawn creeses, who stab into the centre of the dusty column in order to drive away the evil spirit that is believed to be riding on the blast."²

In the light of these examples a story told by Herodotus, which his modern critics have treated as a fable, is perfectly credible. He says, without however vouching for the truth of the tale, that once in the land of the Psylli, the modern Tripoli, the wind blowing from the Sahara had dried up all the water-tanks. So the people took counsel and marched in a body to make war on the south wind. But when they entered the desert, the simoom swept down on them and buried them to a man.³ The story may well have been told by one who watched them disappearing, in battle array, with drums and cymbals beating, into the red cloud of whirling sand.

§ 3. Incarnate Gods

These instances, drawn from the beliefs and practices of rude peoples all over the world, may suffice to prove that the savage, whether European or otherwise, fails to recognise

¹ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 457 *ff.*; compare *id.*, ii. 270; A. W. Howitt, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xlii. (1884), p. 194, note.

² W. Cornelius Harris, *The High-lands of Ethiopia*, i. 352. Compare Ph. Paußschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas: die geistige Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Somali* (Berlin, 1896), p. 28. Even where these dust columns are not attacked they are still regarded with awe. In some parts of India they are supposed to be *blows* going to bathe in the Ganges (Denail C. J. Isherson, *Settlement Report of the Punjab, Takul, and Karnal Parganahs*

of the Karnal District, p. 154). The Pawnees believe them to be ghosts (G. B. Grinnell, *Pownee Hero-Stories and Folk-tales*, p. 357). Californian Indians think that they are happy souls ascending to the heavenly land (Stephen Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 328). Once when a great Fijian chief died, a whirlwind swept across the lagoon. An old man who saw it covered his mouth with his hand and said in an awestruck whisper, "There goes his spirit." Rev. Lorimer Fison, in a letter to the author, dated August 26, 1898.

³ H. 28, iv. 173; Aulus Gellius, xvi. 11.

those limitations to his power over nature which seem so obvious to us. In a society where every man is supposed to be endowed more or less with powers which we should call supernatural, it is plain that the distinction between gods and men is somewhat blurred, or rather has scarcely emerged. The conception of gods as supernatural beings entirely distinct from and superior to man, and wielding powers to which he possesses nothing comparable in degree and hardly even in kind, has been slowly evolved in the course of history. At first the supernatural agents are not regarded as greatly, if at all, superior to man; for they may be frightened and coerced by him into doing his will. At this stage of thought the world is viewed as a great democracy; all beings in it, whether natural or supernatural, are supposed to stand on a footing of tolerable equality. But with the growth of his knowledge man learns to realise more clearly the vastness of nature and his own littleness and feebleness in presence of it. The recognition of his own helplessness does not, however, carry with it a corresponding belief in the impotence of those supernatural beings with which his imagination peoples the universe. On the contrary it enhances his conception of their power. For the idea of the world as a system of impersonal forces acting in accordance with fixed and invariable laws has not yet fully dawned or darkened upon him. The germ of the idea he certainly has, and he acts upon it, not only in magic art, but in much of the business of daily life. But the idea remains undeveloped, and so far as he attempts to explain the world he lives in, he pictures it as the manifestation of conscious will and personal agency. If then he feels himself to be so frail and slight, how vast and powerful must he deem the beings who control the gigantic machinery of nature! Thus as his old sense of equality with the gods slowly vanishes, he resigns at the same time the hope of directing the course of nature by his own unaided resources, that is, by magic, and looks more and more to the gods as the sole repositories of those supernatural powers which he once claimed to share with them. With the advance of knowledge, therefore, prayer and sacrifice assume the leading place in religious ritual; and magic, which once ranked them as a legitimate equal, is

gradually relegated to the background and sinks to the level of a black art. It is now regarded as an encroachment, at once vain and impious, on the domain of the gods, and as such encounters the steady opposition of the priests, whose reputation and influence rise or fall with those of their gods. Hence, when at a late period the distinction between religion and superstition has emerged, we find that sacrifice and prayer are the resource of the pious and enlightened portion of the community, while magic is the refuge of the superstitious and ignorant. But when, still later, the conception of the elemental forces as personal agents is giving way to the recognition of natural law; then magic, based as it implicitly is on the idea of a necessary and invariable sequence of cause and effect, independent of personal will, reappears from the obscurity and discredit into which it had fallen, and by investigating the causal sequences in nature, directly prepares the way for science. Alchemy leads up to chemistry.

The notion of a man-god, or of a human being endowed with divine or supernatural powers, belongs essentially to that earlier period of religious history in which gods and men are still viewed as beings of much the same order, and before they are divided by the impassable gulf which, to later thought, opens out between them. Strange, therefore, as may seem to us the idea of a god incarnate in human form, it has nothing very startling for early man, who sees in a man-god or a god-man only a higher degree of the same supernatural powers which he arrogates in perfect good faith to himself. Such incarnate gods are common in rude society. The incarnation may be temporary or permanent. In the former case, the incarnation—commonly known as inspiration or possession—reveals itself in supernatural knowledge rather than in supernatural power. In other words, its usual manifestations are divination and prophecy rather than miracles. On the other hand, when the incarnation is not merely temporary, when the divine spirit has permanently taken up its abode in a human body, the god-man is usually expected to vindicate his character by working miracles. Only we have to remember that by men at this stage of thought miracles are not considered as breaches of natural law. Not

conceiving the existence of natural law, primitive man cannot conceive a breach of it. A miracle is to him merely an unusually striking manifestation of a common power.

* The belief in temporary incarnation or inspiration is world-wide. Certain persons are supposed to be possessed from time to time by a spirit or deity; while the possession lasts, their own personality lies in abeyance, the presence of the spirit is revealed by convulsive shiverings and shakings of the man's whole body, by wild gestures and excited looks, all of which are referred, not to the man himself, but to the spirit which has entered into him; and in this abnormal state all his utterances are accepted as the voice of the god or spirit dwelling in him and speaking through him. In Mangaia the priests in whom the gods took up their abode from time to time were called "god-boxes" or, for shortness, "gods." Before giving oracles as gods, they drank an intoxicating liquor, and in the frenzy thus produced their wild whirling words were received as the voice of the god.¹ In Fiji there is in every tribe a certain family who alone are liable to be thus temporarily inspired or possessed by a divine spirit. "Their qualification is hereditary, and any one of the ancestral gods may choose his vehicle from among them. I have seen this possession, and a horrible sight it is. In one case, after the fit was over, for some time the man's muscles and nerves twitched and quivered in an extraordinary way. He was naked except for his breech-clout, and on his naked breast little snakes seemed to be wriggling for a moment or two beneath his skin, disappearing and then suddenly reappearing in another part of his chest. When the *mbete* (which we may translate 'priest' for want of a better word) is seized by the possession, the god within him calls out his own name in a stridulous tone, 'It is I! Katouivere!' or some other name. At the next possession some other ancestor may declare himself."² In Bali there are certain persons called *pirmas*, who are predestined or fitted by nature to become the temporary abode of the invisible deities. When a god is to be consulted, the villagers go and compel some of these mediums to lend their services. Sometimes

¹ Giff, *Myths and Songs from the Pacific*, p. 35.

² Rev. Lorimer Fison, in a letter to the author, dated August 26, 1898.

the medium leaves his consciousness at home, and is then conducted with marks of honour to the temple, ready to receive the godhead into his person. Generally, however, some time passes before he can be brought into the requisite condition of body and mind; but the desired result may be hastened by making him inhale the smoke of incense or surrounding him with a band of singing men or women. The soul of the medium quits for a time his body, which is thus placed at the disposal of the deity, and up to the moment when his consciousness returns all his words and acts are regarded as proceeding not from himself but from the god. So long as the possession lasts he is a *dewa kapingan*, that is, a god who has become man, and in that character he answers the questions put to him. During this time his body is believed to be immaterial and hence invulnerable. A dance with swords and pikes follows the consultation of the oracle; but these weapons could make no impression on the ethereal body of the inspired medium.¹ In Poso, a district of Central Celebes, sickness is often supposed to be caused by an alien substance, such as a piece of tobacco, a stick, or even a chopping-knife, which has been introduced unseen into the body of the sufferer by the magic art of an insidious foe. To discover and eject this foreign matter is a task for a god, who for this purpose enters into the body of a priestess, speaks through her mouth, and performs the necessary surgical operation with her hands. An eye-witness of the ceremony has told how, when the priestess sat beside the sick man, with her head covered by a cloth, she began to quiver and shake and to sing in a strident tone, at which some one observed to the writer, "Now her own spirit is leaving her body and a god is taking its place." On removing the cloth from her head she was no longer a woman but a heavenly spirit, and gazed about her with an astonished air as if to ask how she came from her own celestial region to this humble abode. Yet the divine spirit condescended to chew betel and to drink palm-wine like any poor mortal of earthly mould. After she had pretended to extract the cause of the disease

¹ F. A. Liefrinck, "Bijdrage tot de kennis van het eiland Bali," *Tijdschrift*

over
Java

+ *Tierk. Land- en Volksk.*
(1890), p. 260 sq.

by laying the cloth from her head on the patient's stomach and pinching it, she veiled her face once more, sobbed, quivered, and shook violently, at which the people said, "The human spirit is returning into her."¹ A Brahman householder who performs the regular half-monthly sacrifices is supposed thereby to become himself a deity for a time. In the words of the *Satapatha-Brahmana*, "He who is consecrated draws nigh to the gods and becomes one of the deities."² "All formulas of the consecration are *audgrabhana* (elevatory), since he who is consecrated elevates himself (*ud-grabh*) from this world to the world of the gods. He elevates himself by means of these same formulas."³ "He who is consecrated indeed becomes both Vishnu and a sacrificer; for when he is consecrated, he is Vishnu, and when he sacrifices, he is the sacrificer."⁴ After he has completed the sacrifice he becomes man again, divesting himself of his sacred character with the words, "Now I am he who I really am," which are thus explained in the *Satapatha-Brahmana*: "In entering upon the vow, he becomes, as it were, non-human; and as it would not be becoming for him to say, 'I enter from truth into untruth'; and as, in fact, he now again becomes man, let him therefore divest himself (of the vow) with the text: 'Now I am he who I really am.'"⁵

But examples of such temporary inspiration are so common in every part of the world and are now so familiar through books on ethnology that it is needless to multiply illustrations of the general principle.⁶ It may be well, however, to refer to two particular modes of producing temporary inspiration, because they are perhaps less known than some others, and because we shall have occasion to refer to them later on. One of these modes of producing inspiration is by sucking the fresh blood of a sacrificed victim. In the temple of Apollo Diradiotes at Argos, a lamb was sacrificed by night

¹ A. C. Kruis, "Mijne eerste ervaringen te Joso," *Mededeelingen van de Nederlandsche Zendelingenvereeniging*, xxxv. (1892), pp. 39f.

² *Satapatha-Brahmana*, p. 4, 38, 42, 44, translated by J. Eggeling (*Sacred Books of the East*, xvi.).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 25.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 29.

⁵ *Satapatha-Brahmana*, part 4, p. 4, trans. by J. Eggeling (*Sacred Books of the East*, vol. xii.). On the deification of the sacrificer in the Brahman ritual see Hubert and Mauss, "Essai sur le sacrifice," *L'Année Sociologique*, ii. (1897-1898), p. 48 *seq.*

⁶ See for examples E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,² ii. 131 *seq.*

once a month; a woman, who had to observe a rule of chastity, tasted the blood of the lamb, and thus being inspired by the god she prophesied or divined.¹ At Aegira in Achaia the priestess of Earth drank the fresh blood of a bull before she descended into the cave to prophesy.² In Southern India a devil-dancer "drinks the blood of the sacrifice, putting the throat of the decapitated goat to his mouth. Then, as if he had acquired new life, he begins to brandish his staff of bells, and to dance with a quick but wild unsteady step. Suddenly the afflatus descends. There is no mistaking that glare, or those frantic leaps. He snorts, he stares, he gyrates. The demon has now taken bodily possession of him; and, though he retains the power of utterance and of motion, both are under the demon's control, and his separate consciousness is in abeyance. The bystanders signalize the event by raising a long shout, attended with a peculiar vibratory noise, which is caused by the motion of the hand and tongue, or of the tongue alone. The devil-dancer is now worshipped as a present deity, and every bystander consults him respecting his disease, his wants, the welfare of his absent relatives, the offerings to be made for the accomplishment of his wishes, and, in short, respecting everything for which superhuman knowledge is supposed to be available."³ At a festival of the Afoors of Minahassa, in Northern Celebes, after a pig has been killed, the priest rushes furiously at it, thrusts his head into the carcass, and drinks of the blood. Then he is dragged away from it by force and set on a chair, whereupon he begins to prophesy how the rice-crop will turn out that year. A second time he runs at the carcass and drinks of the blood; a second time he is forced into the chair and continues his predictions. It is thought there is a spirit in him which possesses the power of prophecy.⁴ At Rhetræ, a great religious capital of the

¹ Pausanias, ii. 24. 1. *ἀστρον δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ γλαρᾶ* is the expression.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 147. Pausanias (vii. 25. 13) mentions the draught of bull's blood as an ordeal to test the chastity of the priestess. Doubtless it was thought to serve both purposes.

Caldwell, "On demonology in

Southern India," *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, i. 101 sq. For a description of a similar rite performed at Periepatam in Southern India, see *Lettres Asiatiques et Curieuses*,

x. 3. In this latter case too as a woman, and the animal which she drank was a pig.

Gucel, "De Minahassa in

Western Slavs, the priest tasted the blood of the sacrificed oxen and sheep in order the better to prophesy.¹ The true test of a Dainyal or diviner among some of the Hindoo Koosh tribes is to suck the blood from the neck of a decapitated goat.² The Sabaeans regarded blood as unclean, but nevertheless drank it because they believed it to be the food of demons, and thought that by imbibing it they entered into communion with the demons, who would thus visit them and lift the veil that hides the future from mortal vision.³ The other mode of producing temporary inspiration, to which I shall here refer, is by means of a branch or leaves of a sacred tree. Thus in the Hindoo Koosh a fire is kindled with twigs of the sacred cedar; and the Dainyal or sibyl, with a cloth over her head, inhales the thick pungent smoke till she is seized with convulsions and falls senseless to the ground. Soon she rises and raises a shrill chant, which is caught up and loudly repeated by her audience.⁴ So Apollo's prophetess ate the sacred laurel and was fumigated with it before she prophesied.⁵ The Bacchanals ate ivy, and their inspired fury was by some believed to be due to the exciting and intoxicating properties of the plant.⁶

It is worth observing that many peoples expect the victim as well as the priest or prophet to give signs of inspiration by convulsive movements of the body; and if the animal remains obstinately steady, they esteem it unfit for sacrifice. Thus when the Yakuts sacrifice to an evil spirit, the beast must bellow and roll about, which is con-

1825," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-land- en Volkenkunde*, xviii. 517 sq. Crenjura "De godsdienst en godsdienst-plegigheden der Alfoeren in de Menhassa op het eiland Celebes," *Tijdschrift van Nederlandsch Indië*, 1849, 2d. v. p. 395; N. Grassland, *De Alindahs*, i. 122; Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage autour du Monde à la recherche de La Perouse*, v. 443.

² F. J. Monz, *Geschichte des Heidenthums im nördlichen Europa*, 188.

³ Biddulph, *Triber of the Koosh*, p. 96. For other instances of priests or representatives drinking the warm blood compare Oldfield, *Sheep*

ii. 296 sq.; *Asiatic Researches*, iv. 40, 41, 50, 52 (8vo ed.); Paul Soleillet, *L'Afrique Occidentale*, p. 123 sq. To stuff up the savour of the sacrifice was similarly supposed to produce inspiration (Tertullian, *Apologet.* 23).

⁴ Maimonides, quoted by D. Chwolson, *Die Staber und der Sanktismus*, ii. 48v sq.

Biddulph, *Triber of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 97.

⁵ Lucian, *Hic accit.* 1; Tzetzes, *Schol. on Lycophron*, 6; Plutarch, *De B. apud Delphos*, 2; *id.*, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 6.

⁶ Plutarch, *Quaestiones Romanae*, 112.

sidered a token that the evil spirit has entered into it.¹ Apollo's propheticess could give no oracles unless the sacrificial victim trembled in every limb when the wine was poured, on its head. But for ordinary Greek sacrifices it was enough that the victim should shake its head; to make it do so, water was poured on it.² Many other peoples (Tonquinese, Hindoos, Chuwash, etc.) have adopted the same test of a suitable victim; they pour water or wine on its head; if the animal shakes its head it is accepted for sacrifice; if it does not, it is rejected.³ Among the Kafirs of the Hindoo Koosh the priest or his substitute pours water into the ear and all down the spine of the intended victim, whether it be a sheep or a goat. It is not enough that the animal should merely shake its head to get the water out of its ear; it must shake its whole body as a wet dog shakes himself. When it does so, a kissing sound is made by all present, and the victim is forthwith slaughtered.⁴

The person temporarily inspired is believed to acquire, not merely divine knowledge, but also, at least occasionally, divine power. In Cambodia, when an epidemic breaks out, the inhabitants of several villages unite and go with a band of music at their head to look for the man whom the local god is supposed to have chosen for his temporary incarnation. When found, the man is conducted to the altar of the god, where the mystery of incarnation takes place. Then the man becomes an object of veneration to his fellows, who implore him to protect the village against the plague.⁵ A certain image of Apollo, which stood in a sacred cave at Hylae near

¹ Vambery, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 158.

² Plutarch, *De defect. oracul.* 46, 49, 51.

³ D. Chwolson, *Die Sackier und der Saobienau*, II. 37; *Lettres Asiatiques et asiatiques*, vol. 220, 19, 1; *Panjab Notes and Queries*, III. p. 171, § 721; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I. p. 3, § 4; *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, I. 103; S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, p. 216; *id.*, *Native Life in Transcaucasia*, p. 94; A. C. Lyall, *Ariatic Studies*, First Series (London, 1899), p. 19; Bidulph, *Tricks of the Hindoo Koosh*, p. 131; Pallas, *Reisen in verschiedenen*

Provinzen des russischen Reiches, I. 51;

Vambery, *Das Türkenvolk*, p. 42.

Erman, *Archiv für wissenschaftl. Kunde von Russland*, I. 377. When the Rao of Kachib sacrifices a buffalo, water is sprinkled between its horns; if it shakes its head, it is unsuitable; if it nods its head, it is sacrificed (*Panjab Notes and Queries*, I. § 911). This is probably a mis-

translation of the old custom.

⁴ Scott Robertson, *Kaifu Kuis* (Lor

ance du Caro

Magnesia, was thought to impart superhuman strength. Sacred men, inspired by it, leaped down precipices, tore up huge trees by the roots, and carried them on their backs along the narrowest defiles.¹ The feats performed by inspired dervishes belong to the same class.

Thus far we have seen that the savage, failing to discern the limits of his ability to control nature, ascribes to himself and to all men certain powers which we should now call supernatural. Further, we have seen that, over and above this general supernaturalism, some persons are supposed to be inspired for short periods by a divine spirit, and thus temporarily to enjoy the knowledge and power of the indwelling deity. From beliefs like these it is an easy step to the conviction that certain men are permanently possessed by a deity, or in some other undefined way are endued with so high a degree of supernatural power as to be ranked as gods and to receive the homage of prayer and sacrifice. Sometimes these human gods are restricted to purely supernatural or spiritual functions. Sometimes they exercise supreme political power in addition. In the latter case they are kings as well as gods, and the government is a theocracy.

I shall give examples of both, but at the outset it is well to note that in the sorcerer or miracle-monger pure and simple we have, as it were, the chrysalis out of which the full-blown god or king may sooner or later emerge. "The real gods at Tana," says the Rev. Dr. Turner, "may be said to be the disease-makers. It is surprising how these men are dreaded, and how firm the belief that they have in their hands the power of life and death." The means employed by these sorcerers to effect their fell purpose is sympathetic magic; they pick up the refuse of a man's food, or other rubbish belonging to him, and burn it with certain formalities; and so the man falls ill and sends a present—an embryo sacrifice—to the sorcerer or embryo god, praying him to stop burning the rubbish, for he believes that when it is quite burnt he must surely die.² Here we have all the

¹ Pausanias, x.,
Magnesia exhibit c.
carrying an unrope
Bd.

² Series, xii (1892), p. 89. Mr. Baker
suggests that the custom may be a relic
of ancient tree-worship.

³ G. Turner, *Somali*, p. 320. 1899.

elements of religion—a god, a worshipper, prayer and sacrifice—in process of evolution. And the same supernatural powers which tend to elevate a magician into a god, tend also to raise him to the rank of a chief or a king. In Melanesia "as a matter of fact the power of chiefs has hitherto rested upon the belief in their supernatural power derived from the spirits or ghosts with which they had intercourse. As this belief has failed in the Banks' Islands, for example, some time ago, the position of a chief has tended to become obscure; and as this belief is now being generally undermined a new kind of chief must needs arise, unless a time of anarchy is to begin."¹ According to a native Melanesian account, the origin of the authority of chiefs lies entirely in the belief that they have communication with mighty ghosts and possess that supernatural power whereby they are able to bring the influence of the ghosts to bear. If a chief imposed a fine, it was paid because the people universally dreaded his ghostly power, and firmly believed that he could inflict calamity and sickness upon such as resisted him. As soon as any considerable number of his people began to disbelieve in his influence with the ghosts, his power to levy fines was shaken.² Among the Toaripi or Motumotu tribe of New Guinea "chiefs have not necessarily supernatural powers, but a sorcerer is looked upon as a chief. A man here, Hiovali, is a chief because he has power over the sea and gives calm or storm. Another, Pittharo, is great because his power is for plantations, and is able to give an abundance of all kinds of food, and can bring rain or sunshine."³ Among the Matabele of South Africa the witch-doctors are supposed to be on speaking terms with spirits, and their influence is described as tremendous; in the time of King Lo Bengula some years ago "their power was as great as, if not greater than, the king's."⁴ Among the Wambugwe, a Bantu people of Eastern Africa, the original form of government was a family republic, but the enormous power of the sorcerers, transmitted

¹ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 46.

² Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 52. As to the *wana* or supernatural power of chiefs and others, see *ibid.* p. 115 *seq.*

³ J. Chalmers, "Toaripi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii (1898), p. 334.

⁴ L. Dede, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 154.

by inheritance, soon raised them to the rank of petty lords or chiefs.¹ The chiefs of the Wataturu, another people of East Africa, are said to be nothing but sorcerers destitute of any direct political influence.² Every Alfoor village of Northern Ceram has usually six priests, of whom the most intelligent discharges the duties of high priest. This man is the most powerful person in the village; all the inhabitants, even the regent, are subject to him and must do his bidding. The common herd regard him as a higher being, a sort of demi-god. He aims at surrounding himself with an atmosphere of mystery, and for this purpose lives in great seclusion, generally in the council-house of the village, where he conceals himself from vulgar eyes behind a screen or partition.³

If in these cases we see callow divinities, sacred kings and spiritual lords in the nestling stage, in others we meet with them full-fledged. Thus in the Marquesas Islands there was a class of men who were deified in their lifetime. They were supposed to wield a supernatural power over the elements; they could give abundant harvests or smite the ground with barrenness; and they could inflict disease or death. Human sacrifices were offered to them to avert their wrath. There were not many of them, at the most one or two in each island. They lived in mystic seclusion. Their powers were sometimes, but not always, hereditary. A missionary has described one of these human gods from personal observation. The god was a very old man who lived in a large house within an enclosure. In the house was a kind of altar, and on the beams of the house and on the trees round it were hung human skeletons, head down. No one entered the enclosure except the persons dedicated to the service of the god; only on days when human victims were sacrificed might ordinary people penetrate into the precinct. This human god received more sacrifices than all the other gods; often he would sit on a sort of scaffold in front of his house and call for two or

¹ O. Baumann, *Durch Massailand zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, 1894), p. 187.

² Baumann, *op. cit.* p. 173.

³ J. Boel, "Korte schets der noord-

kust van Ceram," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x. (1893), p. 1198 *iv*.

three human victims at a time. They were always brought, for the terror he inspired was extreme. He was invoked all over the island, and offerings were sent to him from every side.¹ Again, of the South Sea Islands in general we are told that each island had a man who represented or personified the divinity. Such men were called gods, and their substance was confounded with that of the deity. The man-god was sometimes the king himself; oftener he was a priest or subordinate chief.² Tanatoa, king of Raiatea, was deified by a certain ceremony performed at the chief temple. "As one of the divinities of his subjects, therefore, the king was worshipped, consulted as an oracle and had sacrifices and prayers offered to him."³ This was not an exceptional case. The kings of the island regularly enjoyed divine honours, being deified at the time of their accession.⁴ At his inauguration the king of Tahiti received a sacred girdle of red and yellow feathers, "which not only raised him to the highest earthly station, but identified him with their gods."⁵ His houses were called the clouds of heaven; the rainbow was the name of the canoe in which he voyaged; his voice was spoken of as thunder, and the glare of the torches in his dwelling as lightning; and when the people saw them in the evening, as they passed near his house, instead of saying the torches were burning in the palace, they would remark that the lightning was flashing in the clouds of heaven. When he moved from one district to another on the shoulders of his bearers, he was said to be flying.⁶ The gods of Samoa generally appeared in animal form, but sometimes they were permanently incarnate in men, who gave oracles, received offerings (occasionally of human flesh), healed the sick, answered prayers, and so on.⁷ In regard to the old religion of the Fijians, and especially of the inhabitants of Somosomo, it is said that "there appears to be no

¹ Virendon-Dumoulin et Desgraz, *Iles Marquises*, pp. 226, 240 sq. Compare Mathias G. * * *, *Lettres sur les Iles Marquises* (Paris, 1843), p. 44 sq.

² Moerenhout, *Voyages aux Iles du Grand Océan*, I. 479; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, III. 94.

³ Tyerman and Bennet, *Journal of Voyages and Travels in the South Sea*

Islands, China, India, etc., I. 524; compare *ibid.* p. 529 sq.

⁴ Tyerman and Bennet, *op. cit.* I. 529 sq.

⁵ W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, III. 108.

⁶ W. Ellis, *op. cit.* III. 113 sq.

⁷ Turner, *Samoa*, pp. 37, 48, 57, 58, 59, 73.

certain line of demarcation between departed spirits and gods, nor between gods and living men, for many of the priests and old chiefs are considered as sacred persons, and not a few of them will also claim to themselves the right of divinity. 'I am a god,' Tuikilakila would say; and he believed it too.¹ In the Pelew Islands it is thought that every god can take possession of a man and speak through him. The possession may be either temporary or permanent; in the latter case the chosen person is called a *korong*. The god is free in his choice, so the position of *korong* is not hereditary. After the death of a *korong* the god is for some time unrepresented, until he suddenly makes his appearance in a new Avatar. The person thus chosen gives signs of the divine presence by behaving in a strange way; he gapes, runs about, and performs a number of senseless acts. At first people laugh at him, but his sacred mission is in time recognised, and he is invited to assume his proper position in the state. Generally this position is a distinguished one and confers on him a powerful influence over the whole community. In some of the islands the god is political sovereign of the land; and hence his new incarnation, however humble his origin, is raised to the same high rank, and rules, as god and king, over all the other chiefs.²

The theory of the real divinity of a king is held strongly in the Malay region. Not only is the king's person considered sacred, but the sanctity of his body is supposed to communicate itself to his regalia and to slay those who break the royal taboos. Thus it is firmly believed that any one who seriously offends the royal person, who imitates or touches even for a moment the chief objects of the regalia, or who wrongfully makes use of the insignia or privileges of royalty will be *kéna daulat*, that is, struck dead by a sort of electric discharge of that divine power which the Malays suppose to reside in the king's person and to which they give the name of *daulat*

¹ Hazlewood in Erskine's *Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific*, p. 246 *sq.* Cp. Wilkes's *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition*, iii. 87; Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i. 219 *sq.*; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 122. ² A great chief (in Fiji) really believed

himself to be a god—i.e. a reincarnation of an ancestor who had grown into a god¹ (Rev. Lorimer Fison, in a letter to the author, dated August 26, 1893).

² Kulary, 'Die Religion der Pelauer,' in Bastian's *Alberici aus Fatah- und Menckebunde*, i. 30 *sqq.*

or sanctity.¹ The regalia of every petty Malay state are believed to be endowed with supernatural powers;² and we are told that "the extraordinary strength of the Malay belief in the supernatural powers of the regalia of their sovereigns can only be thoroughly realised after a study of their romances, in which their kings are credited with all the attributes of inferior gods, whose birth, as indeed every subsequent act of their after-life, is attended by the most amazing prodigies."³ Now it is highly significant that the Malay magician owns certain insignia which are said to be exactly analogous to the regalia of the divine king, and even bear the very same name.⁴ We may conjecture, therefore, that in the Malay region, and perhaps in other parts of the world, a king's regalia are nothing but the conjuring apparatus of his predecessor the magician. In the Boeginese districts of Celebes, when epidemics rage among men or cattle, or when the harvest threatens to fail, the regalia are brought out, smeared with buffalo's blood, and carried about. The oldest dynasties have the most regalia, and the holiest regalia consist of relics of the bodies of former princes, which are kept in golden caskets wrapt in silk. The people attach so much weight to the regalia that whoever is in possession of them is popularly held to be the reigning prince. In insurrections the first effort made by the rebels is to seize the regalia, for if they can only make themselves masters of these miraculous objects, the authority of the sovereign is gone.⁵ In Cambodia the regalia are regarded as a palladium on which the existence of the kingdom depends; they are committed to Brahmans for safe-keeping.⁶ Among the Battas of Central Sumatra there is a prince who bears the hereditary title of Singa Mangaradja and is worshipped as a deity. He reigns over Bakara, a

¹ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 23 sq.

² T. J. Newbold, *Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, ii. 193.

³ Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 29.

⁴ Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 59.

⁵ G. J. Harrelson, "Een orna-

mentenloos van Gantarang (Zuid-Celebes)," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xix. (1875), pp. 344-351; G. K. Nieuwen, "De Boeginezen en Mahasaven," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxviii. (1889), p. 270 sq.

⁶ A. Bestion, *Vollständiges am Brühaupten*, p. 21.

village on the south-western shore of Lake Toba; but his worship is diffused among the tribes both near and far. All sorts of strange stories are told of him. It is said that he was seven years in his mother's womb, and thus came into the world a seven-years-old child; that he has a black hairy tongue the sight of which is fatal, so that in speaking he keeps his mouth as nearly shut as possible and gives all his orders in writing. Sometimes he remains seven months without eating, or sleeps for three months together. He can make the sun to shine or the rain to fall at his pleasure; hence the people pray to him for a good harvest, and worshippers hasten to Bakara from all sides with offerings in the hope of thereby securing his miraculous aid. Wherever he goes, the gongs are solemnly beaten and the public peace must not be broken. He is said to eat neither pork nor dog's flesh.¹ The Battas used to cherish a superstitious veneration for the Sultan of Minangkabau, and showed a blind submission to his relations and emissaries, real or pretended, when these persons appeared among them for the purpose of levying contributions. Even when insulted and put in fear of their lives they made no attempt at resistance; for they believed that their affairs would never prosper, that their rice would be blighted and their buffaloes die, and that they would remain under a sort of spell if they offended these sacred messengers.² In time of public calamity, as during war or pestilence, some of the Molucca Islanders used to celebrate a festival of heaven. If no good result followed, they bought a slave, took him at the next festival to the place of sacrifice, and set him on a raised place under a certain bamboo-tree. This tree represented heaven, and had been honoured as its image at previous festivals. The portion of the sacrifice which had previously been offered to heaven was now given to the slave, who ate and drank

¹ G. K. Nijemann, "Bijdrage tot de Kennis van den Godsdienst der Betaks," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, III. Serie, IV. (1870), p. 289 pp.; B. Hagen, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Battareligion," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde*, XXVIII, 537 pp.; G. A. Wilken, "Het animisme," *De Indische Gids*,

July 1884, p. 85; *id.*, *Handleiding voor de verzorgende Volkskunde van Nederlandsch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), pp. 369 *sq.*, 612; von Brenner, *Besuch bei den Kanibalen von Sumatra* (Würzburg, 1894), p. 340.

² Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 376 *sq.*

it in the name and stead of heaven. Henceforth the slave was well treated, kept for the festivals of heaven, and employed to represent heaven and receive the offerings in its name.¹

A peculiarly bloodthirsty monarch of Burma, by name, Badonsachen, whose very countenance reflected the inbred ferocity of his nature, and under whose reign more victims perished by the executioner than by the common enemy, conceived the notion that he was something more than mortal, and that this high distinction had been granted him as a reward for his numerous good works. Accordingly he laid aside the title of king and aimed at making himself a god. With this view, and in imitation of Buddha, who, before being advanced to the rank of a divinity, had quitted his royal palace and seraglio and retired from the world, Badonsachen withdrew from his palace to an immense pagoda, the largest in the empire, which he had been engaged in constructing for many years. Here he held conferences with the most learned monks, in which he sought to persuade them that the five thousand years assigned for the observance of the law of Buddha were now elapsed, and that he himself was the god who was destined to appear after that period, and to abolish the old law by substituting his own. But to his great mortification many of the monks undertook to demonstrate the contrary; and this disappointment, combined with his love of power and his impatience under the restraints of an ascetic life, quickly disabused him of his imaginary godhead, and drove him back to his palace and his harem.² There is a special language devoted to the sacred person and attributes of the king of Siam, and it must be used by all who speak to or of him. Even the natives have difficulty in mastering this peculiar vocabulary. The hairs of the monarch's head, the soles of his feet, the breath of his body, indeed every single detail of his person, both outward and inward, have particular names. When he eats or drinks, sleeps or walks, a special word indicates that these acts are being performed by the sovereign, and such words cannot

¹ F. Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indien*, iii. 7 *sq.*

² Sangermano, *Description of the Burmese Empire* (reprinted at Rangoon, 1885), p. 63 *sq.*

possibly be applied to the acts of any other person whatever. There is no word in the Siamese language by which any creature of higher rank or greater dignity than a monarch can be described; and the missionaries, when they speak of God, are forced to use the native word for king.¹ In Tonquin every village chooses its guardian spirit, often in the form of an animal, as a dog, tiger, cat, or serpent. Sometimes a living person is selected as patron-divinity. Thus a beggar persuaded the people of a village that he was their guardian spirit; so they loaded him with honours and entertained him with their best.²

In India "every king is regarded as little short of a present god."³ The Hindoo law-book of Manu goes farther and says that "even an infant king must not be despised from an idea that he is a mere mortal; for he is a great deity in human form."⁴ The spiritual power of a Brahman priest is described as unbounded. "His anger is as terrible as that of the gods. His blessing makes rich, his curse withers. Nay, more, he is himself actually worshipped as a god. No marvel,

¹ E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe* (Westminster, 1898), p. 142 *sq.* Similarly, special acts of terms are or have been used with reference to persons of royal blood in Burma (Forbes, *British Burma*, p. 71 *sq.*; Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, II. 118 *sqq.*), Cambodia (Lamire, *Cochinchine française et le royaume de Cambodge*, p. 447), Travancore (S. Mather, *Native Life in Travancore*, p. 129), the Pelew Islands (K. Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln*, p. 309 *sq.*), Samoa (J. E. Newell, "Chief's language in Samoa," *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists*, London, 1893, II. 784-799), the Maldives (Fr. Pynard, *Voyage to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Malabar, and Brunei*, I. 226), in some parts of Madagascar (J. Sibree, in *The Antiquarian's Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. XI., Christmas 1887, p. 310 *sqq.*; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXI. 1892), p. 215 *sqq.*, and among the Natchez Indians of North America (Du Pratz, *History of Louisiana*, p. 128). When we remember that special vocabularies of this sort have been

employed with regard to kings or chiefs who are known to have enjoyed a divine or semi-divine character, as in Tahiti (see above, p. 140), Fiji (Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, I. 37), and Tonga (Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, II. 79), we shall be inclined to surmise that the existence of such a practice anywhere is indicative of a tendency to deify royal personages, who are thus marked off from their fellows. This would not necessarily apply to a custom of using a special dialect or particular forms of speech in addressing social superiors generally, such as prevails in Java (Raffles, *History of Java*, I. 310, 366 *sqq.*, London, 1817), and Bali (Friederich, "Voorloopig Verslag van het eiland Bali," *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, XXII. 4; J. Jacobs, *Enigen tijd onder de Balier*, p. 36).

² Basilius, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, IV. 383.

³ Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India*, p. 259.

⁴ *The Laws of Manu*, VII. 8, trans. by G. Bühler.

no prodigy in nature is believed to be beyond the limits of his power to accomplish. If the priest were to threaten to bring down the sun from the sky or arrest it in its daily course in the heavens, no villager would for a moment doubt his ability to do so."¹ There is said to be a sect in Orissa who worship the Queen of England as their chief divinity. And to this day in India all living persons remarkable for great strength or valour or for supposed miraculous powers run the risk of being worshipped as gods. Thus, a sect in the Punjab worshipped a deity whom they called Nikkal Sen. This Nikkal Sen was no other than the redoubted General Nicholson, and nothing that the general could do or say damped the ardour of his adorers. The more he punished them, the greater grew the religious awe with which they worshipped him.² At Benares at the present time a celebrated deity is incarnate in the person of a Hindoo gentleman who rejoices in the euphonious name of Swami Bhaskaranandaji Saraswati, and looks uncommonly like the late Cardinal Manning, only more ingenuous. His eyes beam with kindly human interest, and he takes what is described as an innocent pleasure in the divine honours paid him by his confiding worshippers.³ A Hindoo sect, which has many representatives in Bombay and Central India, holds that its spiritual chiefs or Maharajas, as they are called, are representatives or even actual incarnations on earth of the god Krishna. Hence in the temples where the Maharajas do homage to the idols, men and women do homage to the Maharajas, prostrating themselves at their feet, offering them incense, fruits, and flowers, and waving lights before them, as the Maharajas themselves do before the images of the gods. One mode of worshipping Krishna is by swinging his images in swings. Hence, in every district presided over by a Maharaja, the women are wont to worship not Krishna but the Maharaja by swinging him in pendulous seats. The leavings of his food,

¹ Monier Williams, *op. cit.* p. 457.

² Monier Williams, *op. cit.* p. 259 *sq.*

³ I have borrowed the description of this particular deity from the Rev. Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, who knows him personally (*Contemporary Review*, June 1899, p. 768). It is melancholy

to reflect that in our less liberal lands the divine Swami would probably be consigned to the calm seclusion of a gaol or a madhouse. The difference between a god and a madman—or a criminal—is often merely a question of latitude and longitude.

the dust on which he treads, the water in which his dirty linen is washed, are all eagerly swallowed by his devotees, who worship his wooden shoes, and prostrate themselves before his seat and his painted portraits. And as Krishna looks down from heaven with most favour on such as minister to the wants of his successors and vicars on earth, a peculiar rite called Self-devotion has been instituted, whereby his faithful worshippers make over their bodies, their souls, and, what is perhaps still more important, their worldly substance to his adorable incarnations; and women are taught to believe that the highest bliss for themselves and their families is to be attained by yielding themselves to the embraces of those beings in whom the divine nature mysteriously coexists with the form and even the appetites of true humanity.¹

Amongst the Todas, a pastoral people of the Neilgherry Hills of Southern India, the dairy is a sanctuary, and the milkman who attends to it is a god. On being asked whether the Todas salute the sun, one of these divine milkmen replied, "Those poor fellows do so, but I," tapping his chest, "I, a god! why should I salute the sun?" Every one, even his own father, prostrates himself before the milkman, and no one would dare to refuse him anything. No human being, except another milkman, may touch him; and he gives oracles to all who consult him, speaking with the voice of a god.²

The ancient Egyptians, far from restricting their adoration to cats and dogs and such small deities, very liberally extended it to men. One of these human deities resided at the village of Anabis, and burnt sacrifices were offered to him on the altars; after which, says Porphyry, he would eat his dinner just as if he were an ordinary mortal.³ Down to

¹ Monier Williams, *op. cit.* p. 156 *sq.* These Indian deities and miracle-workers are sometimes found among the lowest of the people; one of them, for example, was a cotton-bleacher, another was the son of a carpenter (Monier Williams, *op. cit.* p. 268).

² Marshall, *Travels among the Todas*, pp. 136, 137; *op. pp.* 147, 148; Blatz, *Peoples of the Neilgherry Hills*, p. 19 *sqq.*

³ Porphyry, *De Abstinentia*, iv, 91; *op. Minucius Felix, Octavius*, 29. The titles of the nomarchs or provincial governors of Egypt seem to show that they were all originally worshipped as gods by their subjects (A. Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*, p. 93; *id.*, "Menschenvergötterung im alten Ägypten," *Ass. Urquell*, N.F., I (1897), p. 290 *sq.*).

a few years ago, when his spiritual reign on earth was brought to an abrupt end by the carnal weapons of English marines and bluejackets, the king of Benin was the chief object of worship in his dominions. "He occupies a higher post here than the Pope does in Catholic Europe; for he is not only God's vicegerent upon earth, but a god himself, whose subjects both obey and adore him as such, although I believe their adoration to arise rather from fear than love."¹ The king of Iddah told the English officers of the Niger Expedition, "God made me after his own image; I am all the same as God; and he appointed me a king."² The Mashona of Southern Africa informed their bishop that they had once had a god, but that the Matabele had driven him away. "This last was in reference to a curious custom in some villages of keeping a man they called their god. He seemed to be consulted by the people and had presents given to him. There was one at a village belonging to a chief Magondi, in the old days. We were asked not to fire off any guns near the village, or we should frighten him away."³ "In the Makalaka hills, to the west of Matabeleland, the natives all acknowledge there dwells a god whom they name Ngwali, much worshipped by the bushmen and Makalakas, and feared even by the Matabele: even Lo Bengula paid tribute and sent presents to him often. This individual has only been seen by a few of those who live close by, and who doubtless profit by the numberless offerings made to this strange being; but the god never dies; and the position is supposed to be hereditary in the one family who are the intermediaries* for and connection between Ngwali and the outer world."⁴ Among the Hovas and other tribes of Mada-

¹ J. Adams, *Sketches taken during ten Voyages to Africa*, p. 29; *id.*, *Remarks on the Country extending from Cape Palmas to the River Congo* (London, 1823), p. 111. Compare, "My Wanderings in Africa," by an F.R.G.S. [G. F. Barrow], *Fraser's Magazine*, lxxv. (April 1863), p. 414.

² Allen and Thomson, *Narrative of the Expedition to the River Niger in 1841*, i. 288. A slight mental confusion may perhaps be detected in this utterance of the dark-skinned deity. But such confusion, or rather obscurity,

is almost inseparable from any attempt to define with philosophic precision the profound mystery of incarnation.

³ G. W. H. Knight-Brace, *Memoirs of Mashonaland* (London and New York, 1895), p. 431 *id.*, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1890, p. 346 *sq.*

⁴ Ch. L. Norris Newman, *Matabeleland and how we got it* (London, 1895), p. 167 *sq.* These particulars were communicated to Captain Newman by Mr. W. E. Thomas, son of the first missionary to Matabeleland.

gasgar there is said to be a deep sense of the divinity of kings ; and down to the acceptance of Christianity by the late queen, the Hova sovereigns were regularly termed "the visible God."¹ The chiefs of the Betsileo in Madagascar "are considered as far above the common people and are looked upon almost as if they were gods." "For the chiefs are supposed to have power as regards the words they utter, not, however, merely the power which a king possesses, but power like that of God ; a power which works of itself on account of its inherent virtue, and not power exerted through soldiers and strong servants."²

Christianity itself has not uniformly escaped the taint of these unhappy delusions ; indeed it has often been sullied by the extravagances of vain pretenders to a divinity equal to or even surpassing that of its great Founder. In the second century Montanus the Phrygian claimed to be the incarnate Trinity, uniting in his single person God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost.³ Nor is this an isolated case, the exorbitant pretension of a single ill-balanced mind. From the earliest times down to the present day many sects have believed that Christ, nay God himself, is incarnate in every fully initiated Christian, and they have carried this belief to its logical conclusion by adoring each other. Tertullian records that this was done by his fellow-Christians at Carthage in the second century ; the disciples of St. Columba worshipped him as an embodiment of Christ ; and in the eighth century Elipandus of Toledo spoke of Christ as "a god among gods," meaning that all believers were gods just as truly as Jesus himself. The adoration of each other was customary among the Albigenses, and is noticed hundreds of times in the records of the Inquisition at Toulouse in the early part of the fourteenth century. It is still practised by the Paulicians of Armenia and the Bogomiles about Moscow. The Paulicians, indeed, presume to justify their faith, if not their

¹ Rev. J. Sibree, in *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. xi. (1887), p. 307 ; No. xl. (1887), p. 302 ; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi. (1892), p. 218.

² A. Harnack, *Lehrbuch der Dogmengeschichte*, i. 391.

practice, by the authority of St. Paul, who said, "It is not I that speak, but Christ that dwelleth in me."¹ In the thirteenth century there arose a sect called the Brethren and Sisters of the Free Spirit, who held that by long and assiduous contemplation any man might be united to the deity in an ineffable manner and become one with the source and parent of all things, and that he who had thus ascended to God and been absorbed in his beatific essence, actually formed part of the Godhead, was the Son of God in the same sense and manner with Christ himself, and enjoyed thereby a glorious immunity from the trammels of all laws human and divine. Inwardly transported by this blissful persuasion, though outwardly presenting in their aspect and manners a shocking air of lunacy and distraction, the sectaries roamed from place to place, attired in the most fantastic apparel and begging their bread with wild shouts and clamour, spurning indignantly every kind of honest labour and industry as an obstacle to divine contemplation and to the ascent of the soul towards the Father of spirits. In all their excursions they were followed by women with whom they lived on terms of the closest familiarity. Those of them who conceived they had made the greatest proficiency in the higher spiritual life dispensed with the use of clothes altogether in their assemblies, looking upon decency and modesty as marks of inward corruption, characteristics of a soul that still grovelled under the dominion of the flesh and had not yet been elevated into communion with the divine spirit, its centre and source. Sometimes their progress towards this mystic communion was accelerated by the Inquisition, and they expired in the flames, not merely with unclouded serenity, but with the most triumphant feelings of cheerfulness and joy.² In the same century a Bohemian woman named Wilhelmina, whose head had been turned by brooding over some crazy predictions about a coming age of the Holy Ghost, persuaded herself and many people besides that the Holy Ghost had actually become incarnate in her person for the salvation of a great part of mankind. She

¹ F. C. Conybeare, "The History of Christiana," *American Journal of Theology*, January 1899. Mr. Conybeare

kindly lent me a proof of this article.

² Mosheim, *Ecclesiastical History* (London, 1819), iii. 278 197.

died at Milan in the year 1281 in the most fragrant odour of sanctity, and her memory was held in the highest veneration by a numerous following and even honoured with religious worship both public and private.¹ About twenty years ago a new sect was founded at Patiala in the Punjab by a wretched creature named Hakim Singh, who lived in extreme poverty and filth, gave himself out to be a re-incarnation of Jesus Christ, and offered to baptize the missionaries who attempted to argue with him. He proposed shortly to destroy the British Government, and to convert and conquer the world. His gospel was accepted by four thousand believers in his immediate neighbourhood.² Cases like these verge on, if they do not cross, the wavering and uncertain line which divides the raptures of religion from insanity. How ill do such wild ravings and blasphemous pretensions contrast with the simple and sober claim of the carpenter of Nazareth to be the Creator and Governor of the universe!

Sometimes, at the death of the human incarnation, the divine spirit transmigrates into another man. In the kingdom of Kaffa, in Eastern Africa, the heathen part of the people worship a spirit called *Devee*, to whom they offer prayer and sacrifice, and whom they invoke on all important occasions. This spirit is incarnate in the grand magician or pope, a person of great wealth and influence, ranking almost with the king, and wielding the spiritual, as the king wields the temporal power. It happened that, shortly before the arrival of a Christian missionary in the kingdom, this African pope died, and the priests, fearing lest the missionary might assume the position vacated by the deceased prelate, declared that the *Devee* had passed into the king, who henceforth, uniting the spiritual with the temporal power, reigned as god and king.³ Before beginning to work at the salt-pans in a Laosian village, the workmen offer sacrifice to a local divinity. This divinity is incarnate in a woman and transmigrates at her death into another woman.⁴ In Bhotan the

¹ Mosheim, *op. cit.* iii. 288 sq.

² Thibetson, *Outlines of Punjab Ethnography* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 123.

³ G. Massaja, *I miei trentacinque*

anni di missione nell'alta Etiopia (Rome and Milan, 1888), v. 53 sq.

⁴ E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Saigon, 1885), p. 141 sq.

spiritual head of the government is a person called the Dhurma Raja, who is supposed to be a perpetual incarnation of the deity. At his death the new incarnate god shows himself in an infant by the refusal of his mother's milk and a preference for that of a cow.¹ The Buddhist Tartars believe in a great number of living Buddhas, who officiate as Grand Lamas at the head of the most important monasteries. When one of these Grand Lamas dies his disciples do not sorrow, for they know that he will soon reappear, being born in the form of an infant. Their only anxiety is to discover the place of his birth. If at this time they see a rainbow they take it as a sign sent them by the departed Lama to guide them to his cradle. Sometimes the divine infant himself reveals his identity. "I am the Grand Lama," he says, "the living Buddha of such and such a temple. Take me to my old monastery. I am its immortal head." In whatever way the birthplace of the Buddha is revealed, whether by the Buddha's own avowal or by the sign in the sky, tents are struck, and the joyful pilgrims, often headed by the king or one of the most illustrious of the royal family, set forth to find and bring home the infant god. Generally he is born in Tibet, the holy land, and to reach him the caravan has often to traverse the most frightful deserts. When at last they find the child they fall down and worship him. Before, however, he is acknowledged as the Grand Lama whom they seek he must satisfy them of his identity. He is asked the name of the monastery of which he claims to be the head, how far off it is, and how many monks live in it; he must also describe the habits of the deceased Grand Lama and the manner of his death. Then various articles, as prayer-books, tea-pots, and cups, are placed before him, and he has to point out those used by himself in his previous life. If he does so without a mistake his claims are admitted, and he is conducted in triumph to the monastery.²

¹ Robinson, *Descriptive Account of Agra* (London and Calcutta, 1841), p. 342 19.; *Asiatic Researches*, xi. 146.

² Hue, *Souvenirs d'un voyage dans la Tartarie et le Tibet*, i. 279 199., ed. 12mo. For more details, see L. A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet* (Lon-

don, 1895), p. 245 199. Compare G. Tinkowski, *Travels of the Russian Mission through Mongolia to China*, i. 23-25. In the Delta of the Niger the souls of little negro babies are identified by means of a similar test. An assortment of small articles that belonged

At the head of all the Lamas is the Dalai Lama of Lhasa, the Rome of Tibet. He is regarded as a living god, and at death his divine and immortal spirit is born again in a child. According to some accounts the mode of discovering the Dalai Lama is similar to the method, already described, of discovering an ordinary Grand Lama. Other accounts speak of an election by lot. Wherever he is born, the trees and plants put forth green leaves; at his bidding flowers bloom and springs of water rise; and his presence diffuses heavenly blessings. His palace stands on a commanding height; its gilded cupolas are seen sparkling in the sunlight for miles.¹ In 1661 or 1662 Fathers Grueber and d'Orville, on their return from Pekin to Europe, spent two months at Lhasa waiting for a caravan, and they report that the Grand Lama was worshipped as a true and living god, that he received the title of the Eternal and Heavenly Father, and that he was believed to have risen from the dead no less than seven times. He lived withdrawn from the business of the world in the recesses of his palace, where, seated aloft on a cushion and precious carpets, he received the homage of his adorers in a chamber screened from the garish eye of day, but glittering with gold and silver, and lit up by the blaze of a multitude of torches. His worshippers, with heads bowed to the earth, attested their veneration by kissing his feet, and even bribed the attendant Lamas with great sums to give them a little of the natural secretions of his divine person, which they either swallowed with their food or wore about their necks as an amulet that fortified them against the assaults of every ailment.²

Issuing from the sultry valleys upon the lofty tableland of the Colombian Andes, the Spanish conquerors were

to deceased members of the family is shown to the new baby, and the first thing he grabs at identifies him. "Why, he's uncle John," they say; "see! he knows his own pipe." Or, "That's cousin Emma; see! she knows her market calabash" (Miss M. H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 493).

¹ Huc, *op. cit.* ii. 279, 347 *sq.*; Meiners, *Geschichte der Religionen*, i. 335 *sq.*; Geogr., *Beschreibung aller Nationen des Russischen Reichs*, p. 415; A.

Erman, *Travels in Siberia*, ii. 303 *sqq.*; *Journal of the Roy. Geogr. Soc.*, xxviii. (1868), pp. 168, 169; *Proceedings of the Roy. Geogr. Soc. N.S.*, vii. (1885), p. 67. In the *Journal Roy. Geogr. Soc., L.c.*, the Lama in question is called the Lama Gêrê; but the context shows that he is the great Lama of Lhasa.

² Thevenot, *Relations des divers voyageurs*, iv. Partie (Paris, 1672), "Voyage à la Chine des PP. I. Grueber et d'Orville," pp. 1 *sq.*, 22.

astonished to find, in contrast to the savage hordes they had left in the sweltering jungles below, a people enjoying a fair degree of civilisation, practising agriculture, and living under a government which Humboldt has compared to the theocracies of Tibet and Japan. These were the Chibchas, Muyscas, or Mozcas, divided into two kingdoms, with capitals at Bogota and Tunja, but united apparently in spiritual allegiance to the high pontiff of Sogamozo or Iraca. By a long and ascetic novitiate, this ghostly ruler was reputed to have acquired such sanctity that the waters and the rain obeyed him, and the weather depended on his will.¹ Weather kings are common in Africa. Thus the Waganda of Central Africa believed in a god of Lake Nyanza, who sometimes took up his abode in a man or woman. The incarnate god was much feared by all the people, including the king and the chiefs. When the mystery of incarnation had taken place, the man, or rather the god, removed about a mile and a half from the margin of the lake, and there awaited the appearance of the new moon before he engaged in his sacred duties. From the moment that the crescent moon appeared faintly in the sky, the king and all his subjects were at the command of the divine man, or Lubare, as he was called, who reigned supreme not only in matters of faith and ritual, but also in questions of war and state policy. He was consulted as an oracle; by his word he could inflict or heal sickness, withhold rain, and cause famine. Large presents were made him when his advice was sought.² Often the king himself is supposed to control the weather. The king of Loango is honoured by his people "as though he were a god; and he is called Sambee and Pango, which mean god. They believe that he can let them have rain when he likes; and once a year, in December, which is the time they want rain, the people come to beg of him to grant it to them."

¹ Alex. von Humboldt, *Reisen in die Aequinoctial-Geographie von Amerika*, ii. 106 sq.; Watz, *Anthropologie der Naturvölker*, iv. 359 sq.; J. G. Müller, *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urvölker*, p. 430 sq.; Martius, *Zur Ethnographie Amerikas*, p. 455; Haslan, *Die Culturländer des*

alten Amerika, ii. 204 sq.

² R. W. Felkin, "Notes on the Waganda Tribe of Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xiii. (1885-86), p. 762; C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Sudan*, i. 204; J. Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*, p. 15 sq.

On this occasion the king, standing on his throne, shoots an arrow into the air, which is supposed to bring on rain.¹ Much the same is said of the king of Mombaza.² The Wanyoro of Central Africa have a great respect for the dispensers of rain, whom they load with a profusion of gifts. The great dispenser, he who has absolute and uncontrollable power over the rain, is the king; but he can divide his power with other persons, so that the benefit may be distributed over various parts of the kingdom.³ The king of Quiteva, in Eastern Africa, ranks with the deity; "indeed, the Caffres acknowledge no other gods than their monarch, and to him they address those prayers which other nations are wont to prefer to heaven." "Hence these unfortunate beings, under the persuasion that their king is a deity, exhaust their utmost means and ruin themselves in gifts to obtain with more facility what they need. Thus, prostrate at his feet, they implore of him, when the weather long continues dry, to intercede with heaven that they may have rain; and when too much rain has fallen, that they may have fair weather; thus, also, in case of winds, storms, and everything, they would either deprecate or implore."⁴ Amongst the Barotse, a tribe on the upper Zambesi, "there is an old but waning belief that a chief is a demigod, and in heavy thunderstorms the Barotse flock to the chiefs yard for protection from the lightning. I have been greatly distressed at seeing them fall on their knees before the chief, entreating him to open the water-pots of heaven and send rain upon their gardens." "The king's servants declare themselves to be invincible, because they are the servants of God (meaning *the king*)."⁵ In Matabelerland the rainy season falls in November, December, January, and February. For several weeks before the rain sets in, the clouds gather in heavy banks, dark and

¹ "The Strange Adventures of Andrew Batiel," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 330; Poyart, "History of Lougo, Kakongo, and other Kingdoms in Africa," in Pinkerton, xvi. 577; Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 335.

² Ogilby, *Africa*, p. 615; Dapper, *op. cit.* p. 400.

³ G. Cassal, *Ten Years in Equatoria*

(London and New York, 1891), ii. 57, cp. i. 134.

⁴ Dos Santos, "History of Eastern Ethiopia," in Pinkerton, *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 682, 687 *sq.*

⁵ F. S. Amos, *Gavungu's ; or, Seven Years' Pioneer Mission Work in Central Africa*, London, N.D. (preface dated March 1889), p. 78.

lowering. Then the king is busy with his magicians compounding potions of wondrous strength to make the labouring clouds discharge their pent-up burden on the thirsty earth. He may be seen gazing at every black cloud, for his people flock from all parts to beg rain from him, "their rain-maker for their parched fields; and they thank and praise him when a heavy rain has fallen."¹

The Dyaks of Sarawak believed that their famous English ruler, Rajah Brooke, was endowed with a certain magical virtue which, if properly applied, could render the rice-crops abundant. Hence when he visited a tribe, they used to bring him the seed which they intended to sow next year, and he fertilised it by shaking over it the women's necklaces, which had been previously dipped in a special mixture. And when he entered a village, the women would wash and bathe his feet, first with water, and then with the milk of a young cocoa-nut, and lastly with water again, and all this water which had touched his person they preserved for the purpose of distributing it on their farms, believing that it ensured an abundant harvest. Tribes which were too far off for him to visit used to send him a small piece of white cloth and a little gold or silver, and when these things had been impregnated by his generative virtue they buried them in their fields, and confidently expected a heavy crop. Once when a European remarked that the rice-crops of the Samban tribe were thin, the chief immediately replied that they could not be otherwise, since Rajah Brooke had never visited them, and he begged that Mr. Brooke might be induced to visit his tribe and remove the sterility of their land.² The chief of Mowat, New Guinea, is believed to have the power of affecting the growth of crops for good or ill, and of coaxing the *dugong* and turtle to come from all parts and allow themselves to be taken.³ Similarly the Greeks of the Homeric age thought that the reign of a good king caused the black earth to bring forth wheat and barley, the trees to be loaded with fruit, the flocks to

¹ E. A. Munnid, "Zamharin, the new British Possession in Central South Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, 1890, p. 651.

² H. Low, *Sarawak*, p. 259 29.

³ E. Beadmore, "The Natives of Mowat, Dandal, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1899), p. 464.

multiply, and the sea to yield fish.¹ "It was the belief among the ancient Irish that when their kings acted in conformity with the institutions of their ancestors, the seasons were favourable, and that the earth yielded its fruit in abundance; but when they violated these laws, that plague, famine, and inclemency of weather were the result."² Notions of the same sort seem to have lingered in remote districts of Scotland down to the eighteenth century; for when Dr. Johnson travelled in the Highlands it was still held that the return of the laird to Dunvegan, after any considerable absence, produced a plentiful capture of herring.³

In many places the king is punished if rain does not fall and the crops do not turn out well. Thus, in some parts of West Africa, when prayers and offerings presented to the king have failed to procure rain, his subjects bind him with ropes and take him by force to the grave of his forefathers, that he may obtain from them the needed rain.⁴ It appears that the Scythians also, when food was scarce, put their king in bonds.⁵ The Banjars in West Africa ascribe to their king the power of causing rain or fine weather. So long as the weather is fine they load him with presents of grain and cattle. But if long drought or rain threatens to spoil the crops, they insult and beat him till the weather changes.⁶ When the harvest fails or the surf on the coast is too heavy to allow of fishing, the people of Loango accuse their king of a "bad heart" and depose him.⁷ On the Grain Coast the high priest or fetish king, who bears the title of Bodio, is responsible for the health of the community, the fertility of the earth, and the abundance of fish in the sea and rivers; and if the country suffers in any of these

¹ Homer, *Odyssey*, xix. 109-114. The passage was pointed out to me by my friend W. Ridgway.

² J. O'Donovan, *The Book of Rights* (Dublin, 1847), p. 8, note. Compare Herodotus-Fénelon, *Superstitions et superstitions*, I. 492.

³ S. Johnson, *Journey to the Western Islands* (Baltimore, 1815), p. 115.

⁴ Lebau, *Relation historique de l'Éthiopie occidentale*, II. 172-176.

⁵ Schol. on Apollonius Rhodius,

Argon. II. 1248: καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἔχει περὶ τῶν βασιλῶν καὶ Περσέων ταῦτα, ὅτι οἱ αὐτοὶ Ζεὺς βασιλεὺς ἦν καὶ μὴ βασιλεὺς παρέχειν τοῖς βασιλεῦσι τὰ ἐπιτέλεια, διὰ τὸν καλοῦμενον Ἀεὶν βασιλεὺς ἐπυλίζον τὰ πύλια, ὁρῶντες ἐπὶ τῶν Ζεῦσι.

⁶ H. Heugueré, *Reise an der Küste und in das Innere von West-Afrika*, p. 78.

⁷ Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, I. 354, II. 230.

respects the Bodio is deposed from his office.¹ So the Burgundians of old deposed their king if the crops failed.² In Ussukuma, a great district on the southern bank of the Victoria Nyanza, "the rain and locust question is part and parcel of the Sultan's government. He, too, must know how to make rain and drive away the locusts. If he and his medicine-men are unable to accomplish this, his whole existence is at stake in times of distress. On a certain occasion, when the rain so greatly desired by the people did not come, the Sultan was simply driven out (in Ututwa, near Nassa). The people, in fact, hold that rulers must have power over Nature and her phenomena."³ Similarly among the Antimores of Madagascar the chiefs are held responsible for the operation of the laws of nature. Hence if the land is smitten with a blight or devastated by clouds of locusts, if the cows yield little milk, or fatal epidemics rage among the people, the chief is not only deposed but stripped of his property and banished, because they say that under a good chief such things ought not to happen.⁴

Some peoples have gone further and killed their kings in times of drought and scarcity. Thus, among the Latukas of Central Africa, when the crops are withering in the fields and all the efforts of the chief to bring down rain have proved fruitless, the people commonly attack him by night, rob him of all he possesses, and drive him away. But often they kill him.⁵ Ancient Chinese writers inform us that in Corea the blame was laid on the king whenever too much or too little rain fell and the crops did not ripen. Some said that he must be deposed, others that he must be slain.⁶ There is a tradition that once when the land of the Edonians in Thrace bore no fruit, the god Dionysus intimated to the people that its fertility could be restored by

¹ J. Leighton Wilson, *Western Africa* (London, 1856), p. 129 *sq.* ; Miss Mary H. Kingsley, in *Journal Anthropol. Institute*, xiii. (1900), p. 62.

² Ammianus Marcellinus, xviii. 3-14.

³ P. Kollmann, *The Victoria Nyanza* (London, 1899), p. 168.

⁴ D'Udenville, *Statistique de l'île Maurice* (Paris, 1838), iii. 285 *sq.*

⁵ Fr. Stahlmann, *Alt Ewato Pwaka*

im Herz von Afrika, p. 779 *sq.*

⁶ A. Pflumayer, "Nachrichten von den alten Bewohnern des heutigen Corea," *Sitzungsberichte der philol. histor. Class der kais. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), liv. (1868), p. 483 *sq.* It would seem that the Chinese reported similarly of the Roman emperors. See Hirth, *China and the Roman Orient*, pp. 41, 44, 52, 58, 70, 78.

putting their king Lycurgus to death. So they took him to Mount Pangaeum and there caused him to be torn in pieces by horses.¹ In the time of the Swedish king Donalde a mighty famine broke out, which lasted several years, and could be stayed by the blood neither of beasts nor of men. Therefore, in a great popular assembly held at Upsala, the chiefs decided that King Donalde himself was the cause of the scarcity and must be sacrificed for good seasons. So they slew him and smeared with his blood the altars of the gods. Again, we are told that the Swedes always attributed good or bad crops to their kings as the cause. Now, in the reign of King Olaf, there came dear times and famine, and the people thought that the fault was the king's, because he was sparing in his sacrifices. So, mustering an army, they marched against him, surrounded his dwelling, and burned him in it, "giving him to Odin as a sacrifice for good crops."² In 1814, a pestilence having broken out among the reindeer of the Chukch, the shamans declared that the beloved chief Koch must be sacrificed to the angry gods; so the chief's own son stabbed him with a dagger.³ On the coral island of Niuë, or Savage Island, in the South Pacific, there formerly reigned a line of kings. But as the kings were also high priests, and were supposed to make the food grow, the people became angry with them in times of scarcity and killed them; till at last, as one after another was killed, no one would be king, and the monarchy came to an end.⁴ As in these cases the divine kings, so in ancient Egypt the divine beasts, were responsible for the course of nature. When pestilence and other calamities had fallen on the land, in consequence of a long and severe drought, the priests took the sacred animals secretly by night, and threatened them, but if the evil did not abate they slew the beasts.⁵

From this survey of the religious position occupied by the king in rude societies we may infer that the claim to

¹ Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, iii. 5. 1.

² Snorro Sturluson, *Chronicle of the Kings of Norway* (trans. by S. Laing), saga i. chs. 18, 47. Cp. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 71; J. Scheffer, *Upsalia* (Upsala, 1866), p. 117.

³ C. Rasswurm, "Aberglaube in Russland," in *Zeitschrift für Deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, iv. (1859), p. 162; Liebrecht, *op. cit.* p. 15.

⁴ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 304 *sq.*

⁵ Plutarch, *Life of Osiris*, 73.

divine and supernatural powers put forward by the monarchs of great historical empires like those of Egypt, Mexico, and Peru, was not the simple outcome of inflated vanity or the empty expression of a grovelling adulation; it was merely a survival and extension of the old savage apotheosis of living kings. Thus, for example, as children of the Sun the Incas of Peru were revered like gods; they could do no wrong, and no one dreamed of offending against the person, honour, or property of the monarch or of any of the royal race. Hence, too, the Incas did not, like most people, look on sickness as an evil. They considered it a messenger sent from their father the Sun to call his son to come and rest with him in heaven. Therefore the usual words in which an Inca announced his approaching end were these: "My father calls me to come and rest with him." They would not oppose their father's will by offering sacrifice for recovery, but openly declared that he had called them to his rest.¹ The Mexican kings at their accession took an oath that they would make the sun to shine, the clouds to give rain, the rivers to flow, and the earth to bring forth fruits in abundance.² By Chinese custom the emperor is deemed responsible if the drought be at all severe, and many are the self-condemnatory edicts on this subject published in the pages of the venerable *Peking Gazette*. However, it is rather as a high priest than as a god that the Chinese emperor bears the blame; for in extreme cases he seeks to remedy the evil by personally offering prayers and sacrifices to heaven.³ The Parthian monarchs of the Arsacid house styled themselves brothers of the sun and moon and were worshipped as deities. It was esteemed sacrilege to strike even a private member of the Arsacid family in a brawl.⁴

¹ Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, bk. II, chs. 8 and 15 (vol. I, pp. 131, 155, Markham's Trans.). Mr. E. J. Payne denies that the Incas believed in their descent from the sun, and stigmatises as a ridiculous fable the notion that they were worshipped as gods (*History of the New World called America*, I, 506, 512). I content myself with reproducing the statements of Garcilasso de la Vega, who had ample means

of ascertaining the truth, and whose honesty, so far as I am aware, has not been questioned.

² Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, II, 126.

³ Denny, *Folklore of China*, p. 125. An account of the *Peking Gazette*, the official publication of the Chinese government, may be read in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, xxi, 95-182.

⁴ Ammianus Marcellinus, xxiii, 6, §§ 5 and 6.

The kings of Egypt were deified in their lifetime, sacrifices were offered to them, and their worship was celebrated in special temples and by special priests. Indeed the worship of the kings sometimes cast that of the gods into the shade. Thus in the reign of Merenra a high official declared that he had built many holy places in order that the spirits of the king, the ever-living Merenra, might be invoked "more than all the gods."¹ The king of Egypt seems to have shared with the sacred animals the blame of any failure of the crops.² He was addressed as "Lord of heaven, lord of earth, sun, life of the whole world, lord of time, measurer of the sun's course, Tum for men, lord of well-being, creator of the harvest, maker and fashioner of mortals, bestower of breath upon all men, giver of life to all the host of gods, pillar of heaven, threshold of the earth, weigher of the equipoise of both worlds, lord of rich gifts, increaser of the corn," and so forth.³ Yet, as we should expect, the exalted powers thus ascribed to the king differed in degree rather than in kind from those which every Egyptian claimed for himself. Professor Tiele observes that "as every good man at his death became Osiris, as every one in danger or need could by the use of magic sentences assume the form of a deity, it is quite comprehensible how the king, not only after death, but already during his life, was placed on a level with the deity."⁴

Thus it appears that the same union of sacred functions with a royal title which meets us in the King of the Wood at Nemi, the Sacrificial King at Rome, and the magistrate

¹ C. P. Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, p. 103 *sq.* On the worship of the kings see also E. Meyer, *Geschichte der Altertümer*, i. 8 52; A. Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 91 *sq.*; V. von Strauss und Carnen, *op. cit.*, p. 467. *sq.*; A. Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*, p. 92 *sq.*; *id.*, "Menschenvergötterung im alten Ägypten," *Am Urwald*, N.F. i. (1897), p. 289 *sq.*; C. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique: les Origines*, pp. 258-267. Diodorus Siculus observed (i. 90) that "the Egyptians seem to worship and honour

their kings as very gods."

² Ammianus Marcellinus, xviii. 5-14; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 73.

³ V. von Strauss und Carnen, *op. cit.*, p. 470.

⁴ C. P. Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, p. 105. The Babylonian and Assyrian kings seem also to have been regarded as gods; at least the oldest names of the kings on the monuments are preceded by a star, the mark for "god." But there is no trace in Babylon and Assyria of temples and priests for the worship of the kings. See C. P. Tiele, *Babylonisch-Assyrische Geschichte*, p. 492 *sq.*

called the king at Athens, occurs frequently outside the limits of classical antiquity and is a common feature of societies at all stages from barbarism to civilisation. Further, it appears that the royal priest is often a king in fact as well as in name, swaying the sceptre as well as the crosier. All this confirms the tradition of the origin of the titular and priestly kings in the republics of ancient Greece and Italy. At least by showing that the combination of spiritual and temporal power, of which Graeco-Italian tradition preserved the memory, has actually existed in many places, we have obviated any suspicion of improbability that might have attached to the tradition. Therefore we may now fairly ask, May not the King of the Wood have had an origin like that which a probable tradition assigns to the Sacrificial King of Rome and the titular King of Athens? In other words, may not his predecessors in office have been a line of kings whom a republican revolution stripped of their political power, leaving them only their religious functions and the shadow of a crown? There are at least two reasons for answering this question in the negative. One reason is drawn from the abode of the priest of Nemi; the other from his title, the King of the Wood. If his predecessors had been kings in the ordinary sense, he would surely have been found residing, like the fallen kings of Rome and Athens, in the city of which the sceptre had passed from him. This city must have been Aricia, for there was none nearer. But Aricia, as we have seen, was three miles off from his forest sanctuary by the lake shore. If he reigned, it was not in the city, but in the greenwood. Again his title, King of the Wood, hardly allows us to suppose that he had ever been a king in the common sense of the word. More likely he was a king of nature, and of a special side of nature, namely, the woods from which he took his title. If we could find instances of what we may call departmental kings of nature, that is of persons supposed to rule over particular elements or aspects of nature, they would probably present a closer analogy to the King of the Wood than the divine kings we have been hitherto considering, whose control of nature is general rather than special. Instances of such departmental kings are not wanting.

On a hill at Bomma (the mouth of the Congo) dwells Namvulu Vumu, King of the Rain and Storm.¹ Of some of the tribes on the Upper Nile we are told that they have no kings in the common sense; the only persons whom they acknowledge as such are the Kings of the Rain, *Mata Kodou*, who are credited with the power of giving rain at the proper time, that is in the rainy season. Before the rains begin to fall at the end of March the country is a parched and arid desert; and the cattle, which form the people's chief wealth, perish for lack of grass. So, when the end of March draws on, each householder betakes himself to the King of the Rain and offers him a cow that he may make the blessed waters of heaven to drip on the brown and withered pastures. If no shower falls, the people assemble and demand that the king shall give them rain; and if the sky still continues cloudless, they rip up his belly, in which he is believed to keep the storms. Amongst the Bari tribe one of these Rain Kings made rain by sprinkling water on the ground out of a handbell.²

Among tribes on the outskirts of Abyssinia a similar office exists and has been thus described by an observer. "The priesthood of the Alfai, as he is called by the Barea and Kunama, is a remarkable one; he is believed to be able to make rain. This office formerly existed among the Algeds and appears to be still common to the Nuba negroes. The Alfai of the Barea, who is also consulted by the northern Kunama, lives near Tembadere on a mountain alone with his family. The people bring him tribute in the form of clothes and fruits, and cultivate for him a large field of his own. He is a kind of king, and his office passes by inheritance to his brother or sister's son. He is supposed to conjure down rain and to drive away the locusts. But if he disappoints the people's expectation and a great drought arises in the land, the Alfai is stoned to death, and his nearest relations are obliged to cast the first stone at him. When we passed through the country, the office of Alfai was still held by an old man; but I heard that rain-making had

¹ Bastian, *Die Deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, ii. 230.

² "Excursion de M. Brun-Rollet dans

la région supérieure du Nil," *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie*, Paris, 1852, pt. ii. p. 421 seq.

proved too dangerous for him and that he had renounced his office."¹

In the backwoods of Cambodia live two mysterious sovereigns known as the King of the Fire and the King of the Water. Their fame is spread all over the south of the great Indo-Chinese peninsula; but only a faint echo of it has reached the West. Down to a few years ago no European, so far as is known, had ever seen either of them; and their very existence might have passed for a fable, were it not that till lately communications were regularly maintained between them and the King of Cambodia, who year by year exchanged presents with them. The Cambodian gifts were passed from tribe to tribe till they reached their destination; for no Cambodian would essay the long and perilous journey. The tribe amongst whom the Kings of Fire and Water reside is the Chréais or Jaray, a race with European features but a sallow complexion, inhabiting the forest-clad mountains and high tablelands which separate Cambodia from Annam. Their royal functions are of a purely mystic or spiritual order; they have no political authority; they are simple peasants, living by the sweat of their brow and the offerings of the faithful. According to one account they live in absolute solitude, never meeting each other and never seeing a human face. They inhabit successively seven towers perched upon seven mountains, and every year they pass from one tower to another. People come furtively and cast within their reach what is needful for their subsistence. The kingship lasts seven years, the time necessary to inhabit all the towers successively; but many die before their time is out. The offices are hereditary in one or (according to others) two royal families, who enjoy high consideration, have revenues assigned to them, and are exempt from the necessity of tilling the ground. But naturally the dignity is not coveted, and when a vacancy occurs, all eligible men (they must be strong and have children) flee and hide themselves. Another account, admitting the reluctance of the hereditary candidates to accept the crown, does not countenance the report of their hermit-like seclusion in the seven towers. For it

¹ W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (Schaffhausen, 1864), p. 474.

represents the people as prostrating themselves before the mystic kings whenever they appear in public, it being thought that a terrible hurricane would burst over the country if this mark of homage were omitted. Probably, however, these are mere fables such as commonly shed a glamour of romance over the distant and unknown. A French officer, who had an interview with the redoubtable Fire King in February 1891, found him stretched on a bamboo couch, diligently smoking a long copper pipe, and surrounded by people who paid him no great deference. In spite of his mystic vocation the sorcerer had no charm or talisman about him, and was in no way distinguishable from his fellows except by his tall stature.

We are told that the Fire King, the more important of the two, whose supernatural powers have never been questioned, officiates at marriages, festivals, and sacrifices in honour of the Yan. On these occasions a special place is set apart for him; and the path by which he approaches is spread with white cotton cloths. A reason for confining the royal dignity to the same family is that this family is in possession of certain famous talismans which would lose their virtue or disappear if they passed out of the family. These talismans are three: the fruit of a creeper called *Cwi*, gathered ages ago at the time of the last deluge, but still fresh and green; a rattan, also very old but bearing flowers that never fade; and lastly, a sword containing a Yan or spirit, who guards it constantly and works miracles with it. By means of the two former the Water King can raise a flood that would drown the whole earth. If the Fire King draws the magic sword a few inches from its sheath, the sun is hidden and men and beasts fall into a profound sleep; were he to draw it quite out of the scabbard, the world would come to an end. To this wondrous brand sacrifices of buffaloes, pigs, fowls, and ducks are offered for rain. It is kept swathed in cotton and silk; and amongst the annual presents sent by the King of Cambodia were rich stuffs to wrap the sacred sword.

In return the Kings of Fire and Water sent him a huge wax candle and two calabashes, one full of rice and the other of sesame. The candle bore the impress of the Fire

King's middle finger. Probably the candle was thought to contain the seed of fire, which the Cambodian monarch thus received once a year fresh from the Fire King himself. The holy candle was kept for sacred uses. On reaching the capital of Cambodia it was entrusted to the Brahmana, who laid it up beside the regalia, and with the wax made tapers which were burned on the altars on solemn days. As the candle was the special gift of the Fire King, we may conjecture that the rice and sesame were the special gift of the Water King. The latter was doubtless king of rain as well as of water, and the fruits of the earth were boons conferred by him on men. In times of calamity, as during plague, floods, and war, a little of this sacred rice and sesame was scattered on the ground "to appease the wrath of the maleficent spirits." Contrary to the common usage of the country, which is to bury the dead, the bodies of both these mystic monarchs are burnt, but their nails and some of their teeth and bones are religiously preserved as amulets. It is while the corpse is being consumed on the pyre that the kinsmen of the deceased magician flee to the forest and hide themselves for fear of being elevated to the invidious dignity which he has just vacated. The people go and search for them, and the first whose lurking place they discover is made King of Fire or Water.¹

These, then, are examples of what I have called departmental kings of nature. But it is a far cry to Italy from the forests of Cambodia and the sources of the Nile. And though Kings of Rain, Water, and Fire have been found, we have still to discover a King of the Wood to match the Arician priest who bore that title. Perhaps we shall find him nearer home.

§ 4. *Tree-worship*

In the religious history of the Aryan race in Europe the worship of trees has played an important part. Nothing

¹ J. Moussu, *Les Rois du Cambodge*, l. 432-436; Aymonier, "Notes sur les coutumes et croyances superstitieuses des Cambodgiens," in *Cochinchine française: Excursions et Recon-*

naissances, No. 16, p. 172 sq.; *id.*, *Notes sur le Laos*, p. 60; Le Capitaine Cupet, "Cher les populations sauvages du Sud de l'Annam," *Tour du Monde*, No. 1682, April 1, 1893, pp. 193-202.

could be more natural. For at the dawn of history, Europe was covered with immense primeval forests, in which the scattered clearings must have appeared like islets in an ocean of green. Down to the first century before our *era* the Hercynian forest stretched eastward from the Rhine for a distance at once vast and unknown; Germans whom Caesar questioned had travelled for two months through it without reaching the end.¹ Four centuries later it was visited by the Emperor Julian, and the solitude, the gloom, the silence of the forest appear to have made a deep impression on his sensitive nature. He declared that he knew nothing like it in the Roman empire.² In our own country the wealds of Kent, Surrey, and Sussex are remnants of the great forest of Anderida, which once clothed the whole of the south-eastern portion of the island. Westward it seems to have stretched till it joined another forest that extended from Hampshire to Devon. In the reign of Henry II. the citizens of London still hunted the wild bull and the boar in the woods of Hampstead. Even under the later Plantagenets the royal forests were sixty-eight in number. In the forest of Arden it was said that down to modern times a squirrel might leap from tree to tree for nearly the whole length of Warwickshire.³ The excavation of ancient pile-villages in the valley of the Po has shown that long before the rise and probably the foundation of Rome the north of Italy was covered with dense woods of elms, chestnuts, and especially of oaks.⁴ Archaeology is here confirmed by history; for classical writers contain many references to Italian forests which have now disappeared.⁵ In Greece the woods of the present day are a mere fraction of those which clothed great tracts in antiquity, and which at a more remote epoch may have spanned the Greek peninsula from sea to sea.⁶

From an examination of the Teutonic words for "temple" Grimm has made it probable that amongst the Germans the

¹ Caesar, *Bell. Gall.* vi. 25.

² Julian, *Fragment.* 4, ed. Hertlein, p. 608 2v. On the vast woods of Germany, their *collocas* and shade, see also Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 3.

³ Elton, *Origins of English History*, pp. 3, 106 3v., 224.

⁴ W. Hellig, *Die Italiker in der Poebene*, p. 25 1v.

⁵ H. Nissen, *Italische Landeskunde* (Berlin, 1883), p. 431 3v.

⁶ Neumann und Partsch, *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland*, p. 137 3v.

oldest sanctuaries were natural woods.¹ However this may be, tree-worship is well attested for all the great European families of the Aryan stock. Amongst the Celts the oak-worship of the Druids is familiar to every one.² Sacred groves were common among the ancient Germans, and tree-worship is hardly extinct amongst their descendants at the present day.³ How serious that worship was in former times may be gathered from the ferocious penalty appointed by the old German laws for such as dared to peel the bark of a standing tree. The culprit's navel was to be cut out and nailed to the part of the tree which he had peeled, and he was to be driven round and round the tree till all his guts were wound about its trunk.⁴ At Upsala, the old religious capital of Sweden, there was a sacred grove in which every tree was regarded as divine.⁵ Among the Slavs the oak seems to have been the sacred tree of the great god Perun, as it was of Zeus among the Greeks.⁶ It is said that at Novgorod there used to stand an image of Perun, in honour of which a fire of oak-wood burned day and night; if ever the fire died out for want of fuel, the attendants paid for their negligence with their lives.⁷ The Lithuanians were not converted to Christianity till towards the close of the fourteenth century, and amongst them at the date of their conversion the worship of trees was prominent.⁸ Amongst the ancient Prussians (a Lithuanian people) the central feature of religion was the reverence for the sacred oaks, of which the chief stood at Romove, tended by a hierarchy of priests who kept up a perpetual fire of oak-wood in the holy grove.⁹

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, § 1. 53 *seq.*

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 249 *seq.*; Maximus Tyrtas, *Dissert.* viii. 8.

³ Grimm, *D.M.* i. 56 *seq.*; *Bavaria, Land- und Völkchenkunde des Königreichs Bayern*, iii. 929 *seq.*

⁴ Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 319 *seq.*; W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 26 *seq.*

⁵ Adam of Bremen, *Description Insularum Aquilonis*, 27 (Migne's *Patrologia*, vol. cxvi. col. 644).

⁶ L. Leger, "Études de mythologie Slave," *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, xxi. (1895), p. 101 *seq.*

⁷ L. Leger, *op. cit.* p. 91, citing Guagnini's *Sarmatiae europaeae descriptio*.

⁸ Mathias Michov, "De Sarmatia Asiatica atque Europaea," in *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum* (Paris, 1580), pp. 455 *seq.* 456 [wrongly numbered 445, 446]; Martin Crumer, *De arboribus et vineis quibus Poloniam* (Basel, 1568), p. 241; Fabricius, *Lithuanae historiae compendiosa series* (*Scriptores rerum Lithuanicarum*, ii. (Riga and Leipzig, 1848), p. 441).

⁹ "Præca antiquorum Prutenorum religio," in *Reipublica sive Status Regni*

If the sacred fire chanced to go out, it was rekindled by the friction of oak-wood.¹ Traces of this reverence for the tree long lingered among the people. Thus in the seventeenth century, at a village near Ragnit, there was an oak which the villagers regarded as sacred, firmly believing that any person who harmed it would be punished by some misfortune, especially by some bodily ailment or injury.² It is said that about the middle of the nineteenth century offerings of food were still laid down under ancient oaks for the spirits,³ and that the viands for funeral banquets were cooked on a fire of oak-wood, or at least under an oak-tree.⁴ Proofs of the prevalence of tree-worship in ancient Greece and Italy are abundant.⁵ Nowhere, perhaps, in the ancient world was this antique form of religion better preserved than in the heart of the great metropolis itself. In the Forum, the busy centre of Roman life, the sacred fig-tree of Romulus was worshipped down to the days of the empire, and the withering of its trunk was enough to spread consternation through the city.⁶ Again, on the slope of the Palatine Hill grew a cornel-tree which was esteemed one of the most sacred objects in Rome. Whenever the tree appeared to a passer-by to be drooping, he set up a hue and cry which was echoed by the people in the street, and soon a crowd might be seen running from all sides with buckets of water, as if (says Plutarch) they were hastening to put out a fire.⁷

But it is necessary to examine in some detail the notions on which the worship of trees and plants is based. To the savage the world in general is animate, and trees and plants are no exception to the rule. He thinks that they have souls like his own, and he treats them accordingly.

Polonise, Lituanise, Prussine, Livonise, etc. (Elavir, 1627), p. 321 sq.; Dussburg, *Chronicon Prussiae*, ed. Hartknoch, p. 79; Hartknoch, *Alt- und Neyer Preussen*, p. 116 sqq. At Heiligenbeil there was another very sacred oak. See Tetten and Temme, *Die Volksagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens*, p. 35 sqq.

¹ Praetorius, *Deliciae Prussiae* (Berlin, 1871), p. 19 sq.

² Praetorius, *op. cit.* p. 16.

³ J. G. Kohl, *Die deutsch-russischen Ostpreussinnen*, ii. 31, cp. 33.

⁴ Schleicher, "Lituanica," *Sitzungsberichte der Philol. histor. Classe der kaiser. Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Vienna), xl. (1854), p. 100.

⁵ See Büttcher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*.

⁶ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xv. 77; Tacitus, *Ann.* xiii. 58.

⁷ Plutarch, *Romulus*, 20.

Thus, the Hidatsa Indians of North America believe that every natural object has its spirit or, to speak more properly, its shade. To these shades some consideration or respect is due, but not equally to all. For example, the shade of the cottonwood, the greatest tree in the valley of the Upper Missouri, is supposed to possess an intelligence which, if properly approached, may help the Indians in certain undertakings; but the shades of shrubs and grasses are of little account. When the Missouri, swollen by a freshet in spring, carries away part of its banks and sweeps some tall tree into its current, it is said that the spirit of the tree cries while the roots still cling to the land and until the tree falls into the stream. Formerly the Indians considered it wrong to fell one of these giants, and when large logs were needed they made use only of trees which had fallen of themselves. Till lately some of the more credulous old men declared that many of the misfortunes of their people were caused by this modern disregard for the rights of the living cottonwood.¹ The Wanika of Eastern Africa fancy that every tree, and especially every cocoa-nut tree, has its spirit; "the destruction of a cocoa-nut tree is regarded as equivalent to matricide, because that tree gives them life and nourishment, as a mother does her child."² In the Yasawu islands of Fiji a man will never eat a cocoa-nut without first asking its leave, "May I eat you, my chief?"³ The Dyaks ascribe souls to trees, and do not dare to cut down an old tree. In some places, when an old tree has been blown down, they set it up, smear it with blood, and deck it with flags "to appease the soul of the tree."⁴ Siamese monks, believing that there are souls everywhere, and that to destroy anything whatever is forcibly to dispossess a soul, will not break a branch of a tree, "as they will not break the arm of an innocent person."⁵ These monks, of course, are Buddhists. But Buddhist animism is not a philosophical theory. It is

¹ Washington Matthews, *Ethnography and Philology of the Hidatsa Indians* (Washington, 1877), p. 48 *sq.*

² J. L. Krapf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Year's Residence in Eastern Africa* (London, 1860), p. 198.

³ Rev. Lorimer Fison, in a letter

to the author dated November 3rd, 1898.

⁴ Hupe, "Over de goedschieten, zeden enz. der Dajakkers," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1846, dl. III. p. 158.

⁵ Loubere, *Du Royaume de Siam* (Amsterdam, 1691), l. 382.

simply a common savage dogma incorporated in the system of an historical religion. To suppose with Benfey and others that the theories of animism and transmigration current among rude peoples of Asia are derived from Buddhism is to reverse the facts. Buddhism in this respect borrowed from savagery, not savagery from Buddhism.¹

Sometimes it is only particular sorts of trees that are supposed to be tenanted by spirits. At Grbalj in Dalmatia it is said that among great beeches, oaks, and other trees there are some that are endowed with shades or souls, and whoever fells one of them must die on the spot, or at least live an invalid for the rest of his days. If a woodman fears that a tree which he has felled is one of this sort, he must cut off the head of a live hen on the stump of the tree with the very same axe with which he cut down the tree. This will protect him from all harm, even if the tree be one of the animated kind.² The silk-cotton trees, which rear their enormous trunks to a stupendous height, far out-topping all the other trees of the forest, are regarded with reverence throughout West Africa, from the Senegal to the Niger, and are believed to be the abode of a god or spirit. Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast the indwelling god of this giant of the forest goes by the name of Huntin. Trees in which he specially dwells—for it is not every silk-cotton tree that he thus honours—are surrounded by a girdle of palm-leaves; and sacrifices of fowls, and occasionally of human beings, are fastened to the trunk or laid against the foot of the tree. A tree distinguished by a girdle of palm-leaves may not be cut down or injured in any way; and even silk-cotton trees which are not supposed to be animated by Huntin may not be felled unless the woodman first offers a sacrifice of fowls and palm-oil to purge himself of the proposed sacrilege. To omit the sacrifice is an offence which may be punished with death.³ Everywhere in Egypt on the borders of the cultivated land,

¹ The Buddhist conception of trees as animated often comes out in the *Jataka*. For examples see H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 259 *seq.*

² F. S. Krauss, *Volksgebräuche und*

religiöser Brauch der Südstaaten, p. 33.

³ A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1890), p. 49 *seq.* Compare *id.*, *The Fikil-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 34 *seq.*

and even at some distance from the valley of the Nile, you meet with fine sycamores standing solitary and thriving as by a miracle in the sandy soil; their living green contrasts strongly with the tawny hue of the surrounding landscape, and their thick impenetrable foliage bids defiance even in summer to the noonday sun. The secret of their verdure is that their roots strike down into rills of water that trickle by unseen sluices from the great river. Of old the Egyptians of every rank esteemed these trees divine, and paid them regular homage. They gave them figs, raisins, cucumbers, vegetables, and water in earthenware pitchers, which charitable folk filled afresh every day. Passers-by slaked their thirst at these pitchers in the sultry hours, and paid for the welcome draught by a short prayer. The spirit that animated these beautiful trees generally lurked unseen, but sometimes he would show his head or even his whole body outside the trunk, but only to retire into it again.¹ In some of the Louisiade Islands there are certain large trees under which the natives hold their feasts. These trees seem to be regarded as endowed with souls; for a portion of the feast is set aside for them, and the bones of pigs and of human beings are everywhere deeply imbedded in their branches.² People in Congo place calabashes of palm-wine at the foot of certain trees for the trees to drink when they are thirsty.³ Among the Kangra mountains of the Punjab a girl used to be annually sacrificed to an old cedar-tree, the families of the village taking it in turn to supply the victim. The tree was cut down about twenty years ago.⁴

If trees are animate, they are necessarily sensitive. When an oak is being felled "it gives a kind of shrieks or groans, that may be heard a mile off, as if it were the genius of the osake lamenting. E. Wyld, Esq., hath heard it severall times."⁵ The Ojebways "very seldom cut down green or living trees, from the idea that it puts them to pain, and

¹ G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique: les Origines*, p. 121 sq.

² H. H. Romilly, *From my Verandah in New Guinea* (London, 1889), p. 86.

³ Merolla, "Voyage to Congo," in

Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xii. 236.

⁴ Ibbetson, *Outlines of Punjab Ethnography* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 120.

⁵ J. Aubrey, *Remains of Gentilism*, p. 247.

some of their medicine-men profess to have heard the wailing of the trees under the axe."¹ Old peasants in some parts of Austria still believe that forest-trees are animate, and will not allow an incision to be made in the bark without special cause; they have heard from their fathers that the tree feels the cut not less than a wounded man his hurt. In felling a tree they beg its pardon.² So in Jarkino the woodman craves pardon of the tree he fells.³ Before the Ilocanos of Luzon cut down trees in the virgin forest or on the mountains, they recite some verses to the following effect: "Be not uneasy, my friend, though we fell what we have been ordered to fell." This they do in order not to draw down on themselves the hatred of the spirits who live in the trees, and who are apt to avenge themselves by visiting with grievous sickness such as injure them wantonly.⁴ Ancient Indian books prescribe that in preparing to fell a tree the woodman should lay a stalk of grass on the spot where the blow is to fall, with the words, "O grass, protect him," and that he should say to the axe, "Axe, harm him not." When the tree had fallen, he poured butter on the stump, saying, "Lord of the forest, grow with a hundred branches; may we grow with a thousand branches." Then he anointed the severed stem and wound a rope of grass round it.⁵ Again, when a tree or plant is cut it is sometimes thought to bleed. Some Indians dare not cut a certain plant, because there comes out a red juice which they take for the blood of the plant.⁶ In Samoa there was a grove of trees which no one dared hew down. Once some strangers tried to do so, but blood flowed from the tree, and the sacrilegious strangers fell ill and died.⁷ Down to 1859 there stood a sacred larch-tree at Nauders in the Tyrol which was thought to bleed whenever it was cut; moreover it was believed that the steel pierced the woodman's body

¹ Peter Jones, *History of the Ojibway Indians*, p. 104.

² A. Peter, *Völkethümlicher aus westerrdeichsch Schlesien*, ii. 30.

³ Bastian, *Indonesien*, i. 154; compare *id.*, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, ii. 437 sq., iii. 251 sq., iv. 42 sq.

⁴ J. de los Reyes y Florentino, "Die religiösen Anschauungen der

Ilocanos (Luzon)," *Mittheilungen der k. k. Geograph. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxvi. (1888), p. 555.

⁵ H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 256 sq.

⁶ Loubers, *Des Roisane de Siam* (Amsterdam, 1691), i. 383.

⁷ G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 63.

to the same depth that it pierced the tree, and that the wound on his body would not heal until the bark closed over the scar on the trunk. So sacred was the tree that no one would gather fuel or cut timber near it; and to curse, scold, or quarrel in its neighbourhood was regarded as a crying sin which would be supernaturally punished on the spot. Angry disputants were often hushed with the warning whisper, "Don't, the sacred tree is here."¹

But the spirits of vegetation are not always treated with deference and respect. If fair words and kind treatment do not move them, stronger measures are sometimes resorted to. The durian-tree of the East Indies, whose smooth stem often shoots up to a height of eighty or ninety feet without sending out a branch, bears a fruit of the most delicious flavour and the most disgusting stench. The Malays cultivate the tree for the sake of its fruit, and have been known to resort to a peculiar ceremony for the purpose of stimulating its fertility. Near Jugra in Selangor there is a small grove of durian-trees, and on a specially chosen day the villagers used to assemble in it. Thereupon one of the local sorcerers would take a hatchet and deliver several shrewd blows on the trunk of the most barren of the trees, saying, "Will you now bear fruit or not? If you do not, I shall fell you." To this the tree replied through the mouth of another man who had climbed a magnostin-tree hard by (the durian-tree being unclimbable), "Yes, I will now bear fruit; I beg you not to fell me."² Odd as this mode of horticulture may seem to us, it has its exact parallel in Europe. On Christmas Eve many a South Slavonian and Bulgarian peasant swings an axe threateningly against a barren fruit-tree, while another man standing by intercedes for the menaced tree, saying, "Do not cut it down; it will soon bear fruit." Thrice the axe is swung, and thrice the impending blow is arrested at the entreaty of the intercessor. After that the frightened tree will certainly bear fruit next year.³

¹ Zingerle, "Der heilige Baum bei Nauders," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, iv. (1859), p. 33 377.

² W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 198 *sq.* As to the durian-tree and its

fruit, see A. R. Wallace, *The Malay Archipelago*, p. 74 199.

³ F. S. Kraus, *Völkerglaube und religiöser Brauch der Slaven*, p. 34; A. Strauss, *Die Fulkuren* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 352.

In Armenia the same pantomime is sometimes performed by two men for the same purpose on Good Friday.¹ In Lesbos, when an orange-tree or a lemon-tree does not bear fruit, the owner will sometimes set a looking-glass before the tree; then standing with an axe in his hand over against the tree and gazing at its reflection in the glass he will feign to fall into a passion and will say aloud, "Bear fruit, or I'll cut you down."² When "cabbages merely curl their leaves instead of forming heads as they ought to do, an Esthonian peasant will go out into the garden before sunrise, clad only in his shirt, and armed with a scythe, which he sweeps over the refractory vegetables as if he meant to cut them down. This intimidates the cabbages and brings them to a sense of their duty."³ If European peasants thus know how to work on the fears of cabbages and fruit-trees, the subtle Malay has learned how to overreach the simple souls of the plants and trees that grow in his native land. Thus, when a bunch of fruit hangs from an *aven* palm-tree, and in reaching after it you tread on some of the fallen fruit, the Galelareese say that you ought to grunt like a wild boar in order that your feet may not itch. The chain of reasoning seems weak to a European mind, but the natives find no flaw in it. They have observed that wild boars are fond of the fruit, and run freely about among it as it lies on the ground. From this they infer that the animal's feet are proof against the itch which men suffer through treading on the fruit; and hence they conclude that if, by grunting in a natural and life-like manner, you can impress the fruit with the belief that you are a pig, it will treat your feet as tenderly as the feet of his friends the real pigs.⁴ Again, pregnant women in Java sometimes take a fancy to eat the wild species of a particular plant (*Colocasia antiquorum*), which, on account of its exceedingly pungent taste, is not commonly used as

¹ M. Tchéraz, "Notes sur la Mythologie Arménienne," *Transactions of the Ninth International Congress of Orientalists* (London, 1893), ii. 827.

² Georgenakis et Finenau, *Folk-lore de Lesbos* (Paris, 1894), p. 354.

³ Boecler-Kreuzerwald, *Der Echten*

abergläubische Gebrünche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten, p. 134.

⁴ M. J. van Baarle, "Fabelen, Verhalen, en Overleveringen der Galelareezen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandisch Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 511.

food by human beings, though it is relished by pigs. In such a case it becomes the husband's duty to go and look for the plant, but before he gathers it he takes care to grunt loudly, in order that the plant may take him for a pig, and so mitigate the pungency of its flavour.¹ Again, in the Madiun district of Java there grows a plant of which the fruit is believed to be injurious for men, but not for apes. The urchins who herd buffaloes, and to whom nothing edible comes amiss, eat this fruit also; but before plucking it they take the precaution of mimicking the voices of apes, in order to persuade the plant that its fruit is destined for the maw of these creatures.² Once more, the Javanese scrape the rind of a certain plant (*Sarcolobus narcoticus*) into a powder, with which they poison such dangerous beasts as tigers and wild boars. But the rind is believed not to be a poison for men. Hence the person who gathers the plant has to observe certain precautions in order that its baneful quality may not be lost in passing through his hands. He approaches it naked and creeping on all fours to make the plant think that he is a ravenous beast and not a man, and to strengthen the illusion he bites the stalk. After that the deadly property of the rind is assured. But even when the plant has been gathered and the powder made from it in strict accordance with certain superstitious rules, care is still needed in handling the powder, which is regarded as alive and intelligent. It may not be brought near a corpse, nor may a corpse be carried past the house in which the powder is kept. For if either of these things were to happen, the powder, seeing the corpse, would hastily conclude that it had already done its work, and so all its noxious quality would be gone.³

The conception of trees and plants as animated beings naturally results in treating them as male and female, who can be married to each other in a real, and not merely a figurative or poetical sense of the word. Thus, in India, shrubs and trees are formally wedded to each other or to

¹ A. G. Vordeman, "Planten-animisme op Java," *Tijdschrift*, No. 2, 1896, p. 59 sq.; *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, ix. (1896), p. 175.

² A. G. Vordeman, *op. cit.* p. 60; ³ A. G. Vordeman, *op. cit.* pp. 61-63.

idols.¹ In the North-West Provinces of India a marriage ceremony is performed in honour of a newly planted orchard; a man holding the Salagram represents the bridegroom, and another holding the sacred Tūsi (*Ocymum sanctum*) represents the bride.² On Christmas Eve German peasants used to tie fruit-trees together with straw ropes to make them bear fruit, saying that the trees were thus married.³ In the Moluccas, when the clove-trees are in blossom, they are treated like pregnant women. No noise may be made near them; no light or fire may be carried past them at night; no one may approach them with his hat on, all must uncover in their presence. These precautions are observed lest the tree should be alarmed and bear no fruit, or should drop its fruit too soon, like the untimely delivery of a woman who has been frightened in her pregnancy.⁴ So in Amboyna, when the rice is in bloom, the people say that it is pregnant and fire no guns and make no other noises near the field, for fear lest, if the rice were thus disturbed, it would miscarry, and the crop would be all straw and no grain.⁵ The Javanese also regard the bloom on the rice as a sign that the plant is pregnant; and they treat it accordingly, by mingling in the water that irrigates the fields a certain astringent food prepared from sour fruit, which is believed to be wholesome for women with child.⁶ In some districts of Western Borneo there must be no talk of corpses or demons in the fields, else the spirit of the growing rice would be frightened and flee away to Java.⁷ In Orissa, also, growing rice is "considered as a pregnant woman, and the same ceremonies are observed with regard to it as in the case of human females."⁸

¹ Monier Williams, *Religious Life and Thought in India*, p. 334 *sq.*

² Sir Henry M. Elliot and J. Beames, *Memoirs on the History, etc., of the Râj of the North-Western Provinces of India* (London, 1869), I. 233.

³ Die gestrigeßte Rechenphilosophie (Chemnitz, 1759), p. 239 *sq.*; U. Jahn, *Die deutsche Opfergebräuche bei Ackerbau und Viehzucht*, p. 212 *sq.*

⁴ Van Schmid, "Aantekeningen oopen de zeden, gewoonten en gebruiken, etc., der bevolking van de eilanden Saparoea, etc.," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1843, dl. II. p. 605;

Bastian, *Indonesien*, I. 156.

⁵ Van Hoëvell, *Amboen en omgevoerslandelijk de Oelawaer*, p. 62.

⁶ G. A. Wiken, "Het animisme bij de volken van het Indische archipel," *De Indische Gids*, June 1884, p. 958; *id.*, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië* (Leyden, 1893), p. 549 *sq.*

⁷ E. L. M. Kühr, "Schetsen uit Borneo's Wasterakwelling," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlvii. (1897), p. 58 *sq.*

⁸ *Indian Antiquary*, I. (1874), p. 170.

In Poso, a district of Central Celebes, when the rice-ears are beginning to form, women go through the field feeding the young ears with soft-boiled rice to make them grow fast. They carry the food in calabashes, and grasping the ears in their hands bend them over into the vessels that they may partake of the strengthening pap. The reason for boiling the rice soft is that the ears are regarded as young children who could not digest rice cooked in the usual way.¹

Sometimes it is the souls of the dead which are believed to animate the trees. The Dieri tribe of South Australia regard as very sacred certain trees which are supposed to be their fathers transformed; hence they speak with reverence of these trees, and are careful that they shall not be cut down or burned. If the settlers require them to hew down the trees, they earnestly protest against it, asserting that were they to do so they would have no luck, and might be punished for not protecting their ancestors.² Some of the Philippine Islanders believe that the souls of their ancestors are in certain trees, which they therefore spare. If they are obliged to fell one of these trees, they excuse themselves to it by saying that it was the priest who made them do it. The spirits take up their abode, by preference, in tall and stately trees with great spreading branches. When the wind rustles the leaves, the natives fancy it is the voice of the spirit; and they never pass near one of these trees without bowing respectfully, and asking pardon of the spirit for disturbing his repose. Among the Ignorotes, in the district of Lepanto, every village has its sacred tree, in which the souls of the dead forefathers of the hamlet reside. Offerings are made to the tree, and any injury done to it is believed to entail some misfortune on the village. Were the tree cut down, the village and all its inhabitants would inevitably perish.³ The Dyaks believe that when a man dies by acci-

¹ A. C. Kruijs, "Een en ander aangaande het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van den Poso-Alfoer," *Mededeelingen van zegen het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxxix. (1895), pp. 22, 138.

² S. Gason, "The Dieri Tribe," *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 280; A. W. Howitt, "The Dieri and

other kindred Tribes of Central Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891), p. 89.

³ F. Blumentritt, "Der Ahnengott und die religiösen Anschauungen der Malaien des Philippinen-Archipels," *Mittheilungen der Wiener Geogr. Gesellschaft*, 1882, p. 159 sq. J. Mallat, *Les Philippines* (Paris, 1846), i. 63 sq.

dent, as by drowning, it is a sign that the gods mean to exclude him from the realms of bliss. Accordingly his body is not buried, but carried into the forest and there laid down. The souls of such unfortunates pass into trees or animals or fish, and are much dreaded by the Dyaks, who abstain from using certain kinds of wood, or eating certain sorts of fish, because they are supposed to contain the souls of the dead.¹ Once, while walking with a Dyak through the jungle, Sir Hugh Low observed that his companion, after raising his sword to strike a great snake, suddenly arrested his arm and suffered the reptile to escape. On asking the reason, he was told by the Dyak that the bush in front of which they were standing had been a man, a kinsman of his own, who, dying some ten years before, had appeared in a dream to his widow and told her that he had become that particular bamboo-tree. Hence the ground and everything on it was sacred, and the serpent might not be interfered with. The Dyak further related that in spite of the warning given to the woman in the vision, a man had been hardy enough to cut a branch of the tree, but that the fool had paid for his temerity with his life, for he died soon afterwards. A little bamboo altar stood in front of the bush, on which the remnants of offerings presented to the spirit of the tree were still visible when Sir Hugh Low passed that way.² In Corea the souls of people who die of the plague or by the roadside, and of women who expire in childbed, invariably take up their abode in trees. To such spirits offerings of cake, wine, and pork are made on heaps of stones piled under the trees.³ Some of the mountaineers on the north-west coast of New Guinea think that the spirits of their ancestors live on the branches of trees, on which accordingly they hang rags of red or white cotton, always in the number of seven, or a multiple of seven; also, they place food on the trees or hang it in baskets from the boughs.⁴ Among the Buryats of Siberia the bones of a deceased shaman are deposited in a hole hewn in the trunk

¹ F. Grabowsky, "Der Tod, etc., bei den Dajaken," *Internationale Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. (1889), p. 181.

² H. Low, *Sarawak*, p. 264.

³ Mrs. Bishop, *Corea and her Neigh-*

bour (London, 1898), p. 106 *sq.*

⁴ E. S. A. de Clercq, "De Woon- en Nooitlant van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea," *Tijdschrift van het Kon. Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x. (1893), p. 199.

of a great fir, which is then carefully closed up. Thenceforth the tree goes by the name of the shaman's fir, and is looked upon as his abode. Whoever cuts down such a tree will perish with all his household. Every tribe has its sacred grove of firs in which the bones of the dead shamans are buried. In treeless regions these firs often form isolated clumps on the hills, and are visible from afar.¹ The Lkungen Indians of British Columbia fancy that trees are transformed men, and that the creaking of the branches in the wind is their voice.² In Croatia, they say that witches used to be buried under old trees in the forest, and that their souls passed into the trees and left the villagers in peace.³ A tree that grows on a grave is regarded by the South Slavonian peasant as a sort of fetish. Whoever breaks a twig from it, hurts the soul of the dead, but gains thereby a magic wand, since the soul embodied in the twig will be at his service.⁴ This reminds us of the story of Polydorus in Virgil,⁵ and of the bleeding pomegranate that grew on the grave of the fratricides Eteocles and Polynices at Thebes.⁶ Similar stories are told far away from the classic lands of Italy and Greece. In an Annamite tale an old fisherman makes an incision in the trunk of a tree which has drifted ashore; but blood flows from the cut, and it appears that an empress with her three daughters, who had been cast into the sea, are embodied in the tree.⁷ On the Slave Coast of West Africa the negroes tell how from the mouldering bones of a little boy, who had been murdered by his brother in the forest, there sprang up an edible fungus, which spoke and revealed the crime to the child's mother when she attempted to pluck it.⁸

In most, if not all, of these cases the spirit is viewed as incorporate in the tree; it animates the tree and must suffer and die with it. But, according to another and probably later opinion, the tree is not the body, but merely the abode

¹ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xlv, (1895), pp. 8, 136.

² Fr. Boss, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 25 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

³ P. S. Krauss, *Völkerglaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 36.

⁴ F. S. Krauss, *ibid.*, cit.

⁵ *Æneid*, vi. 22-239.

⁶ Philostratus, *Imagines*, ii. 29.

⁷ Landes, "Contes et légendes annamites," No. 9, in *Cochinchine française: Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 20, p. 310.

⁸ A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast of West Africa*, pp. 134-136.

of the tree-spirit, which can quit the injured tree as men quit a dilapidated house. The people of Nias think that, when a tree dies, its liberated spirit becomes a demon, which can kill a cocoa-nut palm by merely lighting on its branches, and can cause the death of all the children in a house by perching on one of the posts that support it. Further, they are of opinion that certain trees are at all times inhabited by roving demons who, if the trees were damaged, would be set free to go about on errands of mischief. Hence the people respect these trees, and are careful not to cut them down.¹ On the Tanga coast of East Africa mischievous sprites reside in great trees, especially in the fantastically shaped baobabs. Sometimes they appear in the shape of ugly black beings, but as a rule they enter unseen into people's bodies, from which, after causing much sickness and misery, they have to be cast out by the sorcerer.² In the Galla region of East Africa, where the vegetation is magnificent, there are many sacred trees, the haunts of jinn. Most of them belong to the sycamore and maple species, but they do not all exhale an equal odour of sanctity. The *watila*, with its edible fruit, is least revered; people climb it to get the fruit, and this disturbs the jinn, who naturally do not care to linger among its boughs. The *gute tubi*, which has no edible fruit, is more sacred. Every Galla tribe has its sacred tree, which is always one individual of a particular species called *lafo*. When a tree has been consecrated by a priest it becomes holy, and no branch of it may be broken. Such trees are loaded with long threads, woollen bands, and bracelets; the blood of animals is poured on their roots and sometimes smeared on their trunks, and pots full of butter, milk, and flesh are placed among the branches or on the ground under them. In many Galla tribes women may not tread on the shadow of sacred trees or even approach the trees.³

Not a few ceremonies observed at cutting down haunted trees are based on the belief that the spirits have it in their power to quit the trees at pleasure or in case of need. Thus when the Pelew Islanders are felling a tree, they conjure the

¹ E. Modigliani, *Una viaggio a Nias* (Milan, 1890), p. 629.

² O. Baumann, *Usambur und seine Nachbargebiete* (Berlin, 1891), p. 57 sq.

³ Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas: Die gütige Cultur der Dandak, Galla und Somali* (Berlin, 1896), p. 34 sq.

spirit of the tree to leave it and settle on another.¹ The wily negro of the Slave Coast, who wishes to fell an *ashorin* tree, but knows that he cannot do it so long as the spirit remains in the tree, places a little palm-oil on the ground as a bait and then, when the unsuspecting spirit has quitted the tree to partake of this dainty, hastens to cut down its late abode.² The Alfoors of Poso, in Central Celebes, believe that great trees are inhabited by demons in human form, and the taller the tree the more powerful the demon. Accordingly they are careful not to fell such trees, and they leave offerings at the foot of them for the spirits. But sometimes, when they are clearing land for cultivation, it becomes necessary to cut down the trees which cumber it. In that case the Alfoor will call to the demon of the tree and beseech him to leave his abode and go elsewhere, and he deposits food under the tree as provision for the spirit on his journey. Then, and not till then, he may fell the tree. Woe to the luckless wight who should turn a tree-spirit out of his house without giving him due notice!³ In Rotti, an island to the south of Timor, when they fell a tree to make a coffin, they sacrifice a dog as compensation to the tree-spirit whose property they are thus making free with.⁴ The Mandelings of Sumatra endeavour to lay the blame of all such misdeeds at the door of the Dutch authorities. Thus when a man is cutting a road through a forest and has to fell a tall tree which blocks the way, he will not begin to ply his axe until he has said: "Spirit who lodgest in this tree, take it not ill that I cut down thy dwelling, for it is done at no wish of mine but by order of the Controller." And when he wishes to clear a piece of forest-land for cultivation, it is necessary that he should come to a satisfactory understanding with the woodland spirits who live there, before he lays low their leafy dwellings. For this purpose he goes to the middle of the plot of ground, stoops down, and pretends to pick up a

¹ J. Kubary, "Die Religion der Pelauer," in Busch's *Album der Völker und Menschenkunde*, i. 52.

² A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 115.

³ A. C. Kröijl, "Een en ander aangaande het geestrijk en maatschap-

pelijk leven van den Poso-Alfoer," *Mandelings vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xi. (1896), p. 284.

⁴ G. Heijmerling, "Zeden en Gewoonten op het eiland Rottie," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsche Indisch*, 1844, iii. n. p. 358.

letter. Then unfolding a bit of paper he reads aloud an imaginary letter from the Dutch Government, in which he is strictly enjoined to set about clearing the land without delay. Having done so, he says: "You hear that, spirits. I must begin clearing at once, or I shall be hanged."¹ There is a certain tree called *rara* which the Dyaks believe to be inhabited by a spirit. Before they cut down one of these trees they strike an axe into the trunk, leave it there, and call upon the spirit either to quit his dwelling or to give them a sign that he does not wish it to be meddled with. Then they go home. Next day they visit the tree, and if they find the axe still sticking in the trunk, they can fell the tree without danger; there is no spirit in it, or he would certainly have ejected the axe from his abode. But if they find the axe lying on the ground, they know that the tree is inhabited and they will not fell it; for it must surely have been the spirit of the tree in person who expelled the intrusive axe. Some sceptical Europeans, however, argue that what casts out the axe is strychnine in the sap rather than the tree-spirit. They say that if the sap is running, the axe must necessarily be forced out by the action of heat and the expansion of the exuding gutta; whereas if the axe remains in the trunk, this only shows that the tree is not vigorous but ready to die.² In the Greek island of Siphnos, when woodmen have to fell a tree which they regard as possessed by a spirit, they are most careful, when it falls, to prostrate themselves humbly and in silence lest the spirit should chastise them as it escapes. Sometimes they put a stone on the stump of the tree to prevent the egress of the spirit.³ In some parts of Sumatra, so soon as a tree is felled, a young tree is planted on the stump, and some betel and a few small coins are also placed on it.⁴ The purpose of the ceremony seems plain. The spirit of the tree is offered a new home in the young tree planted on the stump

¹ Th. A. L. Heyting, "Beschrijving der onder-aafdeling Gooet-mandeling en Batang-natal," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Twintigste Serie, xiv. (1897), p. 289, 30.

² Crossland, quoted by H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British*

North Borneo, i. 286; compare *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi. (1892), p. 114.

³ J. T. Bent, *The Cyclades*, p. 27.

⁴ Van Hasselt, *Volksoverheersing van Afdekten-Sumatra* (Leiden, 1882), p. 156.

of the old one, and the offering of betel and money is meant to compensate him for the disturbance he has suffered. Similarly, when the Maghs of Bengal were obliged by Europeans to cut down trees which the natives believed to be tenanted by spirits, one of them was always ready with a green sprig, which he ran and placed in the middle of the stump when the tree fell, "as a propitiation to the spirit which had been displaced so roughly, pleading at the same time the orders of the strangers for the work."¹ In Halma-hera, however, the motive for placing a sprig on the stump is said to be to deceive the spirit into thinking that the fallen stem is still growing in its old place.² German woodmen make a cross upon the stump while the tree is falling, in the belief that this enables the spirit of the tree to live upon the stump.³ Before the Katodis fell a forest tree, they choose a tree of the same kind and worship it by presenting a coconut, burning incense, applying a red pigment, and begging it to bless the undertaking.⁴ The intention, perhaps, is to induce the spirit of the former tree to shift its quarters to the latter. In clearing a wood, a Galelareese must not cut down the last tree till the spirit in it has been induced to go away.⁵ When the Dyaks fell the jungle on the hills, they often leave a few trees standing on the hill-tops as a refuge for the dispossessed tree-spirits.⁶ Similarly in India, the Gonds allow a grove of typical trees to remain as a home or reserve for the woodland spirits when they are clearing away a jungle.⁷ The Mundaris have sacred groves which were left standing when the land was cleared, lest the sylvan gods, disquieted at the felling of the trees, should abandon the place.⁸ The Miris in Assam are unwilling to break up new land for cultivation so long as there is fallow land available; for they fear to offend the

¹ W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 240.

² J. M. van Baars, "Ile de Holma-hera," *Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris*, iv. (1893), p. 547.

³ W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 83.

⁴ *Journal Royal Asiatic Society*, vii. (1843), p. 29.

⁵ Batzian, *Indonesien*, i. 17.

⁶ J. Pertam, "San Dyak Religion," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 10 (Dec. 1882), p. 217; H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 184.

⁷ *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1896), p. 170.

⁸ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, pp. 186, 188; compare Bastien, *Völkerkunde aus Brakhsatula*, p. 9.

spirits of the woods by hewing down trees needlessly.¹ On the other hand, when a child has been lost, the Padams of Assam think that it has been stolen by the spirits of the wood; so they retaliate on the spirits by felling trees till they find the child. The spirits, fearing to be left without a tree in which to lodge, give up the child, and it is found in the fork of a tree.²

Thus the tree is regarded, sometimes as the body, sometimes as merely the house of the tree-spirit; and when we read of sacred trees which may not be cut down because they are the seat of spirits, it is not always possible to say with certainty in which way the presence of the spirit in the tree is conceived. In the following cases, perhaps, the trees are regarded as the dwelling-place of the spirits rather than as their bodies. The Sea Dyaks point to many a tree as sacred because it is the abode of a spirit or spirits, and to cut one of these down would provoke the spirit's anger, who might avenge himself by visiting the sacrilegious woodman with sickness.³ The Battas of Sumatra have been known to refuse to cut down certain trees because they were the abode of mighty spirits who would resent the injury.⁴ One of the largest and stateliest of the forest trees in Perak is known as *toallong*; it has a very poisonous sap which produces great irritation when it comes into contact with the skin. Many trees of this species have large hollow projections on their trunks where branches have been broken off. These projections are looked upon by the Malays as houses of spirits, and they object strongly to cut down trees that are thus disfigured, believing that the man who fells one of them will die within the year. When clearings are made in the forest, these trees are generally left standing to the annoyance and expense of planters.⁵ The Siamese fear to cut down any very fine trees, lest they should incur

¹ Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 33; Bastien, *op. cit.* p. 16. Compare W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*,² p. 132 ff.

² Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 25; Bastien, *op. cit.* p. 37.

³ J. Perham, "Sea Dyak Religion," *Journal of the Straits Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No. 10 (Decem-

ber 1882), p. 217; H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 184.

⁴ B. Hagen, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Battasreligion," *Zeitschrift über Indische Taak Land- und Völkereunde*, xxviii. 530, note.

⁵ W. W. Skeel, *Malay Magic*, p. 202.

the anger of the powerful spirits who inhabit them.¹ In like manner the Curka Coles of India believe that the tops of trees are the abode of spirits who are disturbed by the felling of the trees and will take vengeance.² The Parahiya, a Dravidian tribe of Mirzapur, think that evil spirits live in the *shil*, *pipal*, and *malua* trees; they make offerings to such trees and will not climb into their branches.³ In Travancore demons are supposed to reside in certain large old trees, which it would be sacrilegious and dangerous to hew down. A rough stone is generally placed at the foot of one of these trees as an image or emblem, and turmeric powder is rubbed on it.⁴ In the deserts of Arabia a recent traveller found a great solitary acacia-tree which the Bedouin believed to be possessed by a jinnee. Shreds of cotton and horns of goats hung among the boughs, and nails were knocked into the trunk. An Arab strongly dissuaded the traveller from cutting a branch of the tree, assuring him that it was death to do so.⁵ The Vourouks, who inhabit the southern coasts of Asia Minor and the heights of Mount Taurus, have sacred trees which they never cut down from fear of driving away the spirits that own them.⁶ The old Prussians, it is said, believed that gods inhabited high trees, such as oaks, from which they gave audible answers to inquirers; hence these trees were not felled, but worshipped as the homes of divinities.⁷ The great oak at Romove was the especial dwelling-place of the god; it was veiled with a cloth, which was, however, removed to allow worshippers to behold the sacred tree.⁸ The Samagitians thought that if any one

¹ E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Palm Rake* (Westminster, 1898), p. 192 sq.

² Basilar, *Die Völder der indischen Asien*, i. 134.

³ W. Crocker, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iv. 130.

⁴ S. Mateer, *The Land of Charity*, p. 206.

⁵ Ch. M. Daughity, *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (Cambridge, 1888), i. 363.

⁶ Th. Bent, "The Vourouks of Asia Minor," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891), p. 275.

⁷ Erasmus Steinh, "De Borussia antiquitatibus," in *Nomus orbis negotium ac mularum veteribus historiis*, p. 510; Lesicki (Laschius), "De diis Samagitarum ceterorumque Sametarum," in *Respublica sive Status Regni Poloniæ, Lithuanie, Prusie, Lituaniæ, etc.* (Elzevir, 1627), p. 299 sq. Lasicki's work has been reprinted by W. Mamhardt, in *Monumenta hibernica von der Letztlich-Literarischen Gesellschaft*, xiv. 82 sqq. (Münch, 1868).

⁸ Simon Grünau, *Preussische Chronik*, ed. Pentzsch (Leipsic, 1876), p. 89; "Prisca antiquorum Prutenorum religio," in *Respublica sive Status Regni Poloniæ, etc.*, p. 321.

ventured to injure certain groves, or the birds or beasts in them, the spirits would make his hands or feet crooked.¹ Down to the nineteenth century the Esthonians stood in such awe of many trees, which they considered as the seat of mighty spirits, that they would not even pluck a flower or a berry on the ground where the shadow of the trees fell; much less would they dare to break a branch from the tree itself.²

Even where no mention is made of wood-spirits, we may generally assume that when trees or groves are sacred and inviolable, it is because they are believed to be either inhabited or animated by sylvan deities. In Livonia there is a sacred grove in which, if any man fells a tree or breaks a branch, he will die within the year.³ The Wotjaks have sacred groves. A Russian who ventured to hew a tree in one of them fell sick and died next day.⁴ Near a chapel of St. Ninian, in the parish of Belly, there stood more than a century and a half ago a row of trees, "all of equal size, thick planted for about the length of a bait," which were "looked upon by the superstitious papists as sacred trees, from which they reckon it sacrilege to take so much as a branch, or any of the fruit."⁵ So in the island of Skye some two hundred and fifty years ago there was a holy lake, "surrounded by a fair wood, which none presumes to cut"; and those who ventured to infringe its sanctity by breaking even a twig either sickened on the spot or were visited afterwards by "some signal inconvenience."⁶ Sacrifices offered at cutting down trees are doubtless meant to appease the wood-spirits. In Gilgit it is usual to sprinkle goat's blood on a tree of any kind before felling it.⁷ Before thinning a grove a Roman farmer had to sacrifice a pig to the god or goddess of the grove.⁸ The priestly college of the Arval Brothers at Rome had to make expiation when a rotten bough fell to the ground in the sacred grove, or when an old

¹ Mathias Michov, in *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus incognitarum*, p. 457.

² J. G. Kohl, *Die deutsch-estnischen Ostseeprovinzen*, II. 277.

³ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, I. 497; ep. II. 540, 541.

⁴ Miss Bock, *Die Wotjaken*, p. 124.

⁵ Dalryell, *Derby Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 400.

⁶ Dalryell, *loc. cit.*

⁷ Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo Arch*, p. 116.

⁸ Cato, *De agri cultura*, 139.

tree was laid low by a storm or dragged down by a load of snow on its branches.¹

When a tree comes to be viewed, no longer as the body of the tree-spirit, but simply as its abode which it can quit at pleasure, an important advance has been made in religious thought. Animism is passing into polytheism. In other words, instead of regarding each tree as a living and conscious being, man now sees in it merely a lifeless, inert mass, tenanted for a longer or shorter time by a supernatural being who, as he can pass freely from tree to tree, thereby enjoys a certain right of possession or lordship over the trees, and, ceasing to be a tree-soul, becomes a forest god. As soon as the tree-spirit is thus in a measure disengaged from each particular tree, he begins to change his shape and assume the body of a man, in virtue of a general tendency of early thought to clothe all abstract spiritual beings in concrete human form. Hence in classical art the sylvan deities are depicted in human shape, their woodland character being denoted by a branch or some equally obvious symbol.² But this change of shape does not affect the essential character of the tree-spirit. The powers which he exercised as a tree-soul incorporate in a tree, he still continues to wield as a god of trees. This I shall now prove in detail. I shall show, first, that trees considered as animate beings are credited with the power of making the rain to fall, the sun to shine, flocks and herds to multiply, and women to bring forth easily; and, second, that the very same powers are attributed to tree-gods conceived as anthropomorphic beings or as actually incarnate in living men.

First, then, trees or tree-spirits are believed to give rain and sunshine. When the missionary Jerome of Prague was persuading the heathen Lithuanians to fell their sacred groves, a multitude of women besought the Prince of Lithuania to stop him, saying that with the woods he was destroying the house of god from which they had been wont

¹ Hansen, *Acta fratrum arvalium* (Berlin, 1874), p. 138.

² On the representations of Silvanus, the Roman wood-god, see Jordan in Preller's *Römische Mythologie*,³ i. 391

note; Baumelster, *Denkmäler des klassischen Alterthums*, iii. 1865 no. 2. A good representation of Silvanus bearing a pine branch is given in the Sale Catalogue of H. Hoffmann, Paris, 1888, p. 21.

to get rain and sunshine.¹ The Mundaris in Assam think that if a tree in the sacred grove is felled, the sylvan gods evince their displeasure by withholding rain.² In Cambodia each village or province has its sacred tree, the abode of a spirit. If the rains are late, the people sacrifice to the tree.³ In time of drought the elders of the Wakamba assemble and take a calabash of cider and a goat to a baobab-tree, where they kill the goat but do not eat it.⁴ When Ovambo women go out to sow corn they take with them in the basket of seed two green branches of a particular kind of tree (*Peltophorum africanum* Sond.), one of which they plant in the field along with the first seed sown. The branch is believed to have the power of attracting rain; hence in one of the native dialects the tree goes by the name of the "rain-bush."⁵ To extort rain from the tree-spirit a branch is sometimes dipped in water, as we have seen above.⁶ In such cases the spirit is doubtless supposed to be immanent in the branch, and the water thus applied to the spirit produces rain by a sort of sympathetic magic, exactly as we saw that in New Caledonia the rain-makers pour water on a skeleton, believing that the soul of the deceased will convert the water into rain.⁷ There is hardly room to doubt that Mannhardt is right in explaining as a rain-charm the European custom of drenching with water the trees which are cut at certain popular festivals, as mid-summer, Whitsuntide, and harvest.⁸

Again, tree-spirits make the crops to grow. Amongst the Mundaris every village has its sacred grove, and "the grove deities are held responsible for the crops, and are especially honoured at all the great agricultural festivals."⁹ The negroes of the Gold Coast are in the habit of sacrificing at the foot of certain tall trees, and they think that if one of

¹ Aeneas Sylvius, *Opera* (Bâle, 1571), p. 418 (wrongly numbered 420); cp. Erasmus Stella, "De Boconiae antiquitate," in *Novus Ordo regionum et insularum veteribus incognitarum*, p. 510.

² Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 186.

³ Aymonier in *Circulaire française: Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 16, p. 175 ff.

⁴ L. Haele, *Three Years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 489.

⁵ H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 293 ff.

⁶ See above, pp. 82, 113.

⁷ Above, p. 99 ff.

⁸ Mannhardt, *B.A.* pp. 158, 159, 170, 197, 214, 251, 514.

⁹ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 188.

these were felled, all the fruits of the earth would perish.¹ Before harvest the Wabondé of East Africa sacrifice a goat to the spirit that lives in baobab-trees; the blood is poured into a hole at the foot of one of the trees. If the sacrifice were omitted, the spirit would send disease and death among the people.² Swedish peasants stick a leafy branch in each furrow of their corn-fields, believing that this will ensure an abundant crop.³ The same idea comes out in the German and French custom of the Harvest-May. This is a large branch or a whole tree, which is decked with ears of corn, brought home on the last waggon from the harvest-field, and fastened on the roof of the farmhouse or of the barn, where it remains for a year. Mannhardt has proved that this branch or tree embodies the tree-spirit conceived as the spirit of vegetation in general, whose vivifying and fructifying influence is thus brought to bear upon the corn in particular. Hence in Swabia the Harvest-May is fastened amongst the last stalks of corn left standing on the field; in other places it is planted on the corn-field and the last sheaf cut is attached to its trunk.⁴ The Harvest-May of Germany has its counterpart in the *éiresione* of ancient Greece.⁵ The *éiresione* was a branch of olive or laurel, bound about with ribbons and hung with a variety of fruits. This branch was carried in procession at a harvest festival and was fastened over the door of the house, where it remained for a year. The object of preserving the Harvest-May or the *éiresione* for a year is that the life-giving virtue of the bough may foster the growth of the crops throughout the year. By the end of the year the virtue of the bough is supposed to be exhausted and it is replaced by a new one. Following a similar train of thought some of the Dyaks of Sarawak are careful at the rice harvest to take up the roots of a certain bulbous plant, which bears a beautiful crown of white and fragrant flowers. These roots are preserved with the rice in the granary and are planted again with the seed-rice in the following season;

¹ Villani, *Relation des Costes ap-
pellées Guinée* (Paris, 1669), p. 266
17; Lalut, *Voyage du Chevalier des
Marchais en Guinée, Isles voisines, et
à Cayenne* (Paris, 1730), i. 338.

² O. Baumann, *Uambara und seine*

Nachbargebiete, p. 142.

³ L. Liège, *Pescant Life in Sweden*,
p. 266.

⁴ Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 190 191.

⁵ Mannhardt, *A.W.F.* p. 212 213.

for the Dyaks say that the rice will not grow unless a plant of this sort be in the field.¹

Customs like that of the Harvest-May appear to exist in India and Africa. At a harvest festival of the Lhoosai of South-Eastern India the chief goes with his people into the forest and fells a large tree, which is then carried into the village and set up in the midst. Sacrifice is offered, and spirits and rice are poured over the tree. The ceremony closes with a feast and a dance, at which the unmarried men and girls are the only performers.² Among the Bechuanas the hack-thorn is very sacred, and it would be a serious offence to cut a bough from it and carry it into the village during the rainy season. But when the corn is ripe in the ear the people go with axes, and each man brings home a branch of the sacred hack-thorn, with which they repair the village cattle-yard.³ According to another authority, it is a rule with the Bechuanas that "neither the hook-thorn nor the milk-tree must be cut down while the corn is on the ground, for this, they think, would prevent rain. When I was at Lattakoo, though Mr. Hamilton stood in much need of some milk-tree timber, he durst not supply himself till all the corn was gathered in."⁴ Many tribes of South-Eastern Africa will not cut down timber while the corn is green, fearing that if they did so, the crops would be destroyed by blight, hail, or early frost.⁵ Again, the fructifying power of the tree is put forth at seed-time as well as at harvest. Among the Aryan tribes of Gilgit, on the north-western frontier of India, the sacred tree is the *Chili*, a species of cedar (*Juniperus excelsa*). At the beginning of wheat-sowing the people receive from the rajah's granary a quantity of wheat, which is placed in a skin mixed with sprigs of the sacred cedar. A large bonfire of the cedar

¹ H. Low, *Seremaut*, p. 274; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxv. (1896), p. 111.

² T. H. Lewin, *Wild Races of South-Eastern India*, p. 270.

³ J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years north of the Orange River*, p. 385.

⁴ J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, Second Journey*, ii. 203.

⁵ Rev. J. Macdonald, M.S. notes; compare *id.*, *Light in Africa*, p. 210;

id., in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891), p. 140. Among some of the hill-tribes of the Punjab no one is allowed to cut grass or any green thing with an iron sickle till the festival of the ripening grain has been celebrated; otherwise the field-god would be angry and send frost to destroy or injure the harvest (Ibbotson, *Outlines of Punjab Ethnography*, p. 121).

wood is lighted, and the wheat which is to be sown is held over the smoke. The rest is ground and made into a large cake, which is baked on the same fire and given to the ploughman.¹ Here the intention of fertilising the seed by means of the sacred cedar is unmistakable.

In all these cases the power of fostering the growth of crops, and, in general, of cultivated plants, is ascribed to trees. The ascription is not unnatural. For the tree is the largest and most powerful member of the vegetable kingdom, and man is familiar with it before he takes to cultivating corn. Hence he naturally places the feebler and, to him, newer plant under the dominion of the older and more powerful.

Again, the tree-spirit makes the herds to multiply and blesses women with offspring. The sacred *Chili* or cedar of Gilgit was supposed to possess this virtue in addition to that of fertilising the corn. At the commencement of wheat-sowing three chosen unmarried youths, after undergoing daily washing and purification for three days, used to start for the mountain where the cedars grew, taking with them wine, oil, bread, and fruit of every kind. Having found a suitable tree they sprinkled the wine and oil on it, while they ate the bread and fruit as a sacrificial feast. Then they cut off the branch and brought it to the village, where, amid general rejoicing, it was placed on a large stone beside running water. "A goat was then sacrificed, its blood poured over the cedar branch, and a wild dance took place, in which weapons were brandished about, and the head of the slaughtered goat was borne aloft, after which it was set up as a mark for arrows and bullet-practice. Every good shot was rewarded with a gourd full of wine and some of the flesh of the goat. When the flesh was finished the bones were thrown into the stream and a general ablution took place, after which every man went to his house taking with him a spray of the cedar. On arrival at his house he found the door shut in his face, and on his knocking for admission, his wife asked, 'What have you brought?' To which he answered, 'If you want children, I have brought them to you; if you want food, I have brought it; if you want cattle, I have brought them; what-

¹ Biddulph, *Tales of the Hindu Koshi*, p. 103 *sq.*

ever you want, I have it.' The door was then opened and he entered with his cedar spray. The wife then took some of the leaves, and pouring wine and water on them placed them on the fire, and the rest were sprinkled with flour and suspended from the ceiling. She then sprinkled flour on her husband's head and shoulders, and addressed him thus, 'Ai Shiri Bagerthum, son of the fairies, you have come from far!' *Skiri Bagerthum*, 'the dreadful king,' being the form of address to the cedar when praying for wants to be fulfilled. The next day the wife baked a number of cakes, and taking them with her, drove the family goats to the Chili stone. When they were collected round the stone, she began to pelt them with pebbles, invoking the Chili at the same time. According to the direction in which the goats ran off, omens were drawn as to the number and sex of the kids expected during the ensuing year. Walnuts and pomegranates were then placed on the Chili stone, the cakes were distributed and eaten, and the goats followed to pasture in whatever direction they showed a disposition to go. For five days afterwards this song was sung in all the houses:—

'Dread Fairy King, I sacrifice before you,
How nobly do you stand! you have filled up my house,
You have brought me a wife when I had not one,
Instead of daughters you have given me sons.
You have shown me the ways of right,
You have given me many children.'¹

Here the driving of the goats to the stone on which the cedar had been placed is clearly meant to impart to them the fertilising influence of the cedar. In Europe the May-tree or May-pole is supposed to possess similar powers over both women and cattle. In some parts of Germany on the first of May the peasants set up May-trees at the doors of stables and byres, one May-tree for each horse and cow; this is thought to make the cows yield much milk.² Camden says of the Irish, "They fancy a green bough of a tree,

¹ Biddulph, *op. cit.* p. 106 sq.

² Mannhardt, *B.N.* p. 161; E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 397; A.

Peter, *Völkchenthümliches aus Österreichisch-Schlesien*, ii. 286; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 210.

fastened on May-day against the house, will produce plenty of milk that summer."¹ In Suffolk there was an old custom, observed in most farm-houses, that any servant who could bring in a branch of hawthorn in blossom on the first of May was entitled to a dish of cream for breakfast. Similarly, "in parts of Cornwall, till certainly ten years ago, any child who brought to a dairy on May morning a piece of hawthorn in bloom, or a piece of fresh bracken, long enough to surround the earthenware bowl in which cream is kept, was given a bowl of cream."²

On the second of July some of the Weirds used to set up an oak-tree in the middle of the village with an iron cock fastened to its top; then they danced round it, and drove the cattle round it to make them thrive.³ Some of the Esthonians believe in a mischievous spirit called Metsik, who lives in the forest and has the weal of the cattle in his hands. Every year a new image of him is prepared. On an appointed day all the villagers assemble and make a straw man, dress him in clothes, and take him to the common pasture-land of the village. Here the figure is fastened to a high tree, round which the people dance noisily. On almost every day of the year prayer and sacrifice are offered to him that he may protect the cattle. Sometimes the image of Metsik is made of a corn-sheaf and fastened to a tall tree in the wood. The people perform strange antics before it to induce Metsik to guard the corn and the cattle.⁴ The Circassians regard the pear-tree as the protector of cattle. So they cut down a young pear-tree in the forest, branch it, and carry it home, where it is adored as a

¹ Quoted by Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, i. 227, Bohn's ed.

² *County Folk-lore: Suffolk*, collected and edited by Lady Evelyn Camilla Gordon, p. 117.

³ Mr. E. F. Benson, in a letter to the author dated December 15th, 1892. A somewhat different explanation of these customs is that the green boughs are intended to save the milk from the witches, who make great efforts to steal it on May morning, and, if they succeed, own it for the rest of the year. Hence to keep off the witches on that morning the Irish scatter prim-

roses on the threshold, keep a piece of red-hot iron on the hearth, or twine branches of whitethorn and mountain-ash about the door. To save the milk they cut and peel boughs of mountain-ash, and bind the twigs round the milk-pails and the churn. See Lady Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Myotic Charms, and Superstitions of Ireland* (London, 1887), i. 196 sq.

⁴ Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 174.

⁵ Holzmayer, "Ostlins," *Verhandlungen der Estnischen Gesell. zu Dorpat*, vii, No. 2, p. 10 sq.; Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 407 sq.

divinity. Almost every house has one such pear-tree. In autumn, on the day of the festival, the tree is carried into the house with great ceremony to the sound of music and amid the joyous cries of all the inmates, who compliment it on its fortunate arrival. It is covered with candles, and a cheese is fastened to its top. Round about it they eat, drink, and sing. Then they bid the tree good-bye and take it back to the courtyard, where it remains for the rest of the year, set up against the wall, without receiving any mark of respect.¹

The common European custom of placing a green bush on May Day before or on the house of a beloved maiden probably originated in the belief of the fertilising power of the tree-spirit.² In some parts of Bavaria such bushes are set up also at the houses of newly-married pairs, and the practice is only omitted if the wife is near her confinement; for in that case they say that the husband has "set up a May-bush for himself."³ Among the South Slavonians a barren woman, who desires to have a child, places a new chemise on a fruitful tree on the eve of St. George's Day. Next morning before sunrise she examines the garment, and if she finds that some living creature has crept on it, she hopes that her wish will be fulfilled within the year. Then she puts on the chemise, confident that she will be as fruitful as the tree on which the chemise has passed the night.⁴ Among the Kara-Kirghiz barren women roll themselves on the ground under a solitary apple-tree, in order to obtain offspring.⁵ Some of the hill-tribes of India have a custom of marrying the bride and bridegroom to two trees before they are married to each other. For example, among the Mundas the bride

¹ Potocki, *Voyage dans les steppes d'Asie russe et du Caucase* (Paris, 1829), I. 309.

² Mannhardt, *B.A.* p. 163 sqq. To his authorities add for France, A. Meyrac, *Traditions, coutumes, légendes et contes des Ardennes*, p. 82 sqq.; L. F. Sauvé, *Folk-lore des Hautes-Vosges*, I. 131 sq.; Béranger-Fénaud, *Superstitions et superstitions*, v. 309 sq.; for Moravia, W. Müller, *Beiträge zur Volkskunde der Deutschen in Mähren*, p. 253; for Sardinia, K. Tennant, *Sar-*

dina and its Resources (Rome and London, 1885), p. 183 sq. In Brunswick the custom is observed at Whitsun-tide (R. Andree, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde*, p. 248).

³ *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde der Königlich Bayerischen, I.* 373.

⁴ F. S. Krauss, *Volkskunde und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 35.

⁵ Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der nördlichen Türkischen Stämme*, v. 2 (St. Petersburg, 1885).

touches with red lead¹ a *malud*-tree, clasps it in her arms, and is tied to it; and the bridegroom goes through a like ceremony with a mango-tree.² The intension of the custom may perhaps be to communicate to the newly-wedded pair the vigorous reproductive power of the trees.³ Lastly, the power of granting to women an easy delivery at child-birth is ascribed to trees both in Sweden and Africa. In some districts of Sweden there was formerly a *bärdträd* or guardian-tree (lime, ash, or elm) in the neighbourhood of every farm. No one would pluck a single leaf of the sacred tree, any injury to which was punished by ill-luck or sickness. Pregnant women used to clasp the tree in their arms in order to ensure an easy delivery.⁴ In some negro tribes of the Congo region pregnant women make themselves garments out of the bark of a certain sacred tree, because they believe that this tree delivers them from the dangers that attend child-bearing.⁵ The story that Leto clasped a palm-tree and an olive-tree or two laurel-trees, when she was about to give birth to Apollo and Artemis, perhaps points to a similar Greek belief in the efficacy of certain trees to facilitate delivery.⁶

From this review of the beneficent qualities commonly ascribed to tree-spirits, it is easy to understand why customs like the May-tree or May-pole have prevailed so widely and figured so prominently in the popular festivals of European peasants. In spring or early summer or even on Midsummer Day, it was and still is in many parts of Europe the custom

¹ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 194; a similar custom is practised among the Kurmis, *ibid.*, p. 319. Among the Mundas the custom seems now to have fallen into disuse (H. H. Risley, *Tribes and Castes of Bengal: Ethnographic Glossary*, II, 102).

² The explanation has been suggested by Mr. W. Crooke (*Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899), p. 243). There are other facts, however, which point to a different explanation, namely, that the practice is intended to avert possible evil consequences from bride or bridegroom. See J. G. Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 35; *Penjab Notes and Queries*, II, § 252; *Ed. §§ 12, 99, 362, iv. § 396; North*

Indian Notes and Queries, I, § 110; Hubertson, *Settlement Report of the Karnal District*, p. 135; W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, II, 263; *ed., Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, pp. 258-261. I was formerly disposed to connect the custom with totemism, but of this there seems to be no sufficient evidence.

³ Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 31 19.

⁴ Merolla, "Voyage to Congo," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xxi. 236 19.

⁵ Büttcher, *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 30 29.

to go out to the woods, cut down a tree and bring it into the village, where it is set up amid general rejoicings. Or the people cut branches in the woods, and fasten them on every house. The intention of these customs is to bring home to the village, and to each house, the blessings which the tree-spirit has in its power to bestow. Hence the custom in some places of planting a May-tree before every house, or of carrying the village May-tree from door to door, that every household may receive its share of the blessing. Out of the mass of evidence on this subject a few examples may be selected.

Sir Henry Piers, in his *Description of Westmeath*, writing in 1682 says: "On May-eve, every family sets up before their door a green bush, strewed over with yellow flowers, which the meadows yield plentifully. In countries where timber is plentiful, they erect tall slender trees, which stand high, and they continue almost the whole year; so as a stranger would go nigh to imagine that they were all signs of ale-sellers, and that all houses were ale-houses."¹ In Northamptonshire a young tree ten or twelve feet high used to be planted before each house on May Day so as to appear growing.² "An antient custom, still retained by the Cornish, is that of decking their doors and porches on the 1st of May with green boughs of sycamore and hawthorn, and of planting trees, or rather stumps of trees, before their houses."³ In the north of England it was formerly the custom for young people to rise very early on the morning of the first of May, and go out with music into the woods, where they broke branches and adorned them with nosegays and crowns of flowers. This done, they returned about sunrise and fastened the flower-decked branches over the doors and windows of their houses.⁴ At Abingdon in Berkshire young people formerly went about in groups on May morning, singing a carol of which the following are two of the verses—

"We've been rambling all the night;
And sometime of this day;
And now returning back again,
We bring a garland gay.

¹ Quoted by Brand, *Popular Anti-*
quities, i. 246 (ed. Bohn).

² Dyer, *British Popular Customs*,
p. 254.

³ Roelase, cited by Brand, *op. cit.* i.
222.

⁴ Brand, *op. cit.* i. 212 sq.

"A garland gay we bring you here;
And at your door we stand;
It is a sprout well budded out,
The work of our Lord's hand."¹

At the villages of Saffron Walden and Debden in Essex on the first of May little girls go about in parties from door to door singing a song almost identical with the above and carrying garlands; a doll dressed in white is usually placed in the middle of each garland.² Similar customs have been and indeed are still observed in various parts of England. The garlands are generally in the form of hoops intersecting each other at right angles. Thus on May morning the girls of the neighbouring villages used to flock into Northampton bringing their garlands, which they exhibited from house to house. The skeleton of the garland was formed of two hoops of osier or hazel crossing each other at right angles, and so twined with flowers and ribbons that no part of them could be seen. In the centre of the garlands were placed gaily dressed dolls, one, two, or three in number according to the size of the garland. The whole was fixed to a staff about five feet long, by which it was carried. In showing their garlands the children chanted some simple ditties and received in return pennies, which furnished forth a feast on their return to their homes. A merry dance round the garland concluded the festivity.³ At Uttoxeter groups of children carry garlands of flowers about the town on May Day. "The garlands consist of two hoops, one passing through the other, which give the appearance of four half-circles, and they are decorated with flowers and evergreens, and surmounted with a bunch of flowers as a sort of crown, and in the centre of the hoops is a pendant orange and flowers." One or more of the children carry a little pole or stick upright with a bunch of flowers fastened to the top.

¹ Dyer, *Popular British Customs*, p. 233.

² Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 578; Dyer, *op. cit.* p. 237 *sq.*

³ Hone, *Every Day Book*, ii. 615 *sq.*; Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 251 *sq.* At Polebrook in Northamptonshire the verses sung by the

children on their rounds include two which are almost identical with those sung at Abingdon in Berkshire. See Dyer, *op. cit.* p. 255 *sq.* The same verses were formerly sung on May Day at Hitchin in Hertfordshire (Hone, *Every Day Book*, i. 567 *sq.*; Dyer, *op. cit.* p. 240 *sq.*).

They are themselves decorated with flowers and ribbons, and receive peace from the houses which they visit.¹ At Watford in Hertfordshire, groups of children, almost entirely girls, go about the streets from door to door on May Day singing some verses, of which two agree almost verbally with those which, as we have seen, are sung at Abingdon in Berkshire. They are dressed in white, and adorned with gay ribbons and sashes of many hues. "Two of the girls carry between them on a stick what they call 'the garland,' which, in its simplest form, is made of two circular hoops, intersecting each other at right angles; a more elaborate form has, in addition, smaller semicircles inserted in the four angles formed by the meeting of the hoops at the top of 'the garland.' These hoops are covered with any wild-flowers in season, and are further ornamented with ribbons. The 'garland' in shape reminds me of the 'Christmas' which used to form the centre of the Christmas decorations in Yorkshire some few years ago, except that the latter had a bunch of mistletoe inside the hoops."² A similar custom was observed at Bampton-in-the-Bush in Oxfordshire down to about fifty years ago. The garland consisted of two crossed hoops covered with moss, flowers, and ribbons. Two girls, known as the Lady and her Maid, bore the garland between them on a stick; and a boy called the Lord, who carried a stick dressed with ribbons and flowers, collected contributions from the spectators. From time to time the Lady sang a few lines and was then kissed by the Lord.³ At Sevenoaks in Kent the children carry boughs and garlands from door to door on May Day. The boughs consist of sticks carried upright with bunches of leaves and wild-flowers fastened to the top. The garlands are formed of two hoops interlaced cross-wise and covered with blue and yellow flowers from the woods and hedges. Sometimes the garlands are fastened to the end of a stick carried perpendicularly, sometimes they hang from the middle of a stick borne horizontally by two children.⁴ In the streets of Cambridge little girls regularly

¹ Dyer, *op. cit.* p. 263.

² Percy Manning, in *Folklore*, iv. (1893), p. 403 sq.

³ *Ibid.*, in *Folklore*, vii. (1897), p. 308. Customs of the same sort are

reported also from Combe, Headington, and Islip, all in Oxfordshire (Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 261 sq.). See below, p. 220 sq.

⁴ Dyer, *op. cit.* p. 243.

make their appearance every May Day with female dolls enclosed in hoops, which are covered with ribbons and flowers. These they show to passers-by, inviting them to remember the May Lady by paying a small sum to her bearers.¹ At Salisbury girls go through the streets on May Day in pairs, carrying between them on a stick a circular garland or hoop adorned with flowers and bows; they visit the shops asking for money. A similar custom is observed at Wilton a few miles from Salisbury.² It appears that a hoop wreathed with rowan and marsh marigold, and bearing suspended within it two balls, is still carried on May Day by villagers in some parts of Ireland. The balls, which are sometimes covered with gold and silver paper, are said to have originally represented the sun and moon.³ In some villages of the Vosges Mountains on the first Sunday of May young girls go in bands from house to house, singing a song in praise of May, in which mention is made of the "bread and meal that come in May." If money is given them, they fasten a green bough to the door; if it is refused, they wish the family many children and no bread to feed them.⁴ In the French département of Mayenne, boys who bore the name of *Mailloins* used to go about from farm to farm on the first of May singing carols, for which they received money or a drink; they planted a small tree or a branch of a tree.⁵ Among the Germans of Moravia on the third Sunday before Easter, which goes by the name of *Laetare* Sunday, it is customary in some places for young girls to carry a small fir-tree about from door to door, while they sing songs, for which they receive

¹ W. H. D. Rowe, in *Folklore*, iv. (1893), p. 53. I have witnessed the ceremony almost annually for many years. It was performed this year (1900) as usual. Many of the hoops have no doll, and ribbons or rags of coloured cloth are more conspicuous than flowers in their decoration.

² J. P. Emslie in *Folk-lore*, xi. (1900), p. 210.

³ Lady Wilde, *Ancient Customs, Charms, and Songs of Ireland* (London, 1890), p. 101 *sq.* At the ancient Greek festival of the *Daphnephoria* or

"Laurel-bearing" a staff of olive-wood, decked with laurels, purple ribbons, and many-coloured flowers, was carried in procession, and attached to it were two large globes representing the sun and moon, together with a number of smaller globes which stood for the stars. See Proclus, quoted by Photius, *Bibliotheca*, p. 321, ed. Bekker.

⁴ E. Coriet, *Essai sur les fêtes re-
ligieuses*, p. 167 *sqq.*

⁵ *Revue des traditions populaires*, ii. (1887), p. 200.

presents. The tree is tricked out with many-coloured ribbons, and sometimes with flowers and dyed eggshells, and its branches are twined together so as to form what is called a crown.¹ In Corfu the children go about singing May songs on the first of May. The boys carry small cypresses adorned with ribbons, flowers, and the fruits of the season. They receive a glass of wine at each house. The girls carry nosegays. One of them is dressed up like an angel, with gilt wings, and scatters flowers.²

On the Thursday before Whitsunday the Russian villagers "go out into the woods, sing songs, weave garlands, and cut down a young birch-tree, which they dress up in woman's clothes, or adorn with many-coloured shreds and ribbons. After that comes a feast, at the end of which they take the dressed-up birch-tree, carry it home to their village with joyful dance and song, and set it up in one of the houses, where it remains as an honoured guest till Whitsunday. On the two intervening days they pay visits to the house where their 'guest' is; but on the third day, Whitsunday, they take her to a stream and fling her into its waters," throwing their garlands after her. "All over Russia every village and every town is turned, a little before Whitsunday, into a sort of garden. Everywhere along the streets the young birch-trees stand in rows, every house and every room is adorned with boughs, even the engines upon the railway are for the time decked with green leaves."³ In this Russian custom the dressing of the birch in woman's clothes shows how clearly the tree is conceived as personal; and the throwing it into a stream is most probably a rain-charm.⁴ In some villages of Altmark it was formerly the custom for serving-men, grooms, and cowherds to go from farm to farm at Whitsuntide distributing crowns made of birch branches and flowers to the farmers; these crowns were hung up in the houses and left till the following year.⁴

In the neighbourhood of Zabern in Alsace bands of

¹ W. Müller, *Beiträge zur Volkskunde der Deutschen in Mähren* (Wien und Olmütz, 1893), pp. 319 sq., 352, 359.

² *Folklore*, I. (1890), p. 518 sq.

³ Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 234 sq.

⁴ A. Kuhn, *Märkische Sagen und Märchen*, p. 315.

people go about carrying May-trees. Amongst them is a man dressed in a white shirt, with his face blackened; in front of him is carried a large May-tree, but each member of the band also carries a smaller one. One of the company bears a huge basket in which he collects eggs, bacon, and so forth.¹ In some parts of Sweden on the eve of May Day lads go about carrying each a bunch of fresh-gathered birch twigs, wholly or partially in leaf. With the village fiddler at their head, they make the round of the houses singing May songs; the burden of their songs is a prayer for fine weather, a plentiful harvest, and worldly and spiritual blessings. One of them carries a basket in which he collects gifts of eggs and the like. If they are well received they stick a leafy twig in the roof over the cottage door.²

But in Sweden midsummer is the season when these ceremonies are chiefly observed. On the Eve of St. John (the twenty-third of June) the houses are thoroughly cleansed and garnished with green boughs and flowers. Young fir-trees are raised at the doorway and elsewhere about the homestead; and very often small umbrageous arbours are constructed in the garden. In Stockholm on this day a leaf-market is held at which thousands of May-poles (*Maj Stänger*), from six inches to twelve feet high, decorated with leaves, flowers, slips of coloured paper, gilt egg-shells strung on reeds, and so on, are exposed for sale. Bonfires are lit on the hills, and the people dance round them and jump over them. But the chief event of the day is setting up the May-pole. This consists of a straight and tall spruce-pine tree, stripped of its branches. "At times hoops and at others pieces of wood, placed cross-wise, are attached to it at intervals; whilst at others it is provided with bows, representing, so to say, a man with his arms akimbo. From top to bottom not only the 'Maj Stång' (May-pole) itself, but the hoops, bows, etc., are ornamented with leaves, flowers, slips of various cloth, gilt egg-shells, etc.; and on the top of it is a large vane, or it may be a flag." The raising of the May-pole, the decoration on which is done by the village maidens, is an affair of much

¹ Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 162.

² L. Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden*, p. 225.

ceremony; the people flock to it from all quarters, and dance round it in a great ring.¹ In some parts of Bohemia also a May-pole or midsummer-tree is erected on St. John's Eve. The lads fetch a tall fir or pine from the wood and set it up on a height, where the girls deck it with nosegays, garlands, and red ribbons. It is afterwards burned.²

It would be needless to illustrate at length the custom, which has prevailed in various parts of Europe, such as England, France, and Germany, of setting up a village May-tree or May-pole on May Day.³ A few examples will suffice. The puritanical writer Stubbs in his *Anatomic of Abuses* has described with manifest disgust how they used to bring in the May-pole in the days of good Queen Bess. His description affords us a vivid glimpse of merry England in the olden time. "They have twentie or fourtie yoke of oxen, every ox having a sweete nosegaie of flowers tyed on the tippe of his hornes, and these oxen draw homē this Maie poole (this stinckýng idoll rather), which is covered all over with flowers and hearbes, bounde rounde aboute with stringes, from the top to the bottome, and sometyme painted with variable colours, with twoo or three hundred men, women and children followyng it with great devotion. And thus beyng reared up, with handkerchiefes and flagges streamyng on the toppe, they strawe the grounde aboute, binde greene boughes about it, sett up sommer haules, bowers, and arbours, hard by it. And then fall they to banquet and feast, to leap and daunce aboute it, as the heathen people did at the dedication of their idolles, whereof this is a perfect patterne, or rather the thyng itself."⁴ Of the Cornish people their historian Borlase says: "From towns they make incursions, on May Eve, into the country, cut down a tall elm, bring it into the town with rejoicings, and having fitted a straight taper pole to the end of it, and painted it, erect it in the most public part, and upon holidays

¹ L. Lloyd, *op. cit.* p. 257 *sup.*

² Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 308 *sup.* A fuller description of the ceremony will be given later (ch. iv. § 2).

³ For the evidence see Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, i. 234 *sup.*; Hoare,

Every Day Book, i. 547 *sup.*, ii. 574 *sup.*; Chambers, *Book of Days*, i. 574 *sup.*; Dyce, *British Popular Customs*, p. 228 *sup.*; W. Mannhardt, *Baumkultus*, p. 168 *sup.*

⁴ Quoted by Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, i. 235.

and festivals dress it with garlands of flowers, or ensigus and streamers."¹ In Northumberland, down apparently to near the end of the eighteenth century, young people of both sexes used to go out early on May morning to gather the flowering thorn and the dew off the grass, which they brought home with music and acclamations; then, having dressed a pole on the green with garlands, they danced about it. A syllabub made of warm milk from the cow, sweet cakes, and wine was prepared for the feast; and a kind of divination, to discover who should be wedded first, was practised by dropping a marriage-ring into the syllabub and fishing for it with a ladle.² In Swabia on the first of May a tall fir-tree used to be fetched into the village, where it was decked with ribbons and set up; then the people danced round it merrily to music. The tree stood on the village green the whole year through, until a fresh tree was brought in next May Day.³ At Bordeaux on the first of May the boys of each street used to erect in it a May-pole, which they adorned with garlands and a great crown; and every evening during the whole of the month the young people of both sexes danced singing about the pole.⁴ Down to the present day May-trees decked with flowers and ribbons are set up on May Day in every village and hamlet of gay Provence. Under them the young folk make merry and the old folk rest.⁵

In all these cases, apparently, the custom is or was to bring in a new May-tree each year. However, in England the village May-pole seems as a rule, at least in later times, to have been permanent, not renewed annually.⁶ Villages of Upper Bavaria renew their May-pole once every three, four, or five years. It is a fir-tree fetched from the forest, and amid all the wreaths, flags, and inscriptions with which it is bedecked, an essential part is the bunch of dark green foliage

¹ Quoted by Brand, *op. cit.* l. 237, note.

² Hutchinson, *Hist. of Northumberland* (1778), vol. II., Appendix, p. 14, quoted by Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 257.

³ E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 396.

⁴ De Nöe, *Costumes, mythes et*

traditions des provinces de France, p. 137.

⁵ Fétenger-Férad, *Superstitions et superstitions* (Paris, 1896), v. 308 *op. Compare id., Reminiscences populaires de la Provence*, pp. 21 *op.*, 26, 27.

⁶ Hens, *Every Day Book*, l. 547 *op.*; Chambers, *Book of Days*, l. 571.

left at the top "as a memento that in it we have to do, not with a dead pole, but with a living tree from the greenwood."¹ We can hardly doubt that originally the practice everywhere was to set up a new May-tree every year. As the object of the custom was to bring in the fructifying spirit of vegetation, newly awakened in spring, the end would have been defeated if, instead of a living tree, green and sappy, an old withered one had been erected year after year or allowed to stand permanently. When, however, the meaning of the custom had been forgotten, and the May-tree was regarded simply as a centre for holiday merry-making, people saw no reason for felling a fresh tree every year, and preferred to let the same tree stand permanently, only decking it with fresh flowers on May Day. But even when the May-pole had thus become a fixture, the need of giving it the appearance of being a green tree, not a dead pole, was sometimes felt. Thus at Weverham in Cheshire "are two May-poles, which are decorated on this day (May Day) with all due attention to the ancient solemnity; the sides are hung with garlands, and the top terminated by a birch or other tall slender tree with its leaves on; the bark being peeled, and the stem spliced to the pole, so as to give the appearance of one tree from the summit."² Thus the renewal of the May-tree is like the renewal of the Harvest-May; each is intended to secure a fresh portion of the fertilising spirit of vegetation, and to preserve it throughout the year. But whereas the efficacy of the Harvest-May is restricted to promoting the growth of the crops, that of the May-tree or May-branch extends also, as we have seen, to women and cattle. Lastly, it is worth noting that the old May-tree is sometimes burned at the end of the year. Thus in the district of Prague young people break pieces off the public May-tree and place them behind the holy pictures in their rooms, where they remain till next May Day, and are then burned on the hearth.³ In Würtemberg the bushes which are set up on the houses on Palm Sunday are sometimes left there for a

¹ *Bavaria, Landes- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, i. 372.

² *Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, Fest-Kalendar aus Böhmen*, p. 217; Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 566.

³ *Hone, Every Day Book*, ii. 597 sq.

year and then burnt.¹ The *eiressione* (the Harvest-May of Greece) was perhaps burnt at the end of the year.²

So much for the tree-spirit conceived as incorporate or immanent in the tree. We have now to show that the tree-spirit is often conceived and represented as detached from the tree and clothed in human form, and even as embodied in living men or women. The evidence for this anthropomorphic representation of the tree-spirit is largely to be found in the popular customs of European peasantry. These will be described presently, but before examining them we may notice an Esthonian folk-tale which illustrates the same train of thought very clearly. Once upon a time, so runs the tale, a young peasant was busy raking the hay in a meadow, when on the rim of the horizon a heavy thunder-cloud loomed black and angry, warning him to make haste with his work before the storm should break. He finished in time, and was wending his way homeward, when under a tree he espied a stranger fast asleep. "He will be drenched to the skin," thought the good-natured young fellow to himself, "if I allow him to sleep on." So he stepped up to the sleeper and shaking him forcibly roused him from his slumber. The stranger started up, and at sight of the thunder-cloud, which now darkened the sky, he blanched, fumbled in his pockets, and finding nothing in them wherewith to reward the friendly swain, he said, "This time I am your debtor. But the time will come when I shall be able to repay your kindness. Remember what I tell you. You will enlist. You will be parted from your friends for years, and one day a feeling of homesickness will come over you in a foreign land. Then look up, and you will see a crooked birch-tree a few steps from you. Go to it, knock thrice on the trunk, and ask, 'Is the Crooked One at home?' The rest will follow." With these words the stranger hastened away and was out of sight in a moment. The peasant also went his way, and soon forgot all about the matter. Well, time went by and part of the stranger's prophecy came true. For the peasant turned soldier and

¹ Birlinger, *Völkthümlicher aus Schwaben*, ii. 74 *sp.*; Manthard, *B. A.* hardt, *A. W. F.*, p. 222 *sp.*
² Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 1054; Mann-

served in a cavalry regiment for years. One day, when he was quartered with his regiment in the north of Finland, it fell to his turn to tend the horses while his comrades were loafing in the tavern. Suddenly a great yearning for home, such as he had never known before, came over the lonely trooper; tears started to his eyes, and dear visions of his native land crowded on his soul. Then he bethought him of the sleeping stranger in the wood, and the whole scene came back to him as fresh as if it had happened yesterday. He looked up, and there, strange to tell, he was aware of a crooked birch-tree right in front of him. More in jest than in earnest he went up to it and did as the stranger had bidden him. Hardly had the words, "Is the Crooked One at home?" passed his lips when the stranger himself stood before him and said, "I am glad you have come. I feared you had forgotten me. You wish to be at home, do you not?" The trooper said yes, he did. Then the Crooked One cried into the tree, "Young folks, which of you is the fleetest?" A voice from the birch replied, "Father, I can run as fast as a moor-hen flies." "Well, I need a fleet messenger to-day." A second voice answered, "I can run like the wind." "I need a swifter envoy," said the father. Then a third voice cried, "I can run like the thought of man." "You are after my own heart. Fill a bag full of gold and take it with my friend and benefactor to his home." Then he caught the soldier by the hat, crying, "The hat to the man, and the man to the house!" The same moment the soldier felt his hat fly from his head. When he looked about for it, lo! he was at home in the old familiar parlour wearing his old peasant clothes, and the great sack of money stood beside him. Yet on parade and at the roll-call he was never missed. When the man who told this story was asked, "Who could the stranger be?" he answered, "Who but a tree-elf?"¹

There is an instructive class of cases in which the tree-spirit is represented simultaneously in vegetable form and in

¹ Boecker-Kreuzwald, *Der Elfenberg*, pp. 112-114. Some traits in this story seem to suggest that

the return of the trooper to his old home was, like that of the war-broken veteran in Campbell's poem, only a soldier's dream.

human form, which are set side by side as if for the express purpose of explaining each other. In these cases the human representative of the tree-spirit is sometimes a doll or puppet, sometimes a living person; but whether a puppet or it person, it is placed beside a tree or bough; so that together the person or puppet, and the tree or bough, form a sort of bilingual inscription, the one being, so to speak, a translation of the other. Here, therefore, there is no room left for doubt that the spirit of the tree is actually represented in human form. Thus in Bohemia, on the fourth Sunday in Lent, young people throw a puppet called Death into the water; then the girls go into the wood, cut down a young tree, and fasten to it a puppet dressed in white clothes to look like a woman; with this tree and puppet they go from house to house collecting gratuities and singing songs with the refrain—

"We carry Death out of the village,
We bring Summer into the village."¹

Here, as we shall see later on, the "Summer" is the spirit of vegetation returning or reviving in spring. In some parts of our own country children go about asking for pence with some small imitations of May-poles, and with a finely-dressed doll which they call the Lady of the May.² In these cases the tree and the puppet are obviously regarded as equivalent.

At Thann, in Alsace, a girl called the Little May Rose, dressed in white, carries a small May-tree, which is gay with garlands and ribbons. Her companions collect gifts from door to door, singing a song—

"Little May Rose turn round three times,
Let us look at you round and round!
Rose of the May, come to the greenwood away,
We will be merry all,
So we go from the May to the roses."

In the course of the song a wish is expressed that those who give nothing may lose their fowls by the marten, that

¹ Reinsberg-Düringfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 86 *app.*; Mannhardt, *B. K.* p. 156.

² Chambers, *Book of Days* i. 573. Compare the Cambridge custom, described above, p. 199 *ss.*

their vine may bear no clusters, their tree no nuts, their field no corn; the produce of the year is supposed to depend on the gifts offered to these May singers.¹ Here and in the cases mentioned above, where children go about with green boughs or garlands on May Day singing and collecting money, the meaning is that with the spirit of vegetation they bring plenty and good luck to the house, and they expect to be paid for the service. In Russian Lithuania, on the first of May, they used to set up a green tree before the village. Then the rustic swains chose the prettiest girl, crowned her, swathed her in birch branches and set her beside the May-tree, where they danced, sang, and shouted "O May! O May!"² In Brie (Isle de France) a May-tree is set up in the midst of the village; its top is crowned with flowers; lower down it is twined with leaves and twigs, still lower with huge green branches. The girls dance round it, and at the same time a lad wrapt in leaves and called Father May is led about.³ In the small towns of the Franken Wald mountains in Northern Bavaria, on the second of May, a *Walber* tree is erected before a tavern, and a man dances round it, enveloped in straw from head to foot in such a way that the ears of corn unite above his head to form a crown. He is called the *Walber*, and used to be led in procession through the streets, which were adorned with sprigs of birch.⁴ In Carinthia, on St. George's Day (the twenty-third of April), the young people deck with flowers and garlands a tree which has been felled on the eve of the festival. The tree is then carried in procession, accompanied with music and joyful acclamations, the chief figure in the procession being the Green George, a young fellow clad from head to foot in green birch branches. At the close of the ceremonies the Green George, that is an effigy of him, is thrown into the water. It is the aim of the lad who acts Green George to step out of his leafy envelope and substitute the effigy so adroitly that no one shall perceive the change. In many

¹ Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 312.

² Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 313.

³ *Ibid.* p. 314.

⁴ *Bavaria, Land- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, iii. 357; Mann-

hardt, *B.K.* p. 313 *sq.* The word *Walber* probably comes from Walburgis, which is doubtless only another form of the better known Walpurgis. The second of May is called Walburgis Day, at least in this part of Bavaria.

places, however, the lad himself who plays the part of Green George is ducked in a river or pond, with the express intention of thus ensuring rain to make the fields and meadows green in summer. In some places the cattle are crowned and driven from their stalls to the accompanyingat of a song—

"Green George we bring,
Green George we accompany,
May he feed our herds well.
If not, to the water with him!"¹

Here we see that the same powers of making rain and fostering the cattle, which are ascribed to the tree-spirit regarded as incorporate in the tree, are also attributed to the tree-spirit represented by a living man.

Among the gypsies of Transylvania and Roumania the festival of Green George is the chief celebration of spring. Some of them keep it on Easter Monday, others on St. George's Day. On the eve of the festival a young willow tree is cut down, adorned with garlands and leaves, and set up in the ground. Women with child place one of their garments under the tree, and leave it there over night; next morning they find a leaf of the tree lying on the garment, they know that their delivery will be easy. Sick and old people go to the tree in the evening, spit on it thrice, and say, "You will soon die, but let us live." Next morning the gypsies gather about the willow. The chief figure of the festival is Green George, a lad who is concealed from top to toe in green leaves and blossoms. He throws a few handfuls of grass to the beasts of the tribe, in order that they may have no lack of fodder throughout the year. Then he takes three iron nails, which have lain for three days and nights in water, and knocks them into the willow; after which he pulls them out and throws them into a running stream to propitiate the water-spirits. Finally, a pretence is made of throwing Green George into the water, but in fact it is only a puppet made of branches and leaves which is ducked in the stream.² In this version of the custom the powers of granting an easy delivery to women and of com-

¹ Mannkändt, *B.A.* 10, 313 47.

² H. von Winiocski, *Folklore und*

völgischer Brauch der Zigeuner (Münster i. W., 1891), p. 148 19.

municating vital energy to the sick and old are clearly ascribed to the willow; while Green George, the human double of the tree, bestows food on the cattle, and further ensures the favour of the water-spirits by putting them in indirect communication with the tree.

An example of the double representation of the spirit of vegetation by a tree and a living man is reported from Bengal. The Oraons have a festival in spring while the *sál*-trees are in blossom, because they think that at this time the marriage of earth is celebrated and the *sál* flowers are necessary for the ceremony. On an appointed day the villagers go with their priest to the Sarna, the sacred grove, a remnant of the old *sál* forest in which a goddess Sarna Burhi, or woman of the grove, is supposed to dwell. She is thought to have great influence on the rain; and the priest arriving with his party at the grove sacrifices to her five fowls, of which a morsel is given to each person present. Then they gather the *sál* flowers and return laden with them to the village. Next day the priest visits every house, carrying the flowers in a wide open basket. The women of each house bring out water to wash his feet as he approaches, and kneeling make him an obeisance. Then he dances with them and places some of the *sál* flowers over the door of the house and in the women's hair. No sooner is this done than the women empty their water-jugs over him, drenching him to the skin. A feast follows, and the young people, with *sál* flowers in their hair, dance all night on the village green.¹ Here, the equivalence of the flower-bearing priest to the goddess of the flowering tree comes out plainly. For she is supposed to influence the rain, and the drenching of the priest with water is, doubtless, like the ducking of the Green George in Carinthia and elsewhere, a rain-charm. Thus the priest, as if he were the tree goddess herself, goes from door to door dispensing rain and bestowing fruitfulness on each house, but especially on the women.

Without citing more examples to the same effect, we may sum up the results of the preceding pages in the words of Mannhardt. "The customs quoted suffice to establish with certainty the conclusion that in these spring

¹ Dalton, *Ethnology of Bengal*, p. 261.

processions the spirit of vegetation is often represented both by the May-tree and in addition by a man dressed in green leaves or flowers or by a girl similarly adorned. It is the same spirit which animates the tree and is active in the inferior plants and which we have recognised in the May-tree and the Harvest-May. Quite consistently the spirit is also supposed to manifest his presence in the first flower of spring and reveals himself both in a girl representing a May-rose, and also, as giver of harvest, in the person of the *Walzer*. The procession with this representative of the divinity was supposed to produce the same beneficial effects on the fowls, the fruit-trees, and the crops as the presence of the deity himself. In other words, the mummer was regarded not as an image but as an actual representative of the spirit of vegetation; hence the wish expressed by the attendants on the May-rose and the May-tree that those who refuse them gifts of eggs, bacon, and so forth, may have no share in the blessings which it is in the power of the itinerant spirit to bestow. We may conclude that these begging processions with May-trees or May-boughs from door to door ('bringing the May or the summer') had everywhere originally "a serious and, so to speak, sacramental significance; people really believed that the god of growth was present unseen in the bough; by the procession he was brought to each house to bestow his blessing. The names May, Father May, May Lady, Queen of the May, by which the anthropomorphic spirit of vegetation is often denoted, show that the idea of the spirit of vegetation is blent with a personification of the season at which his powers are most strikingly manifested."¹

Thus far we have seen that the tree-spirit or the spirit of vegetation in general is represented either in vegetable form alone, as by a tree, bough, or flower; or in vegetable and human form simultaneously, as by a tree, bough, or flower in combination with a puppet or a living person. It remains to show that the representation of him by a tree, bough, or flower is sometimes entirely dropped, while the representation of him by a living person remains. In this case the representative character of the person is generally

¹ Minshardt, *B.A.* p. 315 *et.*

marked by dressing him or her in leaves or flowers; sometimes too it is indicated by the name he or she bears.

We saw that in Russia at Whitsuntide a birch-tree is dressed in woman's clothes and set up in the house. Clearly equivalent to this is the custom observed on Whit-Monday by Russian girls in the district of Pinsk. They choose the prettiest of their number, envelop her in a mass of foliage taken from the birch-trees and maples, and carry her about through the village. In a district of Little Russia they take round a "poplar," represented by a girl wearing bright flowers in her hair.¹ At Whitsuntide in Holland poor women used to go about begging with a little girl called Whitsuntide Flower (*Pinxterbloem*, perhaps a kind of iris); she was decked with flowers and sat in a waggon. In North Brabant she wears the flowers from which she takes her name and a song is sung—

"Whitsuntide Flower,
Turn yourself once round."²

All over Provence on the first of May pretty little girls are dressed in white, decked with crowns and wreaths of roses, and set on seats or platforms strewn with flowers in the streets, while their companions go about begging coppers for the Mayos or Mayes, as they are called, from the passers-by.³ In some parts of the Ardennes on May Day a small girl, clad in white and wearing a chaplet of flowers on her head, used to go from house to house with her playmates, collecting contributions and singing that it was May, the month of May, the pretty month of May, that the wheat was tall, the hawthorn in bloom, and the lark carolling in the sky.⁴

In Ruhla (Thüringen) as soon as the trees begin to grow green in spring, the children assemble on a Sunday and go

¹ Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 234.

² Mommsen, *B. K.* p. 318; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*, § 11. 657.

³ A. de Nore, *Contes, mythes et traditions des provinces de France*, p. 17 *sq.*; Bèrenger-Féraud, *Aliments populaires de la Provence*, p. 129.

⁴ A. Meyne, *Traditions, contes, légendes et coutumes des Ardennes* (Charleville, 1890), pp. 79-82. The girl was called the *Témousette*. A custom of the same general character was practised down to recent times in the Jura (Bèrenger-Féraud, *Aliments populaires de la Provence*, p. 18).

out into the woods, where they choose one of their playmates to be the Little Leaf Man. They break branches from the trees and twine them about the child till only his shoes peep out from the leafy mantle. Holes are made in it for him to see through, and two of the children lead the Little Leaf Man that he may not stumble or fall. Singing and dancing they take him from house to house, asking for gifts of food such as eggs, cream, sausages, and cakes. Lastly, they sprinkle the Leaf Man with water and feast on the food they have collected.¹ At Rollshausen on the Schwalm, in Hesse, when afternoon service is over on Whitsunday, the schoolboys and schoolgirls go out into the wood and there clothe a boy from head to foot in leaves so that nobody would know him. He is called the Little Whitsuntide Man. A procession is then formed. Two boys lead their leaf-clad playfellow; two others precede him with a basket; and two girls with another basket bring up the rear. Thus they go from house to house singing hymns or popular songs and collecting eggs and cakes in the baskets. When they have feasted on these, they strip their comrade of his verdant envelope on an open place in front of the village.² In some parts of Rhenish Bavaria at Whitsuntide a boy or lad is swathed in the yellow blossom of the broom, the dark green twigs of the firs, and other foliage. Thus attired he is known as the Quack and goes from door to door, whirling about in the dance, while an appropriate song is chanted and his companions levy contributions.³

In England the best-known example of these leaf-clad mummers is the Jack-in-the-Green, a chimney-sweeper who walks encased in a pyramidal framework of wickerwork, which is covered with holly and ivy, and surmounted by a crown of flowers and ribbons. Thus arrayed he dances on May Day at the head of a troop of chimney-sweeps, who

¹ F. A. Reinsano, *Deutsche Volksfeste im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Weimar, 1839), p. 159 ff.; Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 320; Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen*, p. 211.

² W. Kalbe, *Hendel's Volks-Sitten und Gebräuche im Lichte der christlichen Vorwelt* (Munich, 1888), p. 70.

³ *Bavaria, Landet und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, iv. 2, p. 359 ff. Similarly in the Département de l'Allier (France) on the first of May eight or ten boys unite, clothe one of their number in leaves, and go from house to house begging (Mannhardt, *Bavaria*, p. 318).

collect pence.¹ The ceremony was witnessed at Cheltenham on the second of May 1892, by Mr. W. H. D. Rouse, who has described in detail the costume of the performers. They there all chimney-sweeps of the town. Jack-in-the-Green or the Bush-carrier was enclosed in a wooden framework on which leaves were fastened so as to make a thick cone about six feet high, topped with a crown which consisted of two wooden hoops placed crosswise and covered with flowers. The leafy envelope was unbroken except for a single opening through which peered the face of the mummer. From time to time in their progress through the streets the performers halted, and three of them, dressed in red, blue, and yellow respectively, tripped lightly round the leaf-covered man to the inspiring strains of a fiddle and a tin whistle, on which two of their comrades with blackened faces discoursed sweet music. The leader of the procession was a clown fantastically clad in a long white pinafore or blouse with coloured fringes and frills, and wearing on his head a beaver hat of the familiar pattern, the crown of which hung loose and was adorned with ribbons and a bird or a bundle of feathers. Large black rings surrounded his eyes, and a red dab over mouth and chin lent a pleasing variety to his countenance. He contributed to the public hilarity by flapping the yellow fringe of his blouse with quaint gestures and occasionally fanning himself languidly. His efforts were seconded by another performer, who wore a red fool's cap, all stuck with flowers, and a white pinafore enriched with black human figures in front and a black gridiron-like pattern, crossed diagonally by a red bar, at the back. Two boys in white pinafores, with similar figures, or stars, on the breast, and a fish on the back, completed the company. Formerly there used to be a man in woman's clothes, who personated the clown's wife.² In some parts also of France a young fellow is encased in a wicker framework covered with leaves and is led about.³ In Frickthal (Aargau) a similar frame of basketwork is called the Whitsuntide Basket.

* Maenhadt, *B. K.* p. 322; Home, *Every Day Book*, i. 583-499; Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 230-49.

† W. H. D. Rouse, "May-day in Cheltenham," *Folklore*, iv. (1893),

pp. 50-51. On May Day 1891 I saw a Jack-in-the-Green in the streets of Cambridge.

‡ Maenhadt, *B. K.* p. 323.

As soon as the trees begin to bud, a spot is chosen in the wood, and here the village lads make the frame with all secrecy, lest others should forestall them. Leafy branches are twined round two hoops, one of which rests on the shoulders of the wearer, the other encircles his calves; holes are made for his eyes and mouth; and a large nosegay crowns the whole. In this guise he appears suddenly in the village at the hour of vespers, preceded by three boys blowing on horns made of willow bark. The great object of his supporters is to set up the Whitsuntide Basket beside the village well, and to keep it and him there, despite the efforts of the lads from neighbouring villages, who seek to carry off the Whitsuntide Basket and set it up at their own well.¹ In the neighbourhood of Ertingen (Württemberg) a masker of the same sort, known as the Lazy Man (*Letzmann*), goes about the village on Midsummer Day; he is hidden under a great pyramidal or conical frame of wicker-work, ten or twelve feet high, which is completely covered with sprigs of fir. He has a bell which he rings as he goes, and he is attended by a suite of persons dressed up in character—a footman, a colonel, a butcher, an angel, the devil, the doctor, etc. They march in Indian file and halt before every house, where each of them speaks in character, except the Lazy Man, who says nothing. With what they get by begging from door to door they hold a feast.²

In the class of cases of which the above are specimens it is obvious that the leaf-clad person who is led about is equivalent to the May-tree, May-bough, or May-doll, which is carried from house to house by children begging. Both are representatives of the beneficent spirit of vegetation, whose visit to the house is recompensed by a present of money or food.

Often the leaf-clad person who represents the spirit of vegetation is known as the king or the queen; thus, for example, he or she is called the May King, Whitsuntide King, Queen of May, and so on. These titles, as Mannhardt observes, imply that the spirit incorporate in vegetation is a ruler, whose creative power extends far and wide.³

¹ Mannhardt, *B.Z.* p. 323.

² Birlinger, *Völkisches aus Schwaben*, li. 114 sq.; Mannhardt, *B.Z.* p. 325.

³ Mannhardt, *B.Z.* p. 314 sq.

In a village near Salzwedel a May-tree is set up at Whitsuntide and the boys race to it; he who reaches it first is king; a garland of flowers is put round his neck and in his hand he carries a May-bush, with which, as the procession moves along, he sweeps away the dew. At each house they sing a song, wishing the inmates good luck, referring to the "black cow in the stall milking white milk, black hen on the nest laying white eggs," and begging a gift of eggs, bacon, and so on.¹ In some villages of Brunswick at Whitsuntide a May King is completely enveloped in a May-bush. In some parts of Thuringen also they have a May King at Whitsuntide, but he is dressed up rather differently. A frame of wood is made in which a man can stand; it is completely covered with birch boughs and is surmounted by a crown of birch and flowers, in which a bell is fastened. This frame is placed in the wood and the May King gets into it. The rest go out and look for him, and when they have found him they lead him back into the village to the magistrate, the clergyman, and others, who have to guess who is in the verdurous frame. If they guess wrong, the May King rings his bell by shaking his head, and a forfeit of beer or the like must be paid by the unsuccessful guesser.² At Hildesheim, in Hanover, five or six young fellows go about on the afternoon of Whit-Monday cracking long whips in measured time and collecting eggs from the houses. The chief person of the band is the Leaf King, a lad swathed so completely in birchen twigs that nothing of him can be seen but his feet. A huge head-dress of birchen twigs adds to his apparent stature. In his hand he carries a long crook, with which he tries to catch stray dogs and children.³ In some parts of Bohemia on Whit-Monday the young fellows dis-

¹ Kuhn und Schwartz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 380.

² Kuhn und Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 384; Maonhardt, *B.K.*, p. 342. At Wahrenheit in Brunswick the boys at Whitsuntide choose by lot a king and a high-steward (*fürst-meier*). The latter is completely concealed in a May-bush, wears a wooden crown wreathed with flowers, and carries a wooden sword. The king, on the other hand, is only distinguished by a

nosegay in his cap, and a reed, with a red ribbon tied to it, in his hand. They beg for eggs from house to house, threatening that, where none are given, none will be laid by the hens throughout the year. See R. Andree, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde*, p. 249 sq.

³ R. Seifert, *Sagen, Märchen, Scherzstücke und Gebräuche aus Stadt und Stift Hildesheim*, Zweite Auflage (Hildesheim, 1889), p. 180 sq.

guise themselves in tall caps of birch bark adorned with flowers. One of them is dressed as a king and dragged on a sledge to the village green, and if on the way they pass a pool the sledge is always overturned into it. Arrived at the green they gather round the king; the crier jumps on a stone or climbs up a tree and recites lampoons about each house and its inmates. Afterwards the disguises of bark are stripped off and they go about the village in holiday attire, carrying a May-tree and begging. Cakes, eggs, and corn are sometimes given them.¹ At Grossvargula, near Langensalza, in the eighteenth century a Grass King used to be led about in procession at Whitsuntide. He was encased in a pyramid of poplar branches, the top of which was adorned with a royal crown of branches and flowers. He rode on horseback with the leafy pyramid over him, so that its lower end touched the ground, and an opening was left in it only for his face. Surrounded by a cavalcade of young fellows, he rode in procession to the town hall, the parsonage, and so on, where they all got a drink of beer. Then under the seven lindens of the neighbouring Sommerberg, the Grass King was stripped of his green casing; the crown was handed to the Mayor, and the branches were stuck in the flax fields in order to make the flax grow tall.² In this last trait the fertilising influence ascribed to the representative of the tree-spirit comes out clearly. In the neighbourhood of Pilsen (Bohemia) a conical hut of green branches, without any door, is erected at Whitsuntide in the midst of the village. To this hut rides a troop of village lads with a king at their head. He wears a sword at his side and a sugar-loaf hat of rushes on his head. In his train are a judge, a crier, and a personage called the Frog-flayer or Hangman. This last is a sort of ragged merryandrew, wearing a rusty old sword and bestriding a sorry hack. On reaching the hut the crier dismounts and goes round it looking for a door. Finding none, he says, "Ah, this is perhaps an enchanted castle; the witches creep through the leaves and need no door." At last he draws his sword and hews his way into the hut.

¹ Reinberg-Döringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 260 27. f. Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 342 27.

² F. A. Reimann, *Deutsche Volks-feste im neunzehnten Jahrhundert*, pp. 157-159; Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 347 29. f. Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen*, p. 203.

where there is a chair, on which he seats himself and proceeds to criticise in rhyme the girls, farmers, and farm-servants of the neighbourhood. When this is over, the Frog-flayer steps forward and, after exhibiting a cage with frogs in it, sets up a gallows on which he hangs the frogs in a row.¹ In the neighbourhood of Plas the ceremony differs in some points. The king and his soldiers are completely clad in bark, adorned with flowers and ribbons; they all carry swords and ride horses, which are gay with green branches and flowers. While the village dames and girls are being criticised at the arbour, a frog is secretly pinched and poked by the crier till it quacks. Sentence of death is passed on the frog by the king; the hangman beheads it and flings the bleeding body among the spectators. Lastly, the king is driven from the hut and pursued by the soldiers.² The pinching and beheading of the frog are doubtless, as Mannhardt observes,³ a rain-charm. We have seen⁴ that some Indians of the Orinoco beat frogs for the express purpose of producing rain, and that killing a frog is a German rain-charm.

Often the spirit of vegetation in spring is represented by a queen instead of a king. In the neighbourhood of Libchowitz (Bohemia), on the fourth Sunday in Lent, girls dressed in white and wearing the first spring flowers, as violets and daisies, in their hair, lead about the village a girl who is called the Queen and is crowned with flowers. During the procession, which is conducted with great solemnity, none of the girls may stand still, but must keep whirling round continually and singing. In every house the Queen announces the arrival of spring and wishes the inmates good luck and blessings, for which she receives presents.⁵ In German Hungary the girls choose the prettiest girl to be their Whitsuntide Queen, fasten a towering wreath on her brow, and carry her singing through the streets. At every house they stop, sing old ballads, and receive presents.⁶ In the south-

¹ Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 253 sq.

² *Ib.* p. 355.

³ Above, p. 103.

⁴ Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 262; Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 353 sq.

⁵ Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 93; Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 344.

⁶ Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 343 sq.

east of Ireland on May Day the prettiest girl used to be chosen Queen of the district for twelve months. She was crowned with wild flowers; feasting, dancing, and rustic sports followed, and were closed by a grand procession in the evening. During her year of office she presided over rural gatherings of young people at dances and merry-makings. If she married before next May Day her authority was at an end, but her successor was not elected till that day came round.¹ The May Queen is common in France² and familiar in England.

Again the spirit of vegetation is sometimes represented by a king and queen, a lord and lady, or a bridegroom and bride. Here again the parallelism holds between the anthropomorphic and the vegetable representation of the tree-spirit, for we have seen above that trees are sometimes married to each other.³ In a Bohemian village near Königgrätz on Whit-Monday the children play the king's game, at which a king and queen march about under a canopy, the queen wearing a garland, and the youngest girl carrying two wreaths on a plate behind them. They are attended by boys and girls called groom's men and bridesmaids, and they go from house to house collecting gifts. Near Grenoble, in France, a king and queen are chosen on the first of May and are set on a throne for all to see.⁴ At Headington, near Oxford, children used to carry garlands from door to door on May Day. Each garland was borne by two girls, and they were followed by a lord and lady—a boy and girl linked together by a white handkerchief, of which each held an end, and dressed with ribbons, sashes, and flowers. At each door they sang a verse—

"Gentlemen and ladies,
We wish you happy May;
We come to show you a garland,
Because it is May-day."⁵

¹ Dyer, *British Popular Customs*, p. 270 sq.

² Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 344 sq.; Cortet, *Fêtes religieuses*, p. 160 sq.; Monnier, *Traditions populaires corses*, p. 232 sq.; Béranger-Féraud, *Réminiscences populaires de la Provence*, p. 17 sq.

³ Above, p. 176 sq.

⁴ Reinsberg-Dülingfeld, *Fest-Kalender aus Böhmen*, p. 265 sq.; Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 232.

⁵ Monnier, *Traditions populaires corses*, p. 304; Cortet, *Fêtes religieuses*, p. 161; Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 423.

On receiving money the lord put his arm about his lady's waist and kissed her.¹ In some Saxon villages at Whitsuntide a lad and a lass disguise themselves and hide in the bushes or high grass outside the village. Then the whole village goes out with music "to seek the bridal pair." When they find the couple they all gather round them, the music strikes up, and the bridal pair is led merrily to the village. In the evening they dance. In some places the bridal pair is called the prince and the princess.²

In a parish of Denmark it used to be the custom at Whitsuntide to dress up a little girl as the Whitsun-bride (*pinse-bruden*) and a little boy as her groom. She was decked in all the finery of a grown-up bride, and wore a crown of the freshest flowers of spring on her head. Her groom was as gay as flowers, ribbons, and knots could make him. The other children adorned themselves as best they could with the yellow flowers of the trolius and caltha. Then they went in great state from farmhouse to farmhouse, two little girls walking at the head of the procession as bridesmaids, and six or eight outriders galloping ahead on hobby-horses to announce their coming. Contributions of eggs, butter, loaves, cream, coffee, sugar, and tallow-candles were received and conveyed away in baskets. When they had made the round of the farms, some of the farmers' wives helped to arrange the wedding feast, and the children danced merrily in clogs on the stamped clay floor till the sun rose and the birds began to sing. All this is now a thing of the past. Only the old folks still remember the little Whitsun-bride and her mimic pomp.³

In the neighbourhood of Briançon (Dauphiné) on May Day the lads wrap up in green leaves a young fellow whose sweetheart has deserted him or married another. He lies down on the ground and feigns to be asleep. Then a girl

¹ Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, i. 311 ff.; Maenhart, *B.A.* p. 424. We have seen (p. 199) that a custom of the same sort used to be observed at Bampton-in-the-Bush in Oxfordshire.

² E. Sommer, *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Sachsen und Thüringen*, p. 151 ff.; Maenhart, *B.A.* p. 431 ff.

³ H. F. Feilberg, in *Folk-lore*, vi. (1895), p. 194 ff.

who likes him, and would marry him, comes and wakes him, and raising him up offers him her arm and a flag. So they go to the alehouse, where the pair lead off the dancing. But they must marry within the year, or they are treated as old bachelor and old maid, and are debarred the company of the young folk. The lad is called the bridegroom of the month of May (*le fiancé du mois de May*). In the alehouse he puts off his garment of leaves, out of which, mixed with flowers, his partner in the dance makes a nosegay, and wears it at her breast next day, when he leads her again to the alehouse.¹ Like this is a Russian custom observed in the district of Nerechta on the Thursday before Whitsunday. The girls go out into a birch-wood, wind a girdle or band round a stately birch, twist its lower branches into a wreath, and kiss each other in pairs through the wreath. The girls who kiss through the wreath call each other gossips. Then one of the girls steps forward, and mimicking a drunken man, flings herself on the ground, rolls on the grass, and feigns to fall fast asleep. Another girl wakens the pretended sleeper and kisses him; then the whole bevy trips singing through the wood to twine garlands, which they throw into the water. In the fate of the garlands floating on the stream they read their own.² Here the part of the sleeper was probably at one time played by a lad. In these French and Russian customs we have a forsaken bridegroom, in the following a forsaken bride. On Shrove Tuesday the Slovenes of Oberkrain drag a straw puppet with joyous cries up and down the village; then they throw it into the water or burn it, and from the height of the flames they judge of the abundance of the next harvest. The noisy crew is followed by a female masker, who drags a great board by a string and gives out that she is a forsaken bride.³

Viewed in the light of what has gone before, the awakening of the forsaken sleeper in these ceremonies probably represents the revival of vegetation in spring. But it is not easy to assign their respective parts to the forsaken

¹ This custom was told to Mannhardt by a French prisoner in the war of 1870-71 (*B.K.* p. 434).

² Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 434 *sq.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 435.

bridegroom and to the girl who wakes him from his slumber. Is the sleeper the leafless forest or the bare earth of winter? Is the girl who wakens him the fresh verdure or the genial sunshine of spring? It is hardly possible, on the evidence before us, to answer these questions. The Oraons of Bengal, it may be remembered, celebrate the marriage of earth in the springtime, when the *sál-tree* is in blossom. But from this we can hardly argue that in the European ceremonies the sleeping bridegroom is "the dreaming earth" and the girl the spring blossoms.

In the Highlands of Scotland the revival of vegetation in spring used to be graphically represented as follows. On Candlemas Day (the second of February) in the Hebrides "the mistress and servants of each family take a sheaf of oats, and dress it up in women's apparel, put it in a large basket, and lay a wooden club by it, and this they call Brüd's bed; and then the mistress and servants cry three times, 'Brid is come, Brüd is welcome.' This they do just before going to bed, and when they rise in the morning they look among the ashes, expecting to see the impression of Brüd's club there; which if they do they reckon it a true presage of a good crop and prosperous year, and the contrary they take as an ill omen."¹ The same custom is described by another witness thus: "Upon the night before Candlemas it is usual to make a bed with corn and hay, over which some blankets are laid, in a part of the house near the door. When it is ready, a person goes out and repeats three times, . . . 'Bridget, Bridget, come in; thy bed is ready.' One or more candles are left burning near it all night."²

¹ Martin, "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, iii. 613; Masshardt, *R.A.* p. 436. The Rev. James Macdonald, of Reay in Caithness, was assured by old people that the sheaf used in making Brüd's bed was the last sheaf cut at harvest (J. Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*, p. 121). Later on we shall see that the last sheaf is often regarded as embodying the spirit of the corn, and special care is therefore taken of it.

² John Ramsay of Ochtertyre, *Scot.*

land and Seotmen in the Eighteenth Century, edited by Alex. Allardyce (Edinburgh, 1888), ii. 447. At Ballinaloe in Galwayshire it is customary to fasten a cross of twisted corn in the roof of the cottages on Candlemas Day. The cross is fastened by means of a knife stuck through a potato, and remains in its place for months, if not for a year. This custom (of which I was informed by Miss Nina Hill in a letter dated 5th May 1898) may be connected with the Highland one described in the text.

Often the marriage of the spirit of vegetation in spring, though not directly represented, is implied by naming the human representative of the spirit "the Bride," and dressing her in wedding attire. Thus in some villages of Altmark at Whitsuntide, while the boys go about carrying a May-tree or leading a boy enveloped in leaves and flowers, the girls lead about the May Bride, a girl dressed as a bride with a great nosegay in her hair. They go from house to house, the May Bride singing a song in which she asks for a present, and tells the inmates of each house that if they give her something they will themselves have something the whole year through; but if they give her nothing they will themselves have nothing.¹ In some parts of Westphalia two girls lead a flower-crowned girl called the Whitsuntide Bride from door to door, singing a song in which they ask for eggs.² At Waggum in Brunswick, when service is over on Whitsunday, the village girls assemble, dressed in white or bright colours, decked with flowers, and wearing chaplets of spring flowers in their hair. One of them represents the May Bride, and carries a crown of flowers on a staff as a sign of her dignity. As usual the children go about from cottage to cottage singing and begging for eggs, sausages, cakes, or money. In other parts of Brunswick it is a boy clothed all in birch leaves who personates the May Bride.³ In Bresse in the month of May a girl called *la Mariée* is tricked out with ribbons and nosegays and is led about by a gallant. She is preceded by a lad carrying a green May-tree, and appropriate verses are sung.⁴

§ 5. *Tree-worship in Antiquity*

Such then are some of the ways in which the tree-spirit or the spirit of vegetation is represented in the customs of our European peasantry. From the remarkable persistence and similarity of such customs all over Europe we are justified in concluding that tree-worship was once an in-

¹ Kuhn, *Marische Sagen und Märchen*, p. 318 *sq.*; Mannhardt, *B.K.*, p. 437.

² Mannhardt, *B.K.*, p. 438.

³ R. Andree, *Schlesische Volks-*

Sagen (Brunswick, 1896), p. 248.

⁴ Mounier, *Traditions populaires comparées*, p. 283 *sq.*; Cortot, *Étude religieuse*, p. 162 *sq.*; Mannhardt, *B.K.*, p. 439 *sq.*

portant element in the religion of the Aryan race in Europe, and that the rites and ceremonies of the worship were marked by great uniformity everywhere, and did not substantially differ from those which are still or were till lately observed by our peasants at their spring and midsummer festivals. For these rites bear internal marks of great antiquity, and this internal evidence is confirmed by the resemblance which the rites bear to those of rude peoples elsewhere.¹ Therefore it is hardly rash to infer, from this consensus of popular customs, that the Greeks and Romans, like the other Aryan peoples of Europe, once practised forms of tree-worship similar to those which are still kept up by our peasantry. In the palmy days of ancient civilisation, no doubt, the worship had sunk to the level of vulgar superstition and rustic merrymaking, as it has done among ourselves. We need not therefore be surprised that the traces of such popular rites are few and slight in ancient literature. They are not less so in the polite literature of modern Europe; and the negative argument cannot be allowed to go for more in the one case than in the other. Although, however, of positive evidence remains to confirm the presumption drawn from analogy. Much of this evidence has been collected and analysed with his usual learning and judgment by W. Mannhardt.² Here I shall content myself with citing certain Greek festivals which, though unnoticed, I believe, by Mannhardt, seem to be the classical equivalents of an English May Day in the olden time.

Every few years the Bocotians of Plataea held a festival which they called the Little Daedala. On the day of the festival they went out into an ancient oak forest, the trees of which were of gigantic girth. Here they set some boiled meat on the ground, and watched the birds that gathered round it. When a raven was observed to carry off a piece of the meat and settle on an oak, the people followed it and cut down the tree. With the wood of the tree they made an image, dressed it as a bride, and placed it on a bullock-cart with a bridesmaid beside it. It seems then to have

¹ Above, pp. 189 *seq.*, 195, 211.

² See especially his *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte*.

been drawn to the banks of the river Asopus and back to the town, attended by a piping and dancing crowd. After the festival the image was put away and kept till the celebration of the Great Daedala, which fell only once in sixty years, and was held by all the people of Boeotia. On this occasion all the images, fourteen in number, that had accumulated from the celebrations of the Little Daedala were dragged on wains in procession to the river Asopus, and then to the top of Mount Cithaeron. Here an altar had been constructed of square blocks of wood fitted together, with brushwood heaped over it. Animals were sacrificed by being burned on the altar, and the altar itself, together with the images, was consumed by the flames. The blaze, we are told, rose to a prodigious height and was seen for many miles. To explain the origin of the festival a story ran that once upon a time Hera had quarrelled with Zeus and left him in high dudgeon. To lure her back Zeus gave out that he was about to marry the nymph Plataea, daughter of the river Asopus. He had a fine oak cut down, shaped and dressed as a bride, and conveyed on a bullock-cart. Transported with rage and jealousy, Hera flew to the cart, and tearing off the veil of the pretended bride, discovered the deceit that had been practised on her. Her rage now turned to laughter, and she became reconciled to her husband Zeus.¹

The resemblance of this festival to some of the European spring and midsummer festivals is tolerably close. We have seen that in Russia at Whitsuntide the villagers go out into the wood, fell a birch-tree, dress it in woman's clothes, and bring it back to the village with dance and song. On the third day it is thrown into the water.² Again, we have seen that in Bohemia on Midsummer Eve the village lads fell a tall fir or pine-tree in the wood and set it up on a height, where it is adorned with garlands, nosegays, and ribbons, and afterwards burnt.³ The reason for burning the tree will appear afterwards; the custom itself is not uncommon in modern Europe. In some parts of the Pyrenees a tall and slender tree is cut down on May Day and kept till Midsummer Eve. It is then rolled to the top of a hill, set

¹ Pausanias, ix. 3; Plutarch, quoted by Eusebius, *Prepar. Evang.* iii. i 19.

² Above, p. 201.

³ Above, p. 203.

up, and burned.¹ In Angoulême on St. Peter's Day, the twenty-ninth of June, a tall leafy poplar is set up in the market-place and burned.² In Cornwall "there was formerly great bonfire on Midsummer Eve; a large summer pole was fixed in the centre, round which the fuel was heaped up. It had a large bush on the top of it."³ In Dublin on May-morning boys used to go out and cut a May-bush, bring it back to town, and then burn it.⁴

Probably the Boeotian festival belonged to the same class of rites. It represented the marriage of the powers of vegetation—the union of the oak-god with the oak-goddess—in spring or midsummer, just as the same event is represented in modern Europe by a King and Queen or a Lord and Lady of the May. In the Boeotian, as in the Russian, ceremony the tree dressed as a woman stands for the English May-pole and May-queen in one. All such ceremonies, it must be remembered, are not, or at least were not originally, mere spectacular or dramatic exhibitions. They are magical charms designed to produce the effect which they dramatically set forth. If the revival of vegetation in spring is mimicked by the awakening of a sleeper, the mimicry is intended actually to quicken the growth of leaves and blossoms; if the marriage of the powers of vegetation is simulated by a King and Queen of May, the idea is that the powers thus personated will really be rendered more productive by the ceremony. In short, all these spring and midsummer festivals fall under the head of sympathetic or imitative magic. The thing which people wish to bring about they represent dramatically, and the very representation is believed to effect, or at least to contribute to, the production of the desired result. In the case of the Daedala the story of Hera's quarrel with Zeus and her sullen retirement may perhaps without straining be interpreted as a mythical expression for a bad season and the failure of the crops. The same disastrous effects were attributed to the anger and seclusion of Demeter after the loss of her daughter Proserpine.⁵ Now the institution of a festival is often explained

¹ Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 177.

² Mannhardt, *B.K.* p. 177 *sq.*

³ Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, I. 318; *B.K.* p. 178.

⁴ Hone, *Every Day Book*, II. 595 *sq.*; *B.K.* p. 178.

⁵ Frazerius, *rit.* 42.

by a mythical story, which relates how upon a particular occasion those very calamities occurred which it is the real object of the festival to avert; so that if we know the myth told to account for the historical origin of the festival, we can often infer from it the real intention with which the festival was celebrated. If, therefore, the origin of the Daedala was explained by a story of a failure of crops and consequent famine, we may infer that the real object of the festival was to prevent the occurrence of such disasters; and, if I am right in my interpretation of the festival, the object was supposed to be effected by dramatically enacting the marriage of the divinities most concerned with the production of trees and plants.¹ The marriage of Zeus and Hera was dramatically represented at annual festivals in various parts of Greece,² and it is at least a fair conjecture that the nature and intention of these ceremonies were such as I have assigned to the Plataean festival of the Daedala; in other words, that Zeus and Hera at these festivals were the Greek equivalents of the Lord and Lady of the May. Homer's glowing picture of Zeus and Hera couched on fresh hyacinths and crocuses,³ like Milton's description of the dalliance of Zephyr with Aurora, "as he met her once a-Maying," was perhaps painted from the life.

¹ Once upon a time the Wotjaks of Russia, being distressed by a series of bad harvests, ascribed the calamity to the wrath of one of their gods, *Kirenos*, as being unmarried. So they went in procession to the sacred grove, riding on gaily-decked waggons, as they do when they are fetching home a bride. At the sacred grove they feasted all night, and next morning they cut in the grove a square piece of turf which they took home with them. "What they meant by this marriage ceremony," says the writer who reports it, "is not easy to imagine. Perhaps, as Bechterew thinks, they meant to marry *Kirenos* to the kindly and fruitful *zemlyâ*, the earth-wife, in order that she might influence him for good."—Max Buch, *Die Wotjaken, eine ethnologische Studie* (Stuttgart, 1882), p. 127.

² At Cosinus in Crete, Diodorus, v. 72; at Samos, Lucianus, *Instit.* i. 27;

at Athens, Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. *lepto ydion*; *Etymolog. Magn.* s.v. *leptodromos*, p. 468. 52. A fragment of Pherecydes relating to the marriage of Zeus and Hera came to light a few years ago. See Greenfield and Hunt, *New Classical and other Greek and Latin Fragments* (Oxford, 1897), p. 23; H. Weil in *Revue des Études Grecques*, x. (1897), pp. 1-9.

³ *Iliad*, xiv. 347 seq. Hera was worshipped under the title of Flower at Argos (Pausanias, ii. 22. 1; cp. *Etymolog. Magn.* s.v. *Arcton*, p. 108, line 48), and women called Flower-bearers served in her sanctuary (Pollux, iv. 78). A great festival of gathering flowers was celebrated by Peloponnesian women in spring (Hesychius, s.v. *ἡσπέρεια*, cp. Photius, *Lexicon*, s.v. *ἡσπέρεια*). The first of May is still a festival of flowers in Peloponnese. See *Folk-lore*, i. (1890), p. 518 seq.

Still more confidently may the same character be vindicated for the annual marriage at Athens of the Queen to Dionysus in the Flowery Month (*Anthesterion*) of spring.¹ For Dionysus, as we shall see later on, was essentially a god of vegetation, and the Queen at Athens was a purely religious or priestly functionary.² Therefore at their annual marriage in spring he can hardly have been anything but a King, and she a Queen, of May. The women who attended the Queen at the marriage ceremony would correspond to the bridesmaids who wait on the May-queen or the Whitsun-bride.³ From a phrase of Aristotle we infer that the consummation of the divine union was graphically enacted in the official residence of the King, which went by a name that appears to have some reference to ploughing with oxen.⁴ Again, the story, dear to poets and artists, of the forsaken and sleeping Ariadne waked and wedded by Dionysus, resembles so closely the little drama acted by French peasants of the Alps on May Day⁵ that, considering the character of Dionysus as a god of vegetation, we can hardly help regarding it as the description of a spring ceremony corresponding to the French one. In point of fact the marriage of Dionysus and Ariadne is believed by Preller to have been acted every spring in Crete.⁶ His evidence, indeed, is inconclusive, but the view itself is probable. If I am right in instituting the comparison, the chief difference between the French and the Greek ceremonies must have been that in the former the sleeper was the forsaken bridegroom, in the latter the forsaken bride; and the group of stars in the sky, in which fancy saw Ariadne's wedding-crown,⁷ may have been only a translation to heaven of the garland worn by the Greek girl who played the Queen of May.

¹ Demosthenes, *Nauar.* § 73 199. p. 1369 ff.; Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, iii. 5; Hieronymus, *l.c.* *Διονύσιον γάμος* and *γεραίη*; *Etymol. Magn.* s.v. *γεραίη*; Pollux, viii. 108; Hermann, *Götterdienstliche Alterthümer*,² § 32. 15, § 38. 11 199.; Aug. Mommsen, *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1878), pp. 391-394.

² Above, p. 7.

³ Above, pp. 220, 221.

⁴ ἡ μὲν βασίλειος οἶκος τὸ εὖν καλεῖται *Βασίλειον*, πλείους τοῦ πρυτανείου.

σφαιδαν δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ εὖν γὰρ τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως γυναικὸς ἢ εὐχαιμένη ἀνταῖα γλυκερίας τῷ Διονύσιῳ καὶ ὁ γάμος, Aristotle, *loc. cit.* It does not appear whether the part of the divine husband in the ceremony was played by an image or a man.

⁵ Above, p. 221 ff.

⁶ L. Preller, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze*, pp. 293-296; compare *id.*, *Griechische Mythologie*,⁴ ed. C. Robert, I. 681 199.

⁷ Hyginus, *Astronomicon*, i. 5.

On the whole, alike from the analogy of modern folk-custom and from the facts of ancient ritual and mythology, we are justified in concluding that the archaic forms of tree-worship disclosed by the spring and midsummer festivals of our peasants were practised by the Greeks and Romans in prehistoric times. Do then these forms of tree-worship help to explain the priesthood of Aricia, the subject of our inquiry? I believe they do. In the first place the attributes of Diana, the goddess of the Arician grove, are those of a tree-spirit or sylvan deity. Her sanctuaries were in groves, indeed every grove was her sanctuary,¹ and she is often associated with the wood-god Silvanus in inscriptions.² Like a tree-spirit, she helped women in travail, and in this respect her reputation appears to have stood high at the Arician grove, if we may judge from the votive offerings found on the spot.³ Again, she was the patroness of wild animals;⁴ just as in Finland the wood-god Tapio was believed to care for the wild creatures that roamed the wood, they being considered his cattle.⁵ Similarly, the forest-god of the Lapps ruled over all forest animals, which were regarded as his herds, and good or bad luck in hunting depended on his will.⁶ So, too, the Samagitiens deemed the birds and beasts of the woods sacred, doubtless because they were under the protection of the god of the wood.⁷ Again, there are indications that domestic cattle were protected by Diana,⁸ as they certainly were supposed to be by Silvanus.⁹ But we have seen that special influence over cattle is ascribed to wood-spirits; in Finland the herds enjoyed the protection of the wood-gods both while they were in their stalls and while they strayed in the forest.¹⁰ Lastly, in the sacred spring which bubbled, and the perpetual fire which seems to have burned in the Arician grove,¹¹ we

¹ Servius on Virgil, *Georg.* iii. 332: "omni, ut diximus, arumque quercum fœdus conseruit, et omnis lucus Dianæ."

² Roscher's *Lexikon d. Griech. u. Röm. Mythologie*, i. 1005.

³ See above, p. 5. For Diana in this character, see Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 1007.

⁴ Roscher, *op. cit.* i. 1006 *sq.*

⁵ Castren, *Finnische Mythologie* (St. Petersburg, 1853), p. 97.

⁶ J. Abercromby, *The Pea- and*

Proto-historic Finns (London, 1898), i. 161.

⁷ Mathias Michov, "De Sarmatia Asiatica atque Europæa," in *Novus Orbis regionum ac insularum veteribus fragmentis*, p. 457.

⁸ Livy, i. 43; Plutarch, *Quæstiones Romanæ*, 4.

⁹ Virgil, *Æn.* viii. 600 *sq.*, with Servius's note.

¹⁰ Castren, *op. cit.* p. 97 *sq.*

¹¹ Above, p. 5 *sq.*

may perhaps detect traces of other attributes of forest gods, the power, namely, to make the rain to fall and the sun to shine.¹ This last attribute perhaps explains why Virbius, the companion deity of Diana at Nemi, was by some believed to be the sun.²

Thus the cult of the Arician grove was essentially that of a tree-spirit or sylvan deity. But our examination of European folk-custom demonstrated that a tree-spirit is frequently represented by a living person, who is regarded as an embodiment of the tree-spirit and possessed of its fertilising powers; and our previous survey of primitive belief proved that this conception of a god incarnate in a living man is common among rude races. Further we have seen that the living person who is believed to embody in himself the tree-spirit is often called a king, in which respect, again, he strictly represents the tree-spirit. For the sacred cedar of the Gilgit tribes is called, as we have seen, "the Dreadful King";³ and the chief forest god of the Finns, by name Tapio, represented as an old man with a brown beard, a high hat of fir-cones and a coat of tree-moss, was styled the Wood King, Lord of the Woodland, Golden King of the Wood.⁴ May not then the King of the Wood in the Arician grove have been, like the King of May, the Leaf King, the Grass King, and the like, an incarnation of the tree-spirit or spirit of vegetation? His title, his sacred office, and his residence in the grove all point to this conclusion, which is confirmed by his relation to the Golden Bough. For since the King of the Wood could only be assailed by him who had plucked the Golden Bough, his life was safe from assault so long as the bough or the tree on which it grew remained uninjured. In a sense, therefore, his life was bound up with that of the tree; and thus to some extent he stood to the tree in the same relation in which the incorporate or immanent tree-spirit stands to it. The representation of the tree-spirit both by the King of the Wood and by the Golden Bough (for it will hardly be disputed that the Golden Bough was looked upon as a very special manifestation of the divine life of the grove) need not surprise us, since we have found that the tree-spirit is not

¹ Above, p. 188 *qf.*

³ Castrén, *Finnische Mythologie*, pp.

² Above, p. 6. ⁴ Above, p. 193. 92, 95.

unfrequently thus represented in double, first by a tree or a bough, and second by a living person.

On the whole then, if we consider his double character as king and priest, his relation to the Golden Bough, and the strictly woodland character of the divinity of the grove, we may provisionally assume that the King of the Wood, like the May King and his fellows of Northern Europe, was deemed a living incarnation of the tree-spirit. As such he would be credited with those miraculous powers of sending rain and sunshine, making the crops to grow, women to bring forth, and flocks and herds to multiply, which are popularly ascribed to the tree-spirit itself. The reputed possessor of powers so exalted must have been a very important personage, and in point of fact his influence appears to have extended far and wide. For in the days when the champaign country around was still parcelled out among the petty tribes who composed the Latin League, the sacred grove on the Alban Mountain is known to have been an object of their common reverence and care.¹ And just as the kings of Cambodia used to send offerings to the mystic Kings of Fire and Water far in the dim depths of the tropical forest, so, we may well believe, from all sides of the broad Latian plain the eyes and steps of Italian pilgrims turned to the quarter where, standing sharply out against the faint blue line of the Apennines or the deeper blue of the distant sea, the Alban Mountain rose before them, the home of the mysterious priest of Nemi, the King of the Wood,

¹ *Cato, Frag. 58 (Historic. Roman. Fragm., ed. Peter, p. 52).* Compare J. Beloch, "Die Weidenschaft des Diana-

haltes von Asicia," *Festschrift's Jahrbücher*, xxix. (1883), 169-175.

CHAPTER II

THE PERILS OF THE SOUL

“O liebe flüchtige Seele
Dir ist so bang und weh!”
HEINE.

§ 1. *Royal and Priestly Taboos*

IN the preceding chapter we saw that in early society the king or priest is often thought to be endowed with supernatural powers or to be an incarnation of a deity; in consequence of which the course of nature is supposed to be more or less under his control, and he is held responsible for bad weather, failure of the crops, and similar calamities. Thus far it appears to be assumed that the king's power over nature, like that over his subjects and slaves, is exerted through definite acts of will; and therefore if drought, famine, pestilence, or storms arise, the people attribute the misfortune to the negligence or guilt of their king, and punish him accordingly with stripes and bonds, or, if he remains obdurate, with deposition and death. Sometimes, however, the course of nature, while regarded as dependent on the king, is supposed to be partly independent of his will. His person is considered, if we may express it so, as the dynamical centre of the universe, from which lines of force radiate to all quarters of the heaven; so that any motion of his—the turning of his head, the lifting of his hand—instantaneously affects and may seriously disturb some part of nature. He is the point of support on which hangs the balance of the world; and the slightest irregularity on his part may overthrow the delicate equilibrium. The

greatest care must, therefore, be taken both by and of him ; and his whole life, down to its minutest details, must be so regulated that no act of his, voluntary or involuntary, may disarrange or upset the established order of nature. Of this class of monarchs the Mikado or Dairi, the spiritual emperor of Japan, is or rather used to be a typical example. He is an incarnation of the sun goddess, the deity who rules the universe, gods and men included ; once a year all the gods wait upon him and spend a month at his court. During that month, the name of which means "without gods," no one frequents the temples, for they are believed to be deserted.¹

The following description of the Mikado's mode of life was written about two hundred years ago :²—

"Even to this day the princes descended of this family, more particularly those who sit on the throne, are looked upon as persons most holy in themselves, and as Popes by birth. And, in order to preserve these advantageous notions in the minds of their subjects, they are obliged to take an uncommon care of their sacred persons, and to do such things, which, examined according to the customs of other nations, would be thought ridiculous and impertinent. It will not be improper to give a few instances of it. He thinks that it would be very prejudicial to his dignity and holiness to touch the ground with his feet ; for this reason, when he intends to go anywhere, he must be carried thither on men's shoulders. Much less will they suffer that he should expose his sacred person to the open air, and the sun is not thought worthy to shine on his head. There is such a holiness ascribed to all the parts of his body that he dares to cut off neither his hair, nor his beard, nor his nails. However, lest he should grow too dirty, they may clean him in the night when he is asleep ; because, they say, that which is taken from his body at that time hath been stolen from him, and that such a theft doth not prejudice his holiness or dignity. In ancient times, he was obliged to sit on the throne for some hours every morning, with the

¹ *Manners and Customs of the Japanese in the Nineteenth Century: from recent Dutch Visitors to Japan, and the German of Dr. Ph. Fr. von Siebold*

(London, 1841), p. 141. 189.

² Kaempfer, "History of Japan," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vii. 716 sq.

imperial crown on his head, but to sit altogether like a statue, without stirring either hands or feet, head or eyes, nor indeed any part of his body, because, by this means, it was thought that he could preserve peace and tranquillity in his empire; for if, unfortunately, he turned himself on one side or the other, or if he looked a good while towards any part of his dominions, it was apprehended that war, famine, fire, or some great misfortune was near at hand to desolate the country. But it having been afterwards discovered that the imperial crown was the palladium which by its immobility¹ could preserve peace in the empire, it was thought expedient to deliver his imperial person, consecrated only to idleness and pleasures, from this burthensome duty, and therefore the crown is at present placed on the throne for some hours every morning. His victuals must be dressed every time in new pots, and served at table in new dishes: both are very clean and neat, but made only of common clay; that without any considerable expense they may be laid aside, or broken, after they have served once. They are generally broke, for fear they should come into the hands of laymen, for they believe religiously that if any layman should presume to eat his food out of these sacred dishes, it would swell and inflame his mouth and throat. The like ill effect is dreaded from the Dairi's sacred habits; for they believe that if a layman should wear them, without the Emperor's express leave or command, they would occasion swellings and pains in all parts of his body." To the same effect an earlier account of the Mikado says: "It was considered as a shameful degradation for him even to touch the ground with his foot. The sun and moon were not even permitted to shine upon his head. None of the superfluities of the body were ever taken from him, neither his hair, his beard, nor his nails were cut. Whatever he eat was dressed in new vessels."²

¹ In Pinkerton's reprint this word appears as "mobility." I have made the correction from a comparison with the original (Kaempfer, *History of Japan*, translated from the original Dutch manuscript by J. G. Scheuchzer, London, 1728, vol. i. p. 150).

² Caron, "Account of Japan," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vol. 613. Compare Varesius, *Descriptio regni Japoniæ*, p. 11: "*Nunquam attigebant (ymenadmedium et hodie id observat) pedes ipsius terram: radiis Solis regni nunquam illustratur:*

Similar priestly or rather divine kings are found, at a lower level of barbarism, on the west coast of Africa. At Shark Point near Cape Padron, in Lower Guinea, lives the priestly king Kukulu, alone in a wood. He may not touch a woman nor leave his house; indeed he may not even quit his chair, in which he is obliged to sleep sitting, for if he lay down no wind would arise and navigation would be stopped. He regulates storms, and in general maintains a wholesome and equable state of the atmosphere.¹ In the West African kingdom of Congo there was a supreme pontiff called Chitomé or Chitombé, whom the negroes regarded as a god on earth and all-powerful in heaven. Hence before they would taste the new crops they offered him the first-fruits, fearing that manifold misfortunes would befall them if they broke this rule. When he left his residence to visit other places within his jurisdiction, all married people had to observe strict continence the whole time he was out; for it was supposed that any act of incontinence would prove fatal to him. And if he were to die a natural death, they thought that the world would perish, and the earth, which he alone sustained by his power and merit, would immediately be annihilated.² Amongst the semi-barbarous nations of the New World, at the date of the Spanish conquest, there were found hierarchies or theocracies like those of Japan. Some of these we have already noticed.³ But the high pontiff of the Zapotecs in Southern Mexico appears to have presented a still closer parallel to the Mikado. A powerful rival to the king himself, this spiritual lord governed Yopaa, one of the chief cities of the kingdom, with absolute dominion. It is impossible, we are told, to overrate the reverence in which he was held. He was looked on as a god whom the earth was not worthy to hold nor the sun to shine upon. He profaned his sanctity if he even touched the ground with his foot. The officers who bore his palanquin on their shoulders were members of the highest families; he hardly deigned to look on anything around him; and all who met him fell

in apertis aërem non procedebat,⁴ etc. My copy of this last work lacks the title-page, but the dedication is dated Amsterdam, 1649.

¹ A. Basian, *Die deutsche Expedi-*

tion an der Loango-Küste, i. 287 *op.*, cp. p. 353 *op.*

² Labat, *Relation historique de l'Éthiopie occidentale*, i. 254 *op.*

³ Above, pp. 153 *op.*, 160.

with their faces to the earth, fearing that death would overtake them if they saw even his shadow. A rule of continence was regularly imposed on the Zapotec priests, especially upon the high pontiff; but "on certain days in each year, which were generally celebrated with feasts and dances, it was customary for the high priest to become drunk. While in this state, seeming to belong neither to heaven nor to earth, one of the most beautiful of the virgins consecrated to the service of the gods was brought to him." If the child she bore him was a son, he was brought up as a prince of the blood, and the eldest son succeeded his father on the pontifical throne.¹ The supernatural powers attributed to this pontiff are not specified, but probably they resembled those of the Mikado and Chitomé.

Wherever, as in Japan and West Africa, it is supposed that the order of nature, and even the existence of the world, is bound up with the life of the king or priest, it is clear that he must be regarded by his subjects as a source both of infinite blessing and of infinite danger. On the one hand, the people have to thank him for the rain and sunshine which foster the fruits of the earth, for the wind which brings ships to their coasts, and even for the existence of the earth beneath their feet. But what he gives he can refuse; and so close is the dependence of nature on his person, so delicate the balance of the system of forces whereof he is the centre, that the least irregularity on his part may set up a tremor which shall shake the earth to its foundations. And if nature may be disturbed by the slightest involuntary act of the king, it is easy to conceive the convulsion which his death might provoke. The death of the Chitomé, as we have seen, was thought to entail the destruction of the world. Clearly, therefore, out of a regard for their own safety, which might be imperilled by any rash act of the king, and still more by his death, the people will exact of their king or priest a strict conformity to those rules, the observance of which is necessary for his own preservation, and consequently for the preservation of his people and the world. The idea

¹ Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des Nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-centrale*, iii. 29 sq.; Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, ii. 142 sq.

that early kingdoms are despotisms in which the people exist only for the sovereign, is wholly inapplicable to the monarchies we are considering. On the contrary, the sovereign in them exists only for his subjects; his life is only valuable so long as he discharges the duties of his position by ordering the course of nature for his people's benefit. So soon as he fails to do so, the care, the devotion, the religious homage which they had hitherto lavished on him cease and are changed into hatred and contempt; he is dismissed ignominiously, and may be thankful if he escapes with his life. Worshipped as a god by them one day, he is killed by them as a criminal the next. But in this changed behaviour of the people there is nothing capricious or inconsistent. On the contrary, their conduct is entirely of a piece. If their king is their god, he is or should be also their preserver; and if he will not preserve them, he must make room for another who will. So long, however, as he answers their expectations, there is no limit to the care which they take of him, and which they compel him to take of himself. A king of this sort lives hedged in by a ceremonious etiquette, a network of prohibitions and observances, of which the intention is not to contribute to his dignity, much less to his comfort, but to restrain him from conduct which, by disturbing the harmony of nature, might involve himself, his people, and the universe in one common catastrophe. Far from adding to his comfort, these observances, by trammelling his every act, annihilate his freedom and often render the very life, which it is their object to preserve, a burden and sorrow to him.

Of the supernaturally endowed kings of Loango it is said that the more powerful a king is, the more taboos is he bound to observe; they regulate all his actions, his walking and his standing, his eating and drinking, his sleeping and waking.¹ "To these restraints the heir to the throne is subject from infancy; but as he advances in life the number of abstinences and ceremonies which he must observe increases, "until at the moment that he ascends the throne he is lost in the ocean of rites and taboos."² In the crater

¹ Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, L. 355.

² Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique* (Amsterdam, 1686), p. 336.

of an extinct volcano, enclosed on all sides by grassy slopes, lie the scattered huts and yam-fields of Riabba, the capital of the native king of Fernando Po. This mysterious being lives in the lowest depths of the crater, surrounded by a harem of forty women, and covered, it is said, with old silver coins. Naked savage as he is, he yet exercises far more influence in the island than the Spanish governor at Santa Isabel. In him the conservative spirit of the Boobies or aboriginal inhabitants of the island are, as it were, incorporated. He has never seen a white man and, according to the firm conviction of all the Boobies, the sight of a pale face would cause his instant death. He cannot bear to look upon the sea; indeed it is said that he may never see it even in the distance, and that therefore he wears away his life with shackles on his legs in the dim twilight of his hut. Certain it is that he has never set foot on the beach. With the exception of his musket and knife, he uses nothing that comes from the whites; European cloth never touches his person, and he scorns tobacco, rum, and even salt.¹ The ancient kings of Ireland, as well as the kings of the four provinces of Leinster, Munster, Connaught, and Ulster, were subject to certain quaint prohibitions or taboos, on the due

¹ O. Baumann, *Eine Afrikanische Tropen Insel, Fernando Po und die Bube* (Wien and Olmütz, 1888), p. 103 sq. The writer thinks there may be some exaggeration in the report that the king may not look upon the sea even from afar. But the report is confirmed by analogous taboos elsewhere. The king of Great Ardra in Guinea might not see the sea (Risman's "Guinea" in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 300); and the king of Loango is subject to the same taboo (Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Mündung*, i. 263). The sea is the fetish of the Eyoos, to the north-west of Dahomey, and they and their king are threatened with death by their priests if ever they dared to look upon it (A. Dalzell, *History of Dahomey* (London, 1793), p. 13; Th. Winterbottom, *An Account of the Native Africans in the Neighbourhood of Sierra Leone*, p. 229 sq.). The Egyptian priests loathed the sea and

called it the foam of Typhon; they were forbidden to set salt on their table, and they would not speak to pilots because they got their living by the sea; hence too they would not eat fish, and the hieroglyphic symbol for hatred was a fish (Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 32). When the Indians of the Peruvian Andes were sent to work in the hot valleys of the coast, the vast ocean which they saw before them as they descended the Cordillera was dreaded by them as a cause of disease; hence they prayed to it that they might not fall ill (E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, i. 451). Similarly the island people of Lampong, in Sumatra, "are said to pay a kind of adoration to the sea, and to make it an offering of cakes and sweetmeats on their beholding it for the first time, deprecating its power of doing them mischief" (Marsden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 301).

observance of which the prosperity of the people and the country, as well as their own, was supposed to depend. Thus, for example, the sun might not rise on the king of Ireland in his bed at Tara, the old capital of Erin; he was forbidden to alight on Wednesday at Magh Breagh, to traverse Magh Cuillinn after sunset, to incite his horse at Fan-Chomair, to go in a ship upon the water the Monday after Bealtaine (May Day), and to leave the track of his army upon Ath Maighne the Tuesday after All-Hallows. The king of Leinster might not go round Tuath Laighean left-hand-wise on Wednesday, nor sleep between the Dothair (Dodder) and the Duibhlinn¹ with his head inclining to one side, nor encamp for nine days on the plains of Cualann, nor travel the road of Duibhlinn on Monday, nor ride a dirty, black-heeled horse across Magh Maistean. The king of Munster was prohibited from enjoying the feast of Loch Lein from one Monday to another; from banqueting by night in the beginning of harvest before Geim at Leitreacha; from encamping for nine days upon the Siuir; and from holding a border meeting at Gabhran. The king of Connaught might not conclude a treaty respecting his ancient palace of Cruachan² after making peace on All-Hallows Day, nor go in a speckled garment on a grey speckled steed to the heath of Dal Chais, nor repair to an assembly of women at Seaghais, nor sit in autumn on the sepulchral mounds of the wife of Maine, nor contend in running with the rider of a grey one-eyed horse at Ath Gallta between two posts. The king of Ulster was forbidden to attend the horse fair at Rath Line among the youths of Dal Araidhe, to listen to the fluttering of the flocks of birds of Linn Sailleach after sunset, to celebrate the feast of the bull of Daire-mic-Daire, to go into Magh Cobha in the month of March, and to drink of the water of Bo Neimhidh between two darknesses. If the kings of Ireland strictly observed these and many other customs, which were enjoined by immemorial usage, it was believed that they would never meet with mischance or misfortune, and would live for ninety

¹ The Duibhlinn is the part of the Liffey on which Dublin now stands.

² The site, marked by the remains

of some earthen forts, is now known as Rathcroghua, near Belanagare in the county of Roscommon.

years without experiencing the decay of old age; that no epidemic or mortality would occur during their reigns; and that the seasons would be favourable and the earth yield its fruit in abundance; whereas, if they set the ancient usages at naught, the country would be visited with plague, famine, and bad weather.¹

The kings of Egypt, as we have seen,² were worshipped as gods, and the routine of their daily life was regulated in every detail by precise and unvarying rules. "The life of the kings of Egypt," says Diodorus, "was not like that of other monarchs who are irresponsible and may do just what they choose; on the contrary, everything was fixed for them by law, not only their official duties, but even the details of their daily life. . . . The hours both of day and night were arranged at which the king had to do, not what he pleased, but what was prescribed for him. . . . For not only were the times appointed at which he should transact public business or sit in judgment; but the very hours for his walking and bathing and sleeping with his wife, and, in short, performing every act of life were all settled. Custom enjoined a simple diet; the only flesh he might eat was veal and goose, and he might only drink a prescribed quantity of wine."³ Of the taboos imposed on priests we may see a striking example in the rules of life observed by the Flamen Dialis at Rome, who has been interpreted as a living image of Zeus⁴ or a human embodiment of the sky-spirit.⁵ Since the worship of Virbius at Nemi was conducted, as we have seen,⁶ by a Flamen, who may possibly have been the King of the Wood himself, and whose mode of life may have resembled that of the Roman Flamen, these rules have a special interest for us. They were such as the following: The Flamen Dialis might not ride or even touch a horse, nor see an army

¹ *The Book of Rights*, edited with translation and notes by John O'Donovan (Dublin, 1847), pp. 3-8. This work, comprising a list both of the prohibitions (*prohibitions* or *prohibitions*) and the prerogatives (*privileges*) of the Irish kings, is preserved in a number of manuscripts, of which the two oldest date from 1390 and about 1418 respectively. The list is repeated twice, first in prose and then in verse. I

have to thank my friend Professor J. Rhys for kindly calling my attention to this interesting record of a long-vanished past in Ireland.

² P. 161 sq.

³ Diodorus Siculus, i. 70.

⁴ L. Preller, *Klassische Mythologie*,² i. 201.

⁵ P. B. Jevons, *Plato's Roman Questions*, p. lxxiii.

⁶ P. 6.

under arms,¹ nor wear a ring which was not broken, nor have a knot on any part of his garments; no fire except a sacred fire might be taken out of his house; he might not touch wheaten flour or leavened bread; he might not touch or even name a goat, a dog,² raw meat, beans, and ivy; he might not walk under a vine; the feet of his bed had to be daubed with mud; his hair could be cut only by a free man and with a bronze knife, and his hair and nails when cut had to be buried under a lucky tree; he might not touch a dead body nor enter a place where one was burned;³ he might not see work being done on holy days; he might not be uncovered in the open air; if a man in bonds were taken into his house, the captive had to be unbound and the cords had to be drawn up through a hole in the roof and so let down into the street. His wife, the Flaminica, had to observe nearly the same rules, and others of her own besides. She might not ascend more than three steps of the kind of staircase called Greek; at a certain festival she might not comb her hair; the leather of her shoes might not be made from a beast that had died a natural death, but only from one that had been slain or sacrificed; if she heard thunder she was tabooed till she had offered an expiatory sacrifice.⁴

¹ Among the Gallas the king, who also acts as priest by performing sacrifices, is the only man who is not allowed to fight with weapons; he may not even ward off a blow (Paulitschke, *Ethnographische Nordost-Afrika: die geistige Kultur der Daulak, Galla und Somali*, p. 136).

² Among the Kafirs of the Hindu Kooth men who are preparing to be bridesmen are considered ceremonially pure, and wear a semi-sacred uniform which must not be defiled by coming into contact with dogs. "The Kaneash [persons in this state of ceremonial purity] were nervously afraid of my dogs, which had to be fastened up whenever one of these august personages was seen to approach. The dressing has to be performed with the greatest care, in a place which cannot be defiled with dogs. Utah and another had convenient dressing-rooms on the top of their houses which

happened to be high and isolated, but another of the four Kaneash had been compelled to erect a curious-looking square pen made of poles in front of his house, his own roof being a common thoroughfare" (Sir George Scott Robertson, *The Kafirs of the Hindu Kooth* (London, 1898), p. 466).

³ Similarly among the Kafirs of the Hindu Kooth the high priest "may not traverse certain paths which go near the receptacles for the dead, nor may he visit the cemeteries. He may not go into the actual room where a death has occurred until after an effigy has been erected for the deceased. Slaves may cross his threshold, but must not approach the hearth" (Sir George Scott Robertson, *op. cit.* p. 416).

⁴ Apian Gallus, x. 15; Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 109-112; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 146; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* l. 179, 448, iv. 518; Macro-

The burdensome observances attached to the royal or priestly office produced their natural effect. Either men refused to accept the office, which hence tended to fall into abeyance; or accepting it, they sank under its weight into spiritless creatures, cloistered recluses, from whose nerveless fingers the reins of government slipped into the firmer grasp of men who were often content to wield the reality of sovereignty without its name. In some countries this rift in the supreme power deepened into a total and permanent separation of the spiritual and temporal powers, the old royal house retaining their purely religious functions, while the civil government passed into the hands of a younger and more vigorous race.

To take examples. We saw¹ that in Cambodia it is often necessary to force the kingships of Fire and Water upon the reluctant successors, and that in Savage Island the monarchy actually came to an end because at last no one could be induced to accept the dangerous distinction.² In some parts of West Africa, when the king dies, a family council is secretly held to determine his successor. He on whom the choice falls is suddenly seized, bound, and thrown into the fetish-house, where he is kept in durance till he consents to accept the crown. Sometimes the heir finds means of evading the honour which it is sought to thrust upon him; a ferocious chief has been known to go about constantly armed, resolute to resist by force any attempt to set him on the throne.³ A reluctance to accept the sovereignty in the Ethiopian kingdom of Gingiro was simulated, if not really felt, as we learn from the old Jesuit missionaries. "They wrap up the dead king's body in costly garments, and killing a cow, put it into the hide; then all those who hope to succeed him, being his sons or others of the royal blood, flying from the honour they covet, abscond and hide themselves in the woods. This done, the electors, who are all great sorcerers, agree among themselves who shall be king, and go out to seek him, when entering

Idus, Saturni, i. 16. 8 sq.; *Festus*, p. 161 A, ed. Müller. For more details see Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, lii. 326 sqq.

¹ Pp. 164, 166. ² P. 159.

³ Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 354 sq.; li. 9, 11.

the woods by means of their enchantments, they say, a large bird called *liber*, as big as an eagle, comes down with mighty cries over the place where he is hid, and they find him encompass'd by Lyons, tygers, snakes, and other creatures gather'd about him by witchcraft. The elect, as fierce as those beasts, rushes out upon those who seek him, wounding and sometimes killing some of them, to prevent being seiz'd. They take all in good part, defending themselves the best they can, till they have seiz'd him. Thus they carry him away by force, he still struggling and seeming to refuse taking upon him the burthen of government, all which is mere cheat and hypocrisy."¹ The Mikados of Japan seem early to have resorted to the expedient of transferring the honours and burdens of supreme power to their infant children; and the rise of the Tycoons, long the temporal sovereigns of the country, is traced to the abdication of a certain Mikado in favour of his three-year-old son. The sovereignty having been wrested by a usurper from the infant prince, the cause of the Mikado was championed by Yoritomo, a man of spirit and conduct, who overthrew the usurper and restored to the Mikado the shadow, while he retained for himself the substance of power. He bequeathed to his descendants the dignity he had won, and thus became the founder of the line of Tycoons. Down to the latter half of the sixteenth century the Tycoons were active and efficient rulers; but the same fate overtook them which had befallen the Mikados. Immeshed in the same inextricable web of custom and law, they degenerated into mere puppets, hardly stirring from their palaces and occupied in a perpetual round of empty ceremonies, while the real business of government was managed by the council of state.² In Tonquin the monarchy ran a similar course. Living like his predecessors in effeminacy and sloth, the king was driven from the throne by an ambitious adventurer named Mack, who from a fisherman had risen to be Grand Mandarin. But the king's brother Tring put down the usurper and restored the king, retaining, however, for himself and his

¹ *The Travels of the Jesuits in Ethiopia*, collected and historically digested by F. Balthazar Telles

(London, 1710), p. 197 *sq.*

² *Manners and Customs of the Japanese*, pp. 199 *sqq.*, 355 *sqq.*

descendants the dignity of general of all the forces. Thenceforward the kings or *devas*, though invested with the title and pomp of sovereignty, ceased to govern. While they lived included in their palaces, all real political power was wielded by the hereditary generals or *chevas*.¹ The custom regularly observed by the Tahitian kings of abdicating on the birth of a son, who was immediately proclaimed sovereign and received his father's homage, may perhaps have originated, like the similar custom occasionally practised by the Mikados, in a wish to shift to other shoulders the irksome burden of royalty; for in Tahiti as elsewhere the sovereign was subjected to a system of vexatious restrictions.² In Mangaia, another Polynesian island, religious and civil authority were lodged in separate hands, spiritual functions being discharged by a line of hereditary kings, while the temporal government was entrusted from time to time to a victorious war-chief, whose investiture, however, had to be completed by the king. To the latter were assigned the best lands, and he received daily offerings of the choicest food.³ The Mikado and Tycoon of Japan had their counterparts in the Roko Tui and Vunivalu of Fiji. The Roko Tui was the Reverend or Sacred King. The Vunivalu was the Root of War or War King. In one kingdom a certain Thakambau, who was the War King, kept all power in his own hands, but in a neighbouring kingdom the real ruler was the Sacred King.⁴ At Athens the kings degenerated into little more than sacred functionaries, and it is said that the institution of the new office of Polemarch or War Lord was rendered necessary by their growing effeminacy.⁵ American examples of the partition of authority between an emperor and a pope have already been cited from the early history of Mexico and Colombia.⁶

In some parts of Western Africa two kings reign side by side, a fetish or religious king and a civil king, but the

¹ Richard, "History of Tonquin," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, ix. 744-109.

² W. Ellis, *Polynesian Reminiscences*, iii. 99-109, ed. 1836.

³ Gill, *Afyrki and Spang of the South Pacific*, p. 293-109.

⁴ Rev. Lorimer Fison, in a letter to the author, dated August 26th, 1898.

⁵ Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, iii. 2. My friend Dr. Henry Jackson kindly called my attention to this passage.

⁶ Pp. 154, 236-19.

fetish king is really supreme. He controls the weather and so forth, and can put a stop to everything. When he lays his red staff on the ground, no one may pass that way. This division of power between a sacred and a secular ruler is to be met with wherever the true negro culture has been left unmolested, but where the negro form of society has been disturbed, as in Dahomey and Ashantee, there is a tendency to consolidate the two powers in a single king. There was a fetish king in Calabar down to some twenty years ago, but the office expired on account of its responsibilities and expenses. One of the practical inconveniences of the office, at least on the Grain Coast, is that the house of the fetish king enjoys the right of sanctuary, and so tends to become little better than a rookery of bad characters. One Bodio or fetish king on the Grain Coast resigned office because of the sort of people who quartered themselves on him, the cost of feeding them, and the squabbles they had among themselves. He led a sort of cat-and-dog life with them for three years. Then there came a man with homicidal mania varied by epileptic fits; and soon afterwards the spiritual shepherd retired into private life, but not before he had lost an ear and sustained other bodily injury in a personal conflict with this very black sheep.¹

In some parts of the East Indian island of Timor we meet with a partition of power like that which is represented by the civil king and the fetish king of Western Africa. Some of the Timorese tribes recognise two rajahs, the ordinary or civil rajah, who governs the people, and the fetish or taboo rajah (*radja pomali*), who is charged with the control of everything that concerns the earth and its products. This latter ruler has the right of declaring anything taboo; his permission must be obtained before new land may be brought under cultivation, and he

¹ Miss Mary H. Kingsley in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxix. (1900), p. 62 *sq.*; compare Le Comte C. N. de Cardé, *ibid.* p. 51 *sq.*, who says that the fetish or ju-ju king of New Calabar "ranked above the king in all purely native palavers, religious or

civil, his opinion always carrying great weight." I had some conversation on this subject with Miss Kingsley (130 June 1897) and have embodied the results in the text. Miss Kingsley did not know the rule of succession among the fetish kings.

must perform certain necessary ceremonies when the work is being carried out. If drought or blight threatens the crops, his help is invoked to save them. Though he ranks below the civil rajah, he exercises a momentous influence on the course of events, for his secular colleague is bound to consult him in all important matters. In some of the neighbouring islands, such as Rotti and eastern Flores, a spiritual ruler of the same sort is recognised under various native names, which all mean "lord of the ground."¹

§ 2. *The Nature of the Soul*

But if the object of the taboos observed by a divine king or priest is to preserve his life, the question arises, How is their observance supposed to effect this end? To understand this we must know the nature of the danger which threatens the king's life, and which it is the intention of the taboos to guard against. We must, therefore, ask: What does early man understand by death? To what causes does he attribute it? And how does he think it may be guarded against?

As the savage commonly explains the processes of inanimate nature by supposing that they are produced by living beings working in or behind the phenomena, so he explains the phenomena of life itself. If an animal lives and moves, it can only be, he thinks, because there is a little animal inside which moves it. If a man lives and moves, it can only be because he has a little man or animal inside who moves him. The animal inside the animal, the man inside the man, is the soul. And as the activity of an animal or man is explained by the presence of the soul, so the repose of sleep or death is explained by its absence: sleep or trance being the temporary, death being the permanent absence of the soul. Hence if death be the permanent absence of the soul, the way to guard against it is either to prevent the soul

¹ J. J. de Hollander, *Handleiding bij de Beoefening der Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*, li. 606 sq. In other parts of Timor the spiritual ruler is called *Anaka-pala* or "conjurer of the land." Compare

H. Zondervan, "Timor en de Timorezen," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Twende Serie, v. (1888), Afdeeling, meer uitgegevene artikelen, pp. 400-402.

from leaving the body, or, if it does depart, to ensure that it shall return. The precautions adopted by savages to secure one or other of these ends take the form of prohibitions or taboos, which are nothing but rules intended to ensure either the continued presence or the return of the soul. In short, they are life-preservers or life-guards. These general statements will now be illustrated by examples.

Addressing some Australian blacks, a European missionary said, "I am not one, as you think, but two." Upon this they laughed. "You may laugh as much as you like," continued the missionary, "I tell you that I am two in one; this great body that you see is one; within that there is another little one which is not visible. The great body dies, and is buried, but the little body flies away when the great one dies." To this some of the blacks replied, "Yes, yes. We also are two, we also have a little body within the breast." On being asked where the little body went after death, some said it went behind the bush, others said it went into the sea, and some said they did not know.¹ The Hurons thought that the soul had a head and body, arms and legs; in short, that it was a complete little model of the man himself.² The Esquimaux believe that "the soul exhibits the same shape as the body it belongs to, but is of a more subtle and ethereal nature."³ According to the Nootkas of British Columbia the soul has the shape of a tiny man; its seat is the crown of the head. So long as it stands erect, its owner is hale and well; but when from any cause it loses its upright position, he loses his senses.⁴ Among the Indian tribes of the Lower Fraser River, man is held to have four souls, of which the principal one has the form of a mannikin, while the other three are shadows of it.⁵ The Malays conceive the human soul (*sewangat*) as a little man, mostly invisible and of the bigness of a thumb, who corresponds exactly in shape, pro-

¹ R. Salgado, *Mémoires historiques sur l'Australie* (Paris, 1854), p. 162; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii. (1878), p. 282.

² *Relations des Jésuites*, 1632, p. 17; *id.*, 1636, p. 104; *id.*, 1639, p. 43 (Canadian reprint).

³ H. Rink, *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo*, p. 36.

⁴ Fr. Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 44 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

⁵ Fr. Boas, in *Ninth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 461 (*Report of the British Association for 1894*).

portion, and even in complexion to the man in whose body he resides. This mannikin is of a thin unsubstantial nature, though not so impalpable but that it may cause displacement on entering a physical object, and it can flit quickly from place to place; it is temporarily absent from the body in sleep, trance, and disease, and permanently absent after death.¹ The ancient Egyptians believed that every man has a soul (*ka*) which is his exact counterpart or double, with the same features, the same gait, even the same dress as the man himself. Many of the monuments dating from the eighteenth century onwards represent various kings appearing before divinities, while behind the king stands his soul or double, portrayed as a little man with the king's features. Some of the reliefs in the temple at Luxor illustrate the birth of King Amenophis III. While the queen-mother is being tended by two goddesses acting as midwives, two other goddesses are bringing away two figures of new-born children, only one of which is supposed to be a child of flesh and blood: the inscriptions engraved above their heads show that, while the first is Amenophis, the second is his soul or double. And as with kings and queens, so it was with common men and women. Whenever a child was born, there was born with him a double which followed him through the various stages of life; young while he was young, it grew to maturity and declined along with him. And not only human beings, but gods and animals, stones and trees, natural and artificial objects, everybody and everything had its own soul or double. The doubles of oxen and sheep were the duplicates of the original oxen or sheep; the doubles of linen or beds, of chairs or knives, had the same form as the real linen, beds, chairs, and knives. So thin and subtle was the stuff, so fine and delicate the texture of these doubles that they made no impression on ordinary eyes. Only certain classes of priests or seers were enabled by natural gifts or special training to perceive the doubles of the gods, and to win from them a knowledge of the past and the future. The doubles of men and things were hidden from sight in the ordinary course of life; still, they sometimes flew out of the body endowed with colour and voice, left it in a kind of trance, and departed to

¹ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 47.

manifest themselves at a distance.¹ So exact is the resemblance of the mannikin to the man, in other words, of the soul to the body, that, as there are fat bodies and thin bodies, so there are fat souls and thin souls;² as there are heavy bodies and light bodies, long bodies and short bodies, so there are heavy souls and light souls, long souls and short souls. The people of Nias (an island to the west of Sumatra) think that every man, before he is born, is asked how long or how heavy a soul he would like, and a soul of the desired weight or length is measured out to him. The heaviest soul ever given out weighs about ten grammes. The length of a man's life is proportioned to the length of his soul; children who die young had short souls.³ The Fijian conception of the soul as a tiny human being comes clearly out in the customs observed at the death of a chief among the Nakelo tribe. When a chief dies, certain men, who are the hereditary undertakers, call him, as he lies, oiled and ornamented, on fine mats, saying, "Rise, sir, the chief, and let us be going. The day has come over the land." Then they conduct him to the river side, where the ghostly ferryman comes to ferry Nakelo ghosts across the stream. As they thus attend the chief on his last journey, they hold their great fans close to the ground to shelter him, because, as one of them explained to a missionary, "His soul is only a little child."⁴ Sometimes, however, as we shall see, the human soul is conceived not in human but in animal form.

¹ G. Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie égyptiennes* (Paris, 1893), i. 388 sq.; A. Wiedemann, *The ancient Egyptian Doctrine of the Immortality of the Soul* (London, 1895), p. 10 sqq. In Greek works of art, especially vase-paintings, the human soul is sometimes represented as a tiny being in human form, generally winged, sometimes clothed and armed, sometimes naked. See O. Jahn, *Archäologische Beiträge* (Berlin, 1847), p. 128 sqq.; E. Pottier, *Étude sur les Mythes égyptiens* (Paris, 1883), pp. 75-79; *American Journal of Archaeology*, li. (1886), pl. xli. xlii.; O. Korn, in *Aus der Asien, Archäologische Beiträge Carl Robert zur Erinnerung an*

Herlin dargestellt (Berlin, 1890), pp. 89-95. Greek artists of a later period sometimes portrayed the human soul in the form of a butterfly (O. Jahn, *op. cit.*, p. 138 sqq.). There was a particular sort of butterfly to which the Greeks gave the name of soul (*psyche*). See Aristotle, *Hist. Anim.* v. 19, p. 550, l. 26, p. 551, l. 13 sq.; Plutarch, *Quæst. Conviv.* li. 3, 2.

² Gell, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 171.

³ H. Sanderemann, "Die Insel Nias und die Mission daseibst," *allgemeine Missionen-Zeitschrift*, lii. (1884), October 1884, p. 453.

⁴ Rev. Lorimer Fuson, in a letter to the author, dated November 3rd, 1898.

The soul is commonly supposed to escape by the natural openings of the body, especially the mouth and nostrils. Hence in Celebes they sometimes fasten fish-hooks to a sick man's nose, navel, and feet, so that if his soul should try to escape it may be hooked and held fast.¹ When a Sea Dyak sorcerer or medicine-man is initiated, his fingers are supposed to be furnished with fish-hooks, with which he will thereafter clutch the human soul in the act of flying away, and restore it to the body of the sufferer.² One of the implements of a Haida medicine-man is a hollow bone, in which he bottles up departing souls, and so restores them to their owners.³ When any one yawns in their presence the Hindoos always snap their thumbs, believing that this will hinder the soul from issuing through the open mouth.⁴ The Marquesans used to hold the mouth and nose of a dying man, in order to keep him in life, by preventing his soul from escaping,⁵ and with the same intention the Bagobos of the Philippine Islands put rings of brass wire on the wrists or ankles of their sick.⁶ On the other hand, the Itonamas in South America seal up the eyes, nose, and mouth of a dying person, in case his ghost should get out and carry off others;⁷ and for a similar reason the people of Nias, who fear the spirits of the recently deceased and identify them with the breath, seek to confine the vagrant soul in its earthly tabernacle by bunging up the nose or tying up the jaws of the corpse.⁸ Esquimaux mourners plug their nostrils with deerskin, hair, or hay for several days,⁹ probably to prevent their souls from following

¹ B. F. Matthes, *Over de Ritsen of heidensche priesters en priestersessen der Baginczen*, p. 24.

² H. Lang Roth, "Low's Natives of Borneo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1892), p. 115.

³ G. M. Dawson, "On the Haida Indians of the Queen Charlotte Islands," *Geological Survey of Canada, Report of Progress for 1878-1879*, pp. 123 n, 139 n.

⁴ *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 114, § 665.

⁵ M. Radiguet, *Les derniers navigateurs*, p. 245 (ed. 1882); Matthias G***, *Letras sur les Îles Marquises*

(Paris, 1843), p. 113; Clavel, *Les Marquises*, p. 42 note.

⁶ F. Blumenstitt, "Das Strumgebiet des Rio Grande de Mindanao," *Petermanns Mittheilungen*, xxviii. (1891), p. 111.

⁷ D'Orbigny, *L'Homme Américain*, ii. 241; T. J. Hutchinson, "The Chaco Indians," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S., iii. (1865), p. 322 n; Basian, *Culturlander der alten America*, i. 476.

⁸ E. Modigliani, *Un viaggio a Nias* (Milan, 1890), p. 283.

⁹ Fr. Haas, "The Central Eskimo,"

that of their departed friend; the custom is especially incumbent on the persons who dress the corpse.¹ In Southern Celebes, to hinder the escape of a woman's soul at childbirth, the nurse ties a band as tightly as possible round the body of the expectant mother.² The Minangkabauers of Sumatra observe a similar custom; a skein of thread or a string is sometimes fastened round the wrist or loins of a woman in childbed, so that when her soul seeks to depart in her hour of travail it may find the egress barred.³ And lest the soul of the babe should escape and be lost as soon as it is born, the Alfoors of Celebes, when a birth is about to take place, are careful to close every opening in the house, even the keyhole; and they stop up every chink and cranny in the walls. Also they tie up the mouths of all animals inside and outside the house, for fear one of them might swallow the child's soul. For a similar reason all persons present in the house, even the mother herself, are obliged to keep their mouths shut the whole time the birth is taking place. When the question was put, Why they did not hold their noses also, lest the child's soul should get into one of them? the answer was that breath being exhaled as well as inhaled through the nostrils, the soul would be expelled before it could have time to settle down.⁴

Popular expressions in the language of civilised peoples, such as to have one's heart in one's mouth, or the soul on the lips or in the nose, show how natural is the idea that the life or soul may escape by the mouth or nostrils.⁵

Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology (Washington, 1888), p. 613 sq. Among the Esquimaux of Smith Sound male mourners plug up the right nostril and female mourners the left (E. Bessels in *American Naturalist*, xviii. (1884), p. 877; cp. J. Murdoch, "Ethnological Results of the Point Barrow Expedition," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), p. 425). This seems to point to a belief that the soul enters by one nostril and goes out by the other, and that the functions assigned to the right and left nostrils in this respect are reversed in men and women.

¹ G. F. Lyon, *Private Journal*

(London, 1824), p. 370.

² R. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, p. 34.

³ J. L. van der Toorn, "Het animisme bij den Minangkabauer der Padangsche Bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 56.

⁴ Zimmermann, *Die Inseln des Indischen und Stillen Meeres*, ii. 386 sq.

⁵ Compare *ῥῆμα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στόματι* *ῥῆμα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στόματι* *ῥῆμα ἐστὶν ἐν τῷ στόματι*. Herondas, *Mimambi*, iii. 3 sq. : *ἡ ψυχή ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι* *ἡ ψυχή ἐστιν ἐν τῷ στόματι*. Dio Chrysostom, *Orat.* xxxii. vol. i. p. 417, ed. Dindorf; "*ubi animus in nasu esset, statim tanquam mortuus*," Petronius,

Often the soul is conceived as a bird ready to take flight. This conception has probably left traces in most languages,¹ and it lingers as a metaphor in poetry. But what is metaphor to a modern European poet was sober earnest to his savage ancestor, and is still so to many people. The Bororos of Brazil fancy that the human soul has the shape of a bird, and passes in that shape out of the body in dreams.² According to the Biquila or Bella Coola Indians of British Columbia the soul dwells in the nape of the neck and resembles a bird enclosed in an egg. If the shell breaks and the soul flies away, the man must die. If he swoons or becomes crazed, it is because his soul has flown away without breaking its shell. The shaman can hear the buzzing of its wings, like the buzz of a mosquito, as the soul flits past; and he may catch and replace it in the nape of its owner's neck.³ A Melanesian wizard in Lepers' Island has been known to send out his soul in the form of an eagle to pursue a ship and learn the fortunes of some natives who were being carried off in it.⁴ The soul of Aristeas of Proconnesus was seen to issue from his mouth in the shape of a raven.⁵ There is a popular opinion in Bohemia that the parting soul comes forth from the mouth like a white bird.⁶ The Malays carry out the conception of the bird-soul in a number of odd ways. If the soul is a bird on the wing, it may be attracted by rice, and so either prevented from taking wing or lured back again from its perilous flight. Thus in Java when a

Sat. 62; "In primis labris distans habere," Seneca, *Natur. Quæst.* iii. præf. 16; "Voilà un pauvre malade qui a le feu dans le corps, et l'âme sur le haut des lèvres," J. de Breleul, in *Relation des Juallies*, 1636, p. 113 (Canadian reprint); "This posture keeps the weary soul hanging upon the lip; ready to leave the carcass, and yet not suffered to take its wing," R. Bentley, "Sermon on Popery," quoted in *Munk's Life of Bentley*,² t. 382. In Czech they say of a dying person that his soul is on his tongue (Br. Jelinek, in *Mittheilungen der anthropolog. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxi. (1891), p. 22).

¹ Compare the Greek *psyche*,

deanrephs, etc.

² K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* (Berlin, 1894), pp. 311, 312.

³ Fr. Boas, in *Seventh Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 142. (separate reprint of the *Report of the British Association for 1891*).

⁴ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 207 ff.

⁵ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 174. Compare Herodotus, iv. 142. 3. Maslinus Tyrinus, *Disert.* xvi. 2.

⁶ Br. Jelinek, "Materialien zur Vorgeschichte und Volkskunde Böhmens," *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxi. (1891), p. 22.

child is placed on the ground for the first time (a moment which uncultured people seem to regard as especially dangerous), it is put in a hen-coop and the mother makes a clucking sound, as if she were calling hens.¹ Amongst the Battas of Sumatra, when a man returns from a dangerous enterprise, grains of rice are placed on his head, and these grains are called *padirunna tondi*, that is, "means to make the soul (*tondi*) stay at home." In Java also rice is placed on the head of persons who have escaped a great danger or have returned home unexpectedly after it had been supposed that they were lost.² Similarly in the district of Sintang in West Borneo, if any one has had a great fright, or escaped a serious peril, or comes back after a long and dangerous journey, or has taken a solemn oath, the first thing that his relations or friends do is to strew yellow rice on his head, mumbling, "Cluck! cluck! soul!" (*koer, koer semangal*). And when a person, whether man, woman, or child, has fallen out of a house or off a tree, and has been brought home, his wife or other kinswoman goes as speedily as possible to the spot where the accident happened, and there strews rice, which has been coloured yellow, while she utters the words, "Cluck! cluck! soul! So-and-so is in his house again. Cluck! cluck! soul!" Then she gathers up the rice in a basket, carries it to the sufferer, and drops the grains from her hand on his head, saying again, "Cluck! cluck! soul!"³ Here the intention clearly is to decoy back the loitering bird-soul and replace it in the head of its owner. In Southern Celebes they think that a bridegroom's soul is apt to fly away at marriage, so coloured rice is scattered over him to induce it to stay. And, in general, at festivals in South Celebes rice is strowed on the head of the person in whose honour the festival is held, with the object of detaining his soul, which at such times is in especial danger of being lured away by envious demons.⁴ For example, after a

¹ G. A. Wilken, "Het animisme bij de volken van den Indischen Archipel," *De Indische Gids*, June 1884, p. 244.

² Wilken, *loc.*

³ E. L. M. Kulir, "Schetsen uit Borneo's Westerbewoening," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkenkunde van*

Nederlandsch Indië, xlviii. (1897), p. 57.

⁴ D. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, p. 33; *id.*, *Over de Bissas of heidensche priesters en priesteressen der Boegianen*, p. 9 sq.; *id.*, *Mahassarach-Hollandsch Woordenboek*, 2^{de} *Kluisie* and *noemings*, pp. 41, 569. All these two

successful war the welcome to the victorious prince takes the form of strewing him with roasted and coloured rice "to prevent his life-spirit, as if it were a bird, from flying out of his body in consequence of the envy of evil spirits."¹ Among the Minangkabauers of Sumatra the old rude notions of the soul seem to be dying out. Nowadays most of the people hold that the soul, being immaterial, has no shape or form. But some of the sorcerers assert that the soul goes and comes in the shape of a tiny man. Others are of opinion that it does so in the form of a fly; hence they make food ready to induce the absent soul to come back, and the first fly that settles on the food is regarded as the returning truant. But in native poetry and popular expressions there are traces of the belief that the soul quits the body in the form of a bird.²

The soul of a sleeper is supposed to wander away from his body and actually to visit the places, to see the persons, and to perform the acts of which he dreams. For example, when an Indian of Brazil or Guiana wakes up from a sound sleep, he is firmly convinced that his soul has really been away hunting, fishing, felling trees, or whatever else he has dreamed of doing, while all the time his body has been lying motionless in his hammock. A whole Bororo village has been thrown into a panic and nearly deserted because somebody had dreamed that he saw enemies stealthily approaching it. A Macusi Indian in weak health, who dreamed that his employer had made him haul the canoe up a series of difficult cataracts, bitterly reproached his master next morning for his want of consideration in thus making a poor invalid go out and toil during the night.³ Now this absence

words, the former means the sound made in calling fowls, and the latter means the soul. The expression for the recondites described in the text is *asakbernie asakApá*. So common is the recall of the bird-soul among the Malays that the words *ber* or *kur* *asakApá* ("clock! cluck! soul!") often amount to little more than an expression of astonishment, like our "Good gracious me!" See W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 47, note 2.

¹ J. K. Niemann, "De Boogineezen

ou Makassaren," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxviii (1889), p. 281.

² J. L. van der Toorn, "Het asakbernie bij den Minangkabau der Fadoegsche Bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix (1890), pp. 56-58.

³ K. van den Steinen, *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasilien*, p. 340; E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 344-499. A

of the soul in sleep has its dangers, for if from any cause the soul should be permanently detained away from the body, the person thus deprived of the vital principle must die.¹ There is a German belief that the soul escapes from a sleeper's mouth in the form of a white mouse or a little bird, and that to prevent the return of the bird or animal would be fatal to the sleeper.² Hence in Transylvania they say that you should not let a child sleep with its mouth open, or its soul will slip out in the shape of a mouse, and the child will never wake.³

Many causes may detain the sleeper's soul. Thus, his soul may meet the soul of another sleeper and the two souls may fight; if a Guinea negro wakes with sore bones in the morning, he thinks that his soul has been thrashed by another soul in sleep.⁴ Or it may meet the soul of a person just deceased and be carried off by it; hence in the Aru Islands the inmates of a house will not sleep the night after a death has taken place in it, because the soul of the deceased is supposed to be still in the house and they fear to meet it in a dream.⁵ Again, the soul may be prevented by an accident or by physical force from returning. When a Dyak dreams of falling into the water, he supposes that this accident has really befallen his spirit, and he sends for a wizard, who fishes for the spirit with a hand-net in a basin of water till he catches it and restores it to its owner.⁶ The Santals tell how a man fell asleep, and growing very thirsty, his soul, in the form of a lizard, left his body and entered a pitcher of water to drink. Just then the owner of

striking instance of the faith which savages repose in their dreams may be read in the *Relations des Hurons*, 1642, p. 86-87. (Canadian reprint). An Indian dreamed that he was taken and burnt alive by the Iroquois. So next day his friends kindled a number of fires and partially burned him, by applying lighted torches to his naked body, in order to save him from being wholly burnt by his enemies.

¹ Shway Yoe, *The Burman, his Life and Nations*, ii. 100.

² K. Andree, *Braunschweiger Volkskunde* (Brunswick, 1896), p. 266.

³ H. von Wistocki, *Volkskunde und*

Volksbrauch der Sächsischen Sachsen (Berlin, 1893), p. 167.

⁴ J. + L. Wilson, *Western Africa* (London, 1856), p. 220; A. R. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 20.

⁵ J. G. F. Kiedel, *De sluis- en krootharige zinnen tusschen Seland en Papua*, p. 267. For detention of sleeper's soul by spirits and consequent illness, see also Mason, quoted in Bastien's *Die Völker des südlichen Afrikas*, ii. 387 note.

⁶ H. Ling Roth, "Low's Natives of Borneo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi. (1892), p. 112.

the pitcher happened to cover it; so the soul could not return to the body and the man died. While his friends were preparing to burn the body some one uncovered the pitcher to get water. The lizard thus escaped and returned to the body, which immediately revived; so the man rose up and asked his friends why they were weeping. They told him they thought he was dead and were about to burn his body. He said he had been down a well to get water, but had found it hard to get out and had just returned. So they saw it all.¹ A similar story is reported from Transylvania as follows. In the account of a witch's trial at Mühlbach last century it is said that a woman had engaged two men to work in her vineyard. After noon they all lay down to rest as usual. An hour later the men got up and tried to waken the woman, but could not. She lay motionless with her mouth wide open. They came back at sunset and still she lay like a corpse. Just at that moment a big fly came buzzing past, which one of the men caught and shut up in his leathern pouch. Then they tried again to waken the woman but could not. Afterwards they let out the fly; it flew straight into the woman's mouth and she awoke. On seeing this the men had no further doubt that she was a witch.²

It is a common rule with primitive people not to waken a sleeper, because his soul is away and might not have time to get back; so if the man wakened without his soul, he would fall sick. If it is absolutely necessary to rouse a sleeper, it must be done very gradually, to allow the soul time to return.³ A Fijian in Matuku, suddenly wakened

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, vii. (1878), p. 273; Bastian, *Völkervisionen am Breckmagnum*, p. 127. A similar story is told by the Hindus, though the lizard form of the soul is not mentioned. See *Panjab Notes and Queries*, iii. 3 679.

² H. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest*, ii. 27 sq. A similar story is told in Holland (J. W. Wulf, *Nederlandsche Geyen*, No. 250, p. 343 sq.). The story of King Gunthrum belongs to the same class; the king's soul comes out of his mouth as a small reptile (Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Longobardorum*, iii. 34). In an East Indian story of the same

type the sleeper's soul issues from his nose in the form of a cricket (Wilken in *De Indische Gids*, June 1884, p. 940). In a Swahili story a girl's soul creeps out of her mouth in the form of a white mouse (Vörlinger, *Völkervisionen aus Schwaben*, I. 303).

³ Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, ii. 103; R. G. Woodhorne in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887), p. 23; Iwasaki, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, ii. 389; Blumentritt, "Der Ahnencultus und die religiösen Anschauungen der Mahien des Philippinen-Archipels," *Mittheilungen der*

from a nap by somebody treading on his foot, has been heard bawling after his soul and imploring it to return. He had just been dreaming that he was far away in Tonga, and great was his alarm on suddenly waking to find his body in Matuku. Death stared him in the face unless his soul could be induced to speed at once across the sea and reanimate its deserted tenement. The man would probably have died of fright if a missionary had not been at hand to allay his terror.¹ Some Brazilian Indians explain the headache from which a man sometimes suffers after a broken sleep by saying that his soul is tired with the exertions it made to return quickly to the body.² A Highland story, told to Hugh Miller on the picturesque shores of Loch Shin, well illustrates the haste made by the soul to regain its body when the sleeper has been prematurely roused by an indiscreet friend. Two young men had been spending the early part of a warm summer day in the open air, and sat down on a mossy bank to rest. Hard by was an ancient ruin separated from the bank on which they sat only by a slender runnel, across which there lay, immediately over a miniature cascade, a few withered stalks of grass. "Overcome by the heat of the day, one of the young men fell asleep; his companion watched drowsily beside him; when all at once the watcher was aroused to attention by seeing a little indistinct form, scarce larger than a humble-bee, issue from the mouth of the sleeping man, and, leaping upon the moss, move downwards to the runnel, which it crossed along the withered grass stalks, and then disappeared among the interstices of the ruin. Alarmed by what he saw, the watcher hastily shook his companion by the shoulder, and awoke him; though, with all his haste, the little cloud-like creature, still more rapid in its movements, issued from the

Wiener Geogr. Gesellschaft, 1882, p. 209; Riedel, *Die Inseln zu Aruabarys rassen zwischen Salches en Papua*, p. 440; *id.*, "Die Landschaft Dawa oder West-Timor," *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, x. 280; A. C. Krijt, "Een en ander nangaande het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van den Poso-Alfoer," *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxxix. (1895), p. 4;

K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturwäldern Zentral-Brasiliens*, pp. 340, 310; L. F. Gowing, *Five Thousand Miles in a Sledge* (London, 1889), p. 226.

¹ Rev. Lorimer Fison, in a letter to the author dated August 26th, 1898.

² K. von den Steinen, *Unter den Naturwäldern Zentral-Brasiliens*, p. 340.

interstice into which it had gone, and, flying across the tunnel, instead of creeping over the grass stalks and over the sward, as before, it re-entered the mouth of the sleeper, just as he was in the act of awakening. 'What is the matter with you?' said the watcher, greatly alarmed, 'what ails you?' 'Nothing ails me,' replied the other; 'but you have robbed me of a most delightful dream. I dreamed I was walking through a fine rich country, and came at length to the shores of a noble river; and, just where the clear water went thundering down a precipice, there was a bridge all of silver, which I crossed; and then, entering a noble palace on the opposite side, I saw great heaps of gold and jewels; and I was just going to load myself with treasure, when you rudely awoke me, and I lost all.'¹

Still more dangerous is it in the opinion of primitive man to move a sleeper or alter his appearance, for if this were done the soul on its return might not be able to find or recognise its body, and so the person would die. The Minangkabauers of Sumatra deem it highly improper to blacken or dirty the face of a sleeper, lest the absent soul should shrink from re-entering a body thus disfigured.² In Bombay it is thought equivalent to murder to change the aspect of a sleeper, as by painting his face in fantastic colours or giving moustaches to a sleeping woman. For when the soul returns it will not know its own body and the person will die.³ The Servians believe that the soul of a sleeping witch often leaves her body in the form of a butterfly. If during its absence her body be turned round, so that her feet are placed where her head was before, the butterfly soul will not find its way back into her body through the mouth, and the witch will die.⁴ The Estonians of the island of Oesel think that the gusts which sweep up

¹ Hugh Miller, *My School and Schoolmaster* (Edinburgh, 1854), ch. vi. p. 106 sq.

² J. L. van der Toorn, "Het animisme bij den Minangkabauer der Padjangan Bovenlanden," *Bidrag tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 50.

³ *Pacific Notes and Queries*, III. p. 116, § 530.

⁴ Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 117 sq.; F. S. Krauss, *Volkslaube und religiöser Brauch der Südslaven*, p. 112. The latter writer tells us that the witch's spirit is also supposed to assume the form of a fly, a hen, a turkey, a crow, and especially a toad.

all kinds of trifles from the ground and whirl them along, are the souls of old women, who have gone out in this shape to seek what they can find. Meantime the beldame's body lies as still as a stone, and if you turn it round her soul will never be able to enter it again, until you have replaced the body in its original position. You can hear the soul whining and whimpering till it has found the right aperture.¹ Similarly in Livonia they think that when the soul of a were-wolf is out on his hateful business, his body lies like dead; and if meanwhile the body were accidentally moved, the soul would never more find its way into it, but would remain in the body of a wolf till death.² In the picturesque but little known Black Mountain of Southern France, which forms a sort of link between the Pyrenees and the Cevennes, they tell how a woman, who had long been suspected of being a witch, one day fell asleep at noon among the reapers in the field. Resolved to put her to the test, the reapers carried her, while she slept, to another part of the field, leaving a large pitcher on the spot from which they had moved her. When her soul returned, it entered the pitcher and cunningly rolled it over and over till the vessel lay beside her body, of which the soul thereupon took possession.³

But in order that a man's soul should quit his body, it is not necessary that he should be asleep. It may quit him in his waking hours, and then sickness, insanity, or death will be the result. Thus the Ilocanes of Luzon think that a man may lose his soul in the woods or gardens, and that he who has thus lost his soul loses also his senses. Hence before they quit the woods or the fields they call to their soul, "Let us go! let us go!" lest it should loiter behind or go astray. And when a man becomes crazed or mad, they take him to the place where he is supposed to have lost his soul and invite the truant spirit to return to his body.⁴ The

¹ Holzmayer, "Osiliana," *Verhandlungen der Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat*, vii. (1872), No. 2, p. 53.

² A. de Narn, *Costumes, Mythes et Traditions des Provinces de France*, p. 88.

³ P. Einhorn, "Wiederlegung der Abgötterei," etc., reprinted in *Scriptores Rerum Livonicarum*, ii. 445 (Riga and Leipzig, 1848).

⁴ De los Reyes y Florentino, "Die religiöse Anschauungen der Ilocanen (Luzon)," *Mittheilungen der k. k. Geograph. Gesellschaft in Wien*, xxi. (1888), p. 569 ff.

Mongols sometimes explain sickness by supposing that the patient's soul is absent, and either does not care to return to its body or cannot find the way back. To secure the return of the soul it is therefore necessary on the one hand to make its body as attractive as possible, and on the other hand to show the soul the way home. To make the body attractive all the sick man's best clothes and most valued possessions are placed beside him; he is washed, incensed, and made as comfortable as may be; and all his friends march thrice round the hut calling out the sick man's name and coaxing his soul to return. To help the soul to find its way back a coloured cord is stretched from the patient's head to the door of the hut. The priest in his robes reads a list of the horrors of hell and the dangers incurred by souls which wilfully absent themselves from their bodies. Then turning to the assembled friends and the patient he asks, "Is it come?" All answer "Yes," and bowing to the returning soul throw seed over the sick man. The cord which guided the soul back is then rolled up and placed round the patient's neck, who must wear it for seven days without taking it off. No one may frighten or hurt him, lest his soul, not yet familiar with its body, should again take flight.¹ Some of the Congo tribes believe that when a man is ill, his soul has left his body and is wandering at large. The aid of the sorcerer is then called in to capture the vagrant spirit and restore it to the invalid. Generally the physician declares that he has successfully chased the soul into the branch of a tree. The whole town thereupon turns out and accompanies the doctor to the tree, where the strongest men are deputed to break off the branch in which the soul of the sick man is supposed to be lodged. This they do and carry the branch back to the town, insinuating by their gestures that the burden is heavy and hard to bear. When the branch has been brought to the sick man's hut, he is placed in an upright position by its side, and the sorcerer performs the enchantments by which the soul is believed to be restored to its owner.² The soul or shade of a Déné or

¹ Bastian, *Die Seele und ihre Erscheinungen in der Ethnographie*, p. 36.

² H. Ward, *Five Years with the Congo Cannibals* (London, 1890), p. 53 ff.

Tinneh Indian in the old days generally remained invisible, but appeared wandering about in one form or another whenever disease or death was imminent. All the efforts of the sufferer's friends were therefore concentrated on catching the wandering shade. The method adopted was simple. They stuffed the patient's moccasins with down and hung them up. If next morning the down was warm, they made sure that the lost soul was in the boots, with which accordingly they carefully and silently shod their suffering friend. Nothing more could reasonably be demanded for a perfect cure.¹ Among the Dyaks of the Kajan and Lower Melawie districts you will often see, in houses where there are children, a basket of a peculiar shape with shells and dried fruits attached to it. These shells contain the remains of the children's navel-strings, and the basket to which they are fastened is commonly hung beside the place where the children sleep. When a child is frightened, for example by being bathed or by the bursting of a thunderstorm, its soul flees from its body and nestles beside its old familiar friend the navel-string in the basket, from which the mother easily induces it to return by shaking the basket and pressing it to the child's body.² In an Indian story a king conveys his soul into the dead body of a Brahman, and a hunchback conveys his soul into the deserted body of the king. The hunchback is now king and the king is a Brahman. However, the hunchback is induced to show his skill by transferring his soul to the dead body of a parrot, and the king seizes the opportunity to regain possession of his own body.³ In another Indian story a Brahman reanimates the dead body of a king by conveying his own soul into it. Meantime the Brahman's body has been burnt, and his soul is obliged to remain in the body of the king.⁴ Similarly the Greeks told how the soul of Hermotimus of

¹ A. G. Morice, "The Western Denis, their manners and customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute, Toronto*, Third Series, vii. (1888-1889), p. 158 sq.; id., *Sur pays du Pôur Noir, chez les Sauvages de la Colombie Britannique* (Paris and Lyons, 1897), p. 75.

² E. L. M. Kühr, "Schetsen uit Botned's Westenddeeling," *Bijdragen*

tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, xlvii. (1897), p. 62 sq.

³ *Pontichatantra*, Bentley, II. 124 sqq.

⁴ *Katha Sarit Sāgara*, translated by Tawney, I. 21 sq. For other Indian tales of the same general type, with variations in detail, see *Lectures éloquentes et curieuses*, III. 183 sq.; *North Indian Tales and Queries*, IV. p. 28, § 54.

Clazomenae used to quit his body and roam far and wide, bringing back intelligence of what he had seen on his rambles to his friends at home; until one day, when his spirit was abroad, his enemies contrived to seize his deserted body and committed it to the flames.¹ It is said that during the last seven years of his life Sultan Bayazid ate nothing that had life and blood in it. One day, being seized with a great longing for sheep's trotters, he struggled long in this glorious contest with his soul, until at last, a savoury dish of trotters being set before him, he said unto his soul, "My soul, the trotters are before thee; if thou wishest to enjoy them, leave the body and feed on them." Hardly had he uttered these words when a living creature was seen to issue from his mouth and drink of the juice in the dish, after which it endeavoured to return whence it came. But the austere sultan, determined to mortify his carnal appetite, prevented it with his hand from entering his mouth, and when it fell to the ground commanded that it should be beaten. The pages kicked it to death, and after this murder of his soul the sultan remained in gloomy seclusion, taking no part or interest in the affairs of government.²

The departure of the soul is not always voluntary. It may be extracted from the body against its will by ghosts, demons, or sorcerers. Hence, when a funeral is passing the house, the Karens of Burma tie their children with a special kind of string to a particular part of the house, in case the souls of the children should leave their bodies and go into the corpse which is passing. The children are kept tied in this way until the corpse is out of sight.³ And after the corpse has been laid in the grave, but before the earth has

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii. 174; Plutarch, *De genio Socratis*, 22; Lucian, *Musae Eccelesiam*, 7. Plutarch calls the man Hermodorus. Epimenides, the Cretan seer, had also the power of sending his soul out of his body and keeping it out as long as he pleased. See Hesychius Milesius, in *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. Müller, iv. 162; Seidler, s.v. 'Epimenides'.

² *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century by Evelyn Efeudt*, translated

from the Turkish by the Ritter Joseph von Hammer (Oriental Translation Fund), vol. i. pt. ii. p. 3. I have not seen this work. An extract from it, containing the above narrative, was kindly sent me by Colonel F. Tynel, and the exact title and reference were supplied to me by Mr. R. A. Nicholson, who was so good as to consult the book for me in the British Museum.

³ E. B. Cross, "On the Karens," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, iv. (1854), p. 311.

been filled in, the mourners and friends range themselves round the grave, each with a bamboo split lengthwise in one hand and a little stick in the other; each man thrusts his bamboo into the grave, and drawing the stick along the groove of the bamboo points out to his soul that in this way it may easily climb up out of the tomb. While the earth is being filled in, the bamboos are kept out of the way, lest the souls should be in them, and so should be inadvertently buried with the earth as it is being thrown into the grave; and when the people leave the spot they carry away the bamboos, begging their souls to come with them.¹ Further, on returning from the grave each Karen provides himself with three little hooks made of branches of trees, and calling his spirit to follow him, at short intervals, as he returns, he makes a motion as if hooking it, and then thrusts the hook into the ground. This is done to prevent the soul of the living from staying behind with the soul of the dead.² On the return of a Burmese or Shan family from a burial, old men tie up the wrists of each member of the family with string, to prevent his or her "butterfly" or soul from escaping; and this string remains till it is worn out and falls off.³ When a mother dies leaving a young baby, the Burmese think that the "butterfly" or soul of the baby follows that of the mother, and that if it is not recovered the child must die. So a wise woman is called in to get back the baby's soul. She places a mirror near the corpse, and on the mirror a piece of feathery cotton down. Holding a cloth in her open hands at the foot of the mirror, she with wild words entreats the mother not to take with her the "butterfly" or soul of her child, but to send it back. As the gossamer down slips from the face of the mirror she catches it in the cloth and tenderly places it on the baby's breast. The same ceremony is sometimes observed when one of two children that have played together dies, and is thought to be luring away the soul of its playmate to the spirit-land. It is sometimes performed also for a bereaved

¹ A. R. M'Donoh, *The Kireuts of the Golden Chersonese*, p. 318.

Society of Bengal, 1866, pt. ii. p. 28 n.

² F. Mason, "Physical Character of the Karens," *Journal of the Asiatic*

Society of Bengal, 1866, pt. ii. p. 28 n.
³ R. G. Woodthorpe, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvi. (1897), p. 23.

husband or wife.¹ Among some of the Dyak tribes of south-eastern Borneo, as soon as the coffin is carried to the place of burial, the house in which the death occurred is sprinkled with water, and the father of the family calls out the names of all his children and the other members of his household. For they think that the ghost loves to decoy away the souls of his kinsfolk, but that his designs upon them can be defeated by calling out their names, which has the effect of bringing back the souls to their owners. The same ceremony is repeated on the return from the burial.² It is a rule with the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia that a corpse must not be confined in the house, or the souls of the other inmates would enter the coffin, and they, too, would die. The body is taken out either through the roof or through a hole made in one of the walls, and is then confined outside the house.³ In the East Indian island of Keisar it is deemed imprudent to go near a grave at night, lest the ghosts should catch and keep the soul of the passer-by.⁴ The Kei Islanders believe that the spirits of their forefathers, angry at not receiving food, make people sick by detaining their souls. So they lay offerings of food on the grave and beg their ancestors to allow the soul of the sick to return or to drive it home speedily if it should be lingering by the way.⁵

In Bolang Mongondo, a district in the west of Celebes, all sickness is ascribed to the ancestral spirits who have carried off the patient's soul. The object therefore is to bring back the soul of the sufferer and restore it to him. An eye-witness has thus described the attempted cure of a sick boy. The priestesses, who acted as physicians, made a doll of cloth and fastened it to the point of a spear, which an old woman held upright. Round this doll the priestesses danced, uttering charms, and chirruping as when one calls

¹ C. J. S. F. Forbes, *British Burma*, p. 99 19. 1 Shway Yoe, *The Burmen*, ii. 102; Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, ii. 389.

² F. Grabowsky, in *Internationale Archiv für Ethnographie*, ii. (1889), p. 182.

³ F. L. Ross, in *Eleventh Report on*

the North-Western Tribes of Canada, p. 6 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1896*).

⁴ Riedel, *De sluis- en kroonharige razen tusschen Celebes en Papua*, p. 414.

⁵ Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 221 25.

a dog. Then the old woman lowered the point of the spear a little, so that the priestesses could reach the doll. By this time the soul of the sick boy was supposed to be in the doll, having been brought into it by the incantations. So the priestesses approached it cautiously on tiptoe and caught the soul in the many-coloured cloths which they had been waving in the air. Then they laid the soul on the boy's head, that is, they wrapped his head in the cloth in which the soul was supposed to be, and stood still for some moments with great gravity, holding their hands on the patient's head. Suddenly there was a jerk, the priestesses whispered and shook their heads, and the cloth was taken off—the soul had escaped. The priestesses gave chase to it, running round and round the house, clucking and gesticulating as if they were driving hens into a poultry-yard. At last they recaptured the soul at the foot of the stair and restored it to its owner as before.¹ Much in the same way an Australian medicine-man will sometimes bring the lost soul of a sick man into a puppet and restore it to the patient by pressing the puppet to his breast.² In Uea, one of the Loyalty Islands, the souls of the dead seem to have been credited with the power of stealing the souls of the living. For when a man was sick the soul-doctor would go with a large troop of men and women to the graveyard. Here the men played on flutes and the women whistled softly to lure the soul home. After this had gone on for some time they formed in procession and moved homewards, the flutes playing and the women whistling all the way, while they led back the wandering soul and drove it gently along with open palms. On entering the patient's dwelling they commanded the soul in a loud voice to enter his body.³ In Madagascar when a man was sick or lunatic in consequence of the loss of his soul, his friends dispatched a wizard in haste to fetch him a soul from the graveyard. The emissary repaired by night to the spot, and having made a hole in the wooden house which served as a tomb, begged the soul of the patient's father to bestow a soul on his son

¹ N. Ph. Wilken en J. A. Schwarz, "Het heidendom en de Islam in Bolaang Mongondou," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xi. (1867), p. 263 sq.

² James Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 57 sq.

³ W. W. Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 171 sq.

or daughter, who had none. So saying he applied a bonnet to the hole, then folded it up and rushed back to the house of the sufferer, saying he had a soul for him. With that he clapped the bonnet on the head of the invalid, who at once said he felt much better and had recovered the soul which he had lost.¹

When a Dyak or Malay of some of the western tribes or districts of Borneo is taken ill, with vomiting and profuse sweating as the only symptoms, he thinks that one of his deceased kinsfolk or ancestors is at the bottom of it. To discover which of them is the culprit, a wise man or woman pulls a lock of hair on the crown of the sufferer's head, calling out the names of all his dead relations. The name at which the lock gives forth a sound is the name of the guilty party. If the patient's hair is too short to be pulled with effect, he knocks his forehead seven times against the forehead of a kinsman who has long hair. The hair of the latter is then pulled instead of that of the patient and answers to the test quite as well. When the blame has thus been satisfactorily laid at the door of the ghost who is responsible for the sickness, the physician, who is generally an old woman, remonstrates with him on his ill behaviour. "Go back," says she, "to your grave; what do you come here for? The soul of the sick man does not choose to be called by you, and will remain yet a long time in its body." Then she puts some ashes from the hearth in a winnowing van and moulds out of them a small figure or image in human likeness. Seven times she moves the basket with the little ashen figure up and down before the patient, taking care not to obliterate the figure, while at the same time she says, "Sickness, settle in the head, belly, hands, etc.; then quickly pass into the corresponding part of the image," whereupon the patient spits on the ashen image and pushes it from him with his left hand. Next the beldame lights a candle and goes to the grave of the person whose ghost is doing all the mischief. On the grave she throws the figure of ashes, calling out, "Ghost, plague the sick man no longer, and stay in your grave, that he may see you no more." On her return she asks the anxious relations in the house, "Has

¹ De Flacourt, *Histoire de la grande Ile Madagascar* (Paris, 1658), p. 101 39.

his soul come back?" and they must answer quickly, "Yes, the soul of the sick man has come back." Then she stands beside the patient, blows out the candle which had lighted the returning soul on its way, and strews yellow-coloured rice on the head of the convalescent, saying, "Cluck, soul cluck, soul! cluck, soul!" Last of all she fastens on his right wrist a bracelet or ring which he must wear for three days.¹ In this case we see that the saving of the soul is combined with a vicarious sacrifice to the ghost, who receives a puppet on which to work his will instead of on the poor soul. In San Cristoval, one of the Melanesian islands, the vicarious sacrifice takes the form of a pig or a fish. A malignant ghost of the name of Tapia is supposed to have seized on the sick man's soul and tied it up to a banyan-tree. Accordingly a man who has influence with Tapia takes a pig or fish to the holy place where the ghost resides and offers it to him, saying, "This is for you to eat in place of that man; eat this, don't kill him." This satisfies the ghost; the soul is loosed from the tree and carried back to the sufferer, who naturally recovers.² In one of the New Hebrides a ghost will sometimes impound the souls of trespassers within a magic fence in his garden, and will only consent to pull up the fence and let the souls out on receiving an unqualified apology and a satisfactory assurance that no personal disrespect was intended.³ In Motlay, another Melanesian island, it is enough to call out the sick man's name in the sacred place where he rashly intruded, and then, when the cry of the kingfisher or some other bird is heard, to shout "Come back" to the soul of the sick man and run back with it to the house.⁴

It is a comparatively easy matter to save a soul which is merely tied up to a tree or detained as a vagrant in a pound; but it is a far harder task to fetch it up from the nether world, if it once gets down there. When a Buryat shaman is called in to attend a patient, the first thing he does is to ascertain where exactly the soul of the invalid

¹ E. L. M. Kühr, "Scheitern auf Borneo's Westküste," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlvii. (1897), p. 61 ff.

² R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 135 ff.

³ Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 208.

⁴ Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 146 ff.

is; for it may have strayed, or been stolen, or be languishing in the prison of the gloomy Erlik, lord of the world below. If it is anywhere in the neighbourhood, the shaman soon catches and replaces it in the patient's body. If it is far away, he searches the wide world till he finds it, ransacking the deep woods, the lonely steppes, and the bottom of the sea, not to be thrown off the scent even though the cunning soul runs to the sheep-walks in the hope that its footprints will be lost among the tracks of the sheep. But when the whole world has been searched in vain for the errant soul, the shaman knows that there is nothing for it but to go down to hell and seek the lost one among the spirits in prison. At the stern call of duty he does not shrink from the task, though he knows that the journey is toilsome, and that the travelling expenses, which are naturally defrayed by the patient, are very heavy. Sometimes the lord of the infernal regions will only agree to release the soul on condition of receiving another in its stead, and that one the soul of the sick man's dearest friend. If the patient consents to the substitution, the shaman turns himself into a hawk, pounces upon the soul of the friend as it soars from his slumbering body in the form of a lark, and hands over the fluttering, struggling thing to the grim warden of the dead, who thereupon sets the soul of the sick man at liberty. So the sick man recovers and his friend dies.¹ Among the Twana Indians of Washington Territory the descent of the medicine-men into the nether world to rescue lost souls is represented in pantomime before the eyes of the spectators, who include women and children as well as men. The surface of the ground is often broken to facilitate the descent of the rescue party. When the adventurous band is supposed to have reached the bottom, they journey along, cross at least one stream, and travel till they come to the abode of the spirits. These they surprise, and after a desperate struggle, sustained with great ardour and a prodigious noise, they succeed in rescuing the poor souls, and so, wrapping them up in cloth, they make the best of their way back to the upper world and restore the recovered souls to their

¹ V. M. Mikhalovskii, "Shamanism in Siberia and European Russia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895), p. 69 *ff.*

owners, who have been seen to cry heartily for joy at receiving them back.¹

Often the abduction of a man's soul is set down to demons. The Annamites believe that when a man meets a demon and speaks to him, the demon inhales the man's breath and soul.² Fits and convulsions are generally set down by the Chinese to the agency of certain mischievous spirits who love to draw men's souls out of their bodies. At Amoy the spirits who serve babies and children in this way rejoice in the high-sounding titles of "celestial agencies bestriding galloping horses" and "literary graduates residing halfway up in the sky." When an infant is writhing in convulsions, the frightened mother hastens to the roof of the house, and, waving about a bamboo pole to which one of the child's garments is attached, cries out several times, "My child So-and-so, come back, return home!" Meantime, another inmate of the house bangs away at a gong in the hope of attracting the attention of the strayed soul, which is supposed to recognise the familiar garment and to slip into it. The garment containing the soul is then placed on or beside the child, and if the child does not die recovery is sure to follow sooner or later.³ Similarly we saw that some Indians catch a man's lost soul in his boots and restore it to his body by putting his feet into them.⁴ When Galelarese mariners are sailing past certain rocks or come to a river where they never were before, they must wash their faces, for otherwise the spirits of the rocks or the river would snatch away their souls.⁵ When a Dyak is about to leave a forest through which he has been walking alone, he never forgets to ask the demons to give him back his soul, for it may be that some forest-devil has carried it off. For the abduction of a soul may take place without its owner being aware of his loss, and it may happen either while he is awake or

¹ Rev. Myron Eels, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1887*, pt. I, p. 677 ap.

² Landes, "Contes et légendes annamites," No. 76 in *Cochinchine Française: Excursions et Reconnaissances*, No. 23, p. 80.

³ J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious Systems of China*, I, 263 ap.

⁴ See above, p. 262.

⁵ M. J. van Haarlem, "Fabelen, Verhalen en Oordeelverdingen der Galelareesen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 509.

asleep.¹ The Papuans of Geelvink Bay in New Guinea are apt to think that the mists which sometimes hang about the tops of tall trees in their tropical forests envelop a spirit or god called Narbrooi, who draws away the breath or soul of those whom he loves, thus causing them to languish and die. Accordingly, when a man lies sick, a friend or relation will go to one of these mist-capped trees and endeavour to recover the lost soul. At the foot of the tree he makes a peculiar sound to attract the attention of the spirit, and lights a cigar. In its curling smoke his fancy discerns the fair and youthful form of Narbrooi himself, who, decked with flowers, appears and informs the anxious inquirer whether the soul of his sick friend is with him or not. If it is, the man asks, "Has he done any wrong?" "Oh no!" the spirit answers, "I love him, and therefore I have taken him to myself." So the man lays down an offering at the foot of the tree, and goes home with the soul of the sufferer in a straw bag. Arrived at the house, he empties the bag with its precious contents over the sick man's head, rubs his arms and hands with ginger-root, which he had first chewed small, and then ties a bandage round one of the patient's wrists. If the bandage bursts, it is a sign that Narbrooi has repented of his bargain, and is drawing away the sufferer once more to himself.² In the Moluccas when a man is unwell it is thought that some devil has carried away his soul to the tree, mountain, or hill where he (the devil) resides. A sorcerer having pointed out the devil's abode, the friends of the patient carry thither cooked rice, fruit, fish, raw eggs, a hen, a chicken, a silken robe, gold, armlets, and so forth. Having set out the food in order they pray, saying: "We come to offer to you, O devil, this offering of food, clothes, gold, and so on; take it and release the soul of the patient for whom we pray. Let it return to his body, and he who now is sick shall be made whole." Then they eat a little and let the hen loose as a ransom for the soul of the patient; also they put down the raw eggs; but the silken robe, the gold, and the armlets

¹ Perleer, *Ethnographische Beschrijving der Dajaks*, p. 26 sq.

² "Enige bijzonderheden betreffende

de Topoëen van de Geelvinkbaai van Nieuw-Guinea," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, II. (1854), p. 375 sq.

they take home with them. As soon as they are come to the house they place a flat bowl containing the offerings which have been brought back at the sick man's head, and say to him: "Now is your soul released, and you shall flourish well and live to gray hairs on the earth."¹ A more modern account from the same region describes how the friend of the patient, after depositing his offerings on the spot where the missing soul is supposed to be, calls out thrice the name of the sick person, adding, "Come with me, come with me." Then he returns, making a motion with a cloth as if he had caught the soul in it. He must not look to right or left or speak a word to any one he meets, but must go straight to the patient's house. At the door he stands, and calling out the sick person's name, asks whether he is returned. Being answered from within that he is returned, he enters and lays the cloth in which he has caught the soul on the patient's throat, saying, "Now you are returned to the house." Sometimes a substitute is provided; a doll, dressed up in gay clothing and tinsel, is offered to the demon in exchange for the patient's soul, with these words, "Give us back the ugly one which you have taken away and receive this pretty one instead."² Among the Alfours of Poso, in Central Celebes, a wooden puppet is offered to the demon as a substitute for the soul which he has abstracted, and the patient must touch the puppet in order to identify himself with it. The effigy is then hung on a bamboo pole, which is planted at the place of sacrifice outside of the house. Here too are deposited offerings of rice, an egg, a little wood (which is afterwards kindled), a sherd of a broken cooking-pot, and so forth. A long rattan extends from the place of sacrifice to the sufferer, who grasps one end of it firmly, for along it his lost soul will return when the devil has kindly released it. All being ready, the priestess informs the demon that he has come to the wrong place, and that there are no doubt much better quarters where he could reside. Then the father of the patient, standing beside the offerings, takes up his parable as follows:

¹ Fr. Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, iii. 13 19.

² Van Schmidt, "Aantekeningen oopens de zeden, gewoonten en geloven, benevens de vooroordeelen en bij-

gelovigheden der bevolking van de eilanden Saparoea, Haroekoe, Noessa-Laut, en van een gedeelte van de nabijheid van Ceram," in *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië*, 1843, dl. ii. 511 519.

"O demon, we forgot to sacrifice to you. You have visited us with this sickness; will you now go away from us to some other place? We have made ready provisions for you on the journey. See, here is a cooking-pot, here are rice, fire, and a fowl. O demon, go away from us." With that the priestess strews rice towards the bamboo-pole to lure back the wandering soul; and the fowl promised to the devil is thrown in the same direction, but is instantly jerked back again by a string which, in a spirit of intelligent economy, has been previously attached to its leg. The demon is now supposed to accept the puppet, which hangs from the pole, and to release the soul, which, sliding down the pole and along the rattan, returns to its proper owner. And lest the evil spirit should repent of the barter which has just been effected, all communication with him is broken off by cutting down the pole.¹ Similarly the Mongols make up a horse of birch-bark and a doll, and invite the demon to take the doll instead of the patient and to ride away on the horse.²

Demons are especially feared by persons who have just entered a new house. Hence at a house-warming among the Alfours of Minahassa in Celebes the priest performs a ceremony for the purpose of restoring their souls to the inmates. He hangs up a bag at the place of sacrifice and then goes through a list of the gods. There are so many of them that this takes him the whole night through without stopping. In the morning he offers the gods an egg and some rice. By this time the souls of the household are supposed to be gathered in the bag. So the priest takes the bag, and holding it on the head of the master of the house, says, "Here you have your soul; go (soul) to-morrow away

¹ A. C. Knyft, "Een en ander aangaande het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van den Poso-Alfoer," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxxix. (1895), pp. 5-8.

² Bastian, *Die Seele*, p. 36 sq.; J. G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien*, i. 356 sq. This mode of curing sickness, by inducing the demon to swap the soul of the patient for an effigy, is practised also by the Dyaks and by some tribes

on the northern coast of New Guinea. See H. Liug Roth, "Low's Natives of Borneo," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi. (1892), p. 117; E. L. M. Nijhr, "Scheisen uit Borneo's Westerafdeeling," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xlvii. (1897), p. 62 sq.; F. S. A. de Clercq, "De west- en Noordoost van Nederlandsch Nieuw-Guinea," *Tijdschrift van het kon. Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, x. (1893), p. 633 sq.

again." He then does the same, saying the same words, to the housewife and all the other members of the family.¹ Amongst the same Alfoors one way of recovering a sick man's soul is to let down a bowl by a belt out of a window and fish for the soul till it is caught in the bowl and hauled up.² Among the same people, when a priest is bringing back a sick man's soul which he has caught in a cloth, he is preceded by a girl holding the large leaf of a certain palm over his head as an umbrella to keep him and the soul from getting wet, in case it should rain; and he is followed by a man brandishing a sword to deter other souls from any attempt at rescuing the captured spirit.³

In Nias, when a man dreams that a pig is fastened under a neighbour's house, it is a sign that some one in that house will die. They think that the sun-god is drawing away the shadows or souls of that household from this world of shadows to his own bright world of radiant light, and a ceremony must needs be performed to win back these passing souls to earth. Accordingly, while it is still night, the priest begins to drum and pray, and he continues his orisons till about nine o'clock next morning. Then he takes his stand at an opening in the roof through which he can behold the sun, and spreading out a cloth waits till the beams of the morning sun fall full upon it. In the sunbeams he thinks the wandering souls have come back again; so he wraps the cloth up tightly, and quitting the opening in the roof, hastens with his precious charge to the expectant household. Before each member of it he stops, and dipping his fingers into the cloth takes out his or her soul and restores it to the owner by touching the person on the forehead.⁴ The Samoans tell how two young wizards, passing a house where a chief lay very sick, saw a company of gods from the mountain sitting in the doorway. They were handing from one to another the soul of the dying chief. It was

¹ P. N. Wilken, "Bijdragen tot de kennis van de zeden en gewoonten der Alfoeren in de Minahassa," *Misdaelangen van onze bij Nederlandische Zendingen*, vii. (1863), p. 146 sq.

Why the priest, after restoring the soul, tells it to go away again, is not clear.

² Riedel, "De Minahassa in 1825,"

Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde, xviii. 523.

³ N. Graafland, *De Minahassa*, i. 327 sq.

⁴ Fr. Kramer, "Der Götterdienst der Niaser," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde*, xxxiii. (1890), p. 490 sq.

wrapt in a leaf, and had been passed from the gods inside the house to those sitting in the doorway. One of the gods handed the soul to one of the wizards, taking him for a god in the dark, for it was night. Then all the gods rose up and went away; but the wizard kept the chief's soul. In the morning some women went with a present of fine mats to fetch a famous physician. The wizards were sitting on the shore as the women passed, and they said to the women, "Give us the mats and we will heal him." So they went to the chief's house. He was very ill, his jaw hung down, and his end seemed near. But the wizards undid the leaf and let the soul into him again, and forthwith he brightened up and lived.¹

The Battas of Sumatra believe that the soul of a living man may transmigrate into the body of an animal. Hence, for example, the doctor is sometimes desired to extract the patient's soul from the body of a fowl, in which it has been hidden away by an evil spirit.²

Sometimes the lost soul is brought back in a visible shape. In Melanesia a woman knowing that a neighbour was at the point of death heard a rustling in her house, as of a moth fluttering, just at the moment when a noise of weeping and lamentation told her that the soul was flown. She caught the fluttering thing between her hands and ran with it, crying out that she had caught the soul. But though she opened her hands above the mouth of the corpse, it did not revive.³ In Lepers' Island, one of the New Hebrides, for ten days after a birth the father is careful not to exert himself or the baby would suffer for it. If during this time he goes away to any distance, he will bring back with him on his return a little stone representing the infant's soul. Arrived at home he cries, "Come hither," and puts down the stone in the house. Then he waits till the child sneezes, at which he cries, "Here it is"; for now he knows that the little soul has not been lost after all.⁴ The Salish

¹ G. Turner, *Sumas*, p. 142 *sq.*

² J. B. Neumann, "Het Pans en Bils-voedselgedrag op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, dl. iii., Afdeling, meer uitgekeerde artikelen, No. 2 (1886),

p. 302.

³ Codrington, "Religious Beliefs and Practices in Melanesia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x. (1881), p. 281; *id.*, *The Melanesians*, p. 267.

⁴ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 229.

or Flathead Indians of Oregon believe that a man's soul may be separated for a time from his body without causing death and without the man being aware of his loss. It is necessary, however, that the lost soul should be soon found and restored to its owner or he will die. The name of the man who has lost his soul is revealed in a dream to the medicine-man, who hastens to inform the sufferer of his loss. Generally a number of men have sustained a like loss at the same time; all their names are revealed to the medicine-man, and all employ him to recover their souls. The whole night long these soulless men go about the village from lodge to lodge, dancing and singing. Towards daybreak they go into a separate lodge, which is closed up so as to be totally dark. A small hole is then made in the roof, through which the medicine-man, with a bunch of feathers, brushes in the souls, in the shape of bits of bone and the like, which he receives on a piece of matting. A fire is next kindled, by the light of which the medicine-man sorts out the souls. First he puts aside the souls of dead people, of which there are usually several; for if he were to give the soul of a dead person to a living man, the man would die instantly. Next he picks out the souls of all the persons present, and making them all to sit down before him, he takes the soul of each, in the shape of a splinter of bone, wood, or shell, and placing it on the owner's head, pats it with many prayers and contortions till it descends into the heart and so resumes its proper place.¹ In Amboyna the sorcerer, to recover a soul detained by demons, plucks a branch from a tree, and waving it to and fro as if to catch something, calls out the sick man's name. Returning he strikes the patient over the head and body with the branch, into which the lost soul is supposed to have passed, and from which it returns to the patient.² In

¹ Horatio Hale, *U.S. Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology*, p. 208 sq. Cp. Wilkes, *Narrative of the U.S. Exploring Expedition* (London, 1843), iv. 348 sq. Similar methods of recovering lost souls are practised by the Hailas, Nootkas, Sandwich, and other Indian tribes of British Columbia. See Fr. Boas, in *Fifth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 58 sq. (separate reprint

from the *Report of the British Association for 1889*); *id.*, in *Sixth Report*, etc., pp. 30, 44, 59 sq., 94 (separate reprint of the *Report of the Brit. Assoc. for 1890*); *id.*, in *Ninth Report*, etc., p. 462 (in *Report of the Brit. Assoc. for 1894*).

² Riedel, *Die dunkel- und lichtfarbigen Massen zwischen Selekes in Papua*, p. 77 sq.

the Babar Islands offerings for evil spirits are laid at the root of a great tree (*wakiorn*), from which a leaf is plucked and pressed on the patient's forehead and breast; the lost soul, which is in the leaf, is thus restored to its owner.¹ In some other islands of the same seas, when a man returns ill and speechless from the forest, it is inferred that the evil spirits which dwell in the great trees have caught and kept his soul. Offerings of food are therefore left under a tree and the soul is brought home in a piece of wax.² Amongst the Dyaks of Sarawak the priest conjures the lost soul into a cup, where it is seen by the uninitiated as a lock of hair, but by the initiated as a miniature human being. This the priest pokes back into the patient's body through an invisible hole in his skull.³ In Nias the sick man's soul is restored to him in the shape of a firefly, visible only to the sorcerer, who catches it in a cloth and places it on the forehead of the patient.⁴

Again, souls may be extracted from their bodies or detained on their wanderings not only by ghosts and demons but also by men, especially by sorcerers. In Fiji, if a criminal refused to confess, the chief sent for a scarf with which "to catch away the soul of the rogue." At the sight or even at the mention of the scarf the culprit generally made a clean breast. For if he did not, the scarf would be waved over his head till his soul was caught in it, when it would be carefully folded up and nailed to the end of a chief's canoe; and for want of his soul the criminal would pine and die.⁵ The sorcerers of Danger Island used to set snares for souls. The snares were made of stout cloth, about fifteen to thirty feet long, with loops on either side of different sizes, to suit the different sizes of souls; for fat souls there were large loops, for thin souls there were small ones. When a man was sick against whom the sorcerers had a grudge, they set

¹ Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 356 *q.*

² Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 376.

³ Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forest of the Far East*,² i. 189; H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 261. Sometimes the souls resemble cotton seeds (Spenser St. John, *loc. cit.* p. 183).

⁴ Nieuwenhuis en Rosenberg, "Verslag omtrent het Eiland Nias," *Verhandel. van het Batav. Genootsch. van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxx. 116; Rosenberg, *Der Javayische Archipel*, p. 174; E. Modigliani, *Viaggio a Nias* (Milan, 1890), p. 192.

⁵ Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i. 250.

up these soul-snare near his house and watched for the flight of his soul. If in the shape of a bird or an insect it was caught in the snare the man would infallibly die.¹ The Algonquin Indians also used nets to catch souls, but only as a measure of defence. They feared lest passing souls, which had just quitted the bodies of dying people, should enter their huts and carry off the souls of the inmates to deadland. So they spread nets about their houses to catch and entangle these ghostly intruders in the meshes.² Among the Sereres of Senegambia, when a man wishes to revenge himself on his enemy he goes to the *Fitaure* (chief and priest in one), and prevails on him by presents to conjure the soul of his enemy into a large jar of red earthenware, which is then deposited under a consecrated tree. The man whose soul is shut up in the jar soon dies.³ Some of the Congo negroes think that enchanters can get possession of human souls, and enclosing them in tusks of ivory, sell them to the white man, who makes them work for him in his country under the sea. It is believed that very many of the coast labourers are men thus obtained; so when these people go to trade they often look anxiously about for their dead relations. The man whose soul is thus sold into slavery will die "in due course, if not at the time."⁴ In some parts of West Africa, indeed, wizards are continually setting traps to catch souls that wander from their bodies in sleep; and when they have caught one, they tie it up over the fire, and as it shrivels in the heat the owner sickens. This is done, not out of any grudge towards the sufferer, but purely as a matter of business. The wizard does not care whose soul he has captured, and will readily restore it to its owner if he is only paid for doing so. Some sorcerers keep regular asylums for strayed souls, and anybody who has lost or mislaid his own soul can always have another one from the asylum on payment of the usual fee. No blame whatever attaches to men who keep these private asylums or set traps for passing souls; it is their profession, and in the exercise of it they are actuated by no harsh or

¹ Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 171; *Id.*, *Life in the Southern Isles*, p. 181 199.

² *Relations des Jésuites*, 1639, p. 44 (Canadian reprint).

³ L. J. E. Bèrenger-Féraud, *Les Peuplades de la Sénégambie* (Paris, 1879), p. 277.

⁴ W. H. Bentley, *Life in the Congo* (London, 1887), p. 71.

unkindly feelings. But there are also wretches who from pure spite or for the sake of lucre set and bait traps with the deliberate purpose of catching the soul of a particular man ; and in the bottom of the pot, hidden by the bait, are knives and sharp hooks which tear and rend the poor soul, either killing it outright or mauling it so as to impair the health of its owner when it succeeds in escaping and returning to him. Miss Kingsley knew a Krumen who became very anxious about his soul, because for several nights he had smelt in his dreams the savoury smell of smoked crawfish seasoned with red pepper. Clearly some ill-wisher had set a trap baited with this dainty for his dream-soul, intending to do him grievous bodily, or rather spiritual, harm ; and for the next few nights great pains were taken to keep his soul from straying abroad in his sleep. In the sweltering heat of the tropical night he lay sweating and snorting under a blanket, his nose and mouth tied up with a handkerchief to prevent the escape of his precious soul.¹

When Dyaks of the Upper Melawie are about to go out head-hunting they take the precaution of securing the souls of their enemies before they attempt to kill their bodies, calculating apparently that mere bodily death will soon follow the spiritual death, or capture, of the soul. With this intention they clear a small space in the underwood of the forest, and set up in the clearing one of those miniature houses in which it is customary to deposit the ashes of the dead. Food is placed in the little house, which, though raised on four posts, is connected with the ground by a tiny inverted ladder of the sort up which spirits are believed to swarm. When these preparations have been completed, the leader of the expedition comes and sits down a little way from the miniature house, and addressing the spirits of kinsmen who had the misfortune to be beheaded by their enemies, he says, "O ghosts of So-and-so, come speedily back to our village. We have rice in abundance. Our trees all bear ripe fruit. Our baskets are full to the brim. O ghosts, come swiftly back and forget not to bring your new friends and acquaintances with you." But by the new friends and acquaintances of the ghosts he means the souls of the

* ¹ Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 461 sq.

enemies against whom he is about to lead the expedition. Meantime the other warriors have hidden themselves close by behind trees and bushes, and are listening with all their ears. When the cry of an animal is heard in the forest, or a humming sound seems to issue from the little house, it is a sign that the ghosts of their friends have come, bringing with them the souls of their enemies, which are accordingly at their mercy. At that the lurking warriors leap forth from their ambush, and with brandished blades hew and slash at the souls of their foemen swarming unseen in the air. Taken completely by surprise, the panic-stricken souls flee in all directions, and are fain to hide under every leaf and stone on the ground. But even here their retreat is cut off. For now the leader of the expedition is hard at work, grubbing up with his hands every stone and leaf to right and left, and thrusting them with feverish haste into the basket, which he at once ties up securely. He now flatters himself that he has the souls of the enemy safe in his possession; and when in the course of the expedition the heads of the foe are severed from their bodies, he will pack them into the same basket in which their souls are already languishing in captivity.¹

In Hawaii there were sorcerers who caught souls of living people, shut them up in calabashes, and gave them to people to eat. By squeezing a captured soul in their hands they discovered the place where people had been secretly buried.² Amongst the Canadian Indians, when a wizard wished to kill a man, he sent out his familiar spirits, who brought him the victim's soul in the shape of a stone or the like. The wizard struck the soul with a sword or an axe till it bled profusely, and as it bled the man to whom it belonged fell ill and died.³ In Amboyna if a doctor is convinced that a patient's soul has been carried away by a demon beyond recovery, he

¹ E. L. M. Kühn, in *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, II. (1889), p. 163; *id.*, "Scheitern mit Borneo's Westküste," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, XLV. (1897), p. 59 sq. Some of the Dyaks of South-Eastern Borneo perform a ceremony for the purpose of extracting the souls from the bodies of

prisoners whom they are about to torture to death. See F. Grabowsky, "Der Tod, das Begräbnis, etc., bei den Dajaks," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, II. (1889), p. 109.

² Bastian, *Alters- aus Volks- und Mundartenkunde* (Berlin, 1888), I. 129.

³ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1637, p. 50 (Canadian reprint).

seeks to supply its place with a soul abstracted from another man. For this purpose he goes by night to a house and asks, "Who's there?" If an inmate is incautious enough to answer, the doctor takes up from before the door a clod of earth, into which the soul of the person who replied is thought to have passed. This clod the doctor lays under the sick man's pillow, and performs certain ceremonies by which the stolen soul is conveyed into the patient's body. Then as he goes home the doctor fires two shots to frighten the soul from returning to its proper owner.¹ A Karen wizard will catch the wandering soul of a sleeper and transfer it to the body of a dead man. The latter, therefore, comes to life as the former dies. But the friends of the sleeper in turn engage a wizard to steal the soul of another sleeper, who dies as the first sleeper comes to life. In this way an indefinite succession of deaths and resurrections is supposed to take place.²

Nowhere perhaps is the art of abducting human souls more carefully cultivated or carried to higher perfection than in the Malay Peninsula. Here the methods by which the wizard works his will are various, and so too are his motives. Sometimes he desires to destroy an enemy, sometimes to win the love of a cold or bashful beauty. Some of the charms operate entirely without contact; in others, the receptacle into which the soul is to be lured has formed part of, or at least touched, the person of the victim. Thus, to take an instance of the latter sort of charm, the following are the directions given for securing the soul of one whom you wish to render distraught. Take soil from the middle of his footprint; wrap it up in pieces of red, black, and yellow cloth, taking care to keep the yellow outside; and hang it from the centre of your mosquito curtain with parti-coloured thread. It will then become your victim's soul. To complete the spiritual transformation, however, it is needful to switch the packet with a birch composed of seven leaf-ribs from a "green" cocoa-nut. Do this seven times at sunset, at midnight, and at sunrise, saying, "It is not earth that I switch,

¹ Kinkel, *Die stiel- en kroesharige rassen zwischen Salween en Papua*, p. 72-3.

² E. B. Cross, "On the Karens," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, iv. (1834), p. 307.

but the heart of So-and-so." Then bury it in the middle of a path where your victim is sure to step over it, and he will unquestionably become distraught.¹ Another way is to scrape the wood of the floor where your intended victim has been sitting, mix the scrapings with earth from his or her footprint, and knead the whole with wax from a deserted bees' comb into a likeness of him or her. Then fumigate the figure with incense and beckon to the soul every night for three nights successively by waving a cloth, while you recite the appropriate spell.² In the following cases the charm takes effect without any contact whatever, whether direct or indirect, with the victim. When the moon, just risen, looks red above the eastern horizon, go out, and standing in the moonlight, with the big toe of your right foot on the big toe of your left, make a speaking-trumpet of your right hand and recite through it the following words:

"OM. I loose my shaft, I loose it and the moon clouds over,
I loose it, and the sun is extinguished,
I loose it, and the stars burn dim,
But it is not the sun, moon, and stars that I shoot at,
It is the stalk of the heart of that child of the congregation,
So-and-so,

Cluck ! cluck ! soul of So-and-so, come and walk with me,
Come and sit with me,
Come and sleep and share my pillow.
Cluck ! cluck ! soul."

Repeat this thrice and after every repetition blow through your hollow fist.³ Or you may catch the soul in your turban, thus. Go out on the night of the full moon and the two succeeding nights; sit down on an ant-hill facing the moon, burn incense, and recite the following incantation:

"I bring you a betel leaf to chew,
Dab the lime on to it, Prince Ferocious,
For Somebody, Prince Distraction's daughter, to chew.
Somebody at sunrise be distraught for love of me,
Somebody at sunset be distraught for love of me.
As you remember your parents, remember me;

¹ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 568
27.

² W. W. Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 569 *sq.*

³ W. W. Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 574 *sq.*

As you remember your house and house-ladder, remember me;
 When thunder rumbles, remember me;
 When wind whistles, remember me;
 When the heavens rain, remember me;
 When cocks crow, remember me;
 When the dial-bird tells its tales, remember me;
 When you look up at the sun, remember me;
 When you look up at the moon, remember me,
 For in that self-same moon I am there.
 Cluck! cluck! soul of Somebody come hither to me.
 I do not mean to let you have my soul,
 Let your soul come hither to mine."

Now wave the end of your turban towards the moon seven times each night. Go home and put it under your pillow, and if you want to wear it in the daytime, burn incense and say, "It is not a turban that I carry in my girdle, but the soul of Somebody."¹

✓ Perhaps the magical ceremonies just described may help to explain a curious rite, of immemorial antiquity, which was performed on a very solemn occasion at Athens. On the eve of the sailing of the fleet for Syracuse, when all hearts beat high with hope, and visions of empire dazzled all eyes, consternation suddenly fell on the people one May morning when they rose and found that most of the images of Hermes in the city had been mysteriously mutilated in the night. The impious perpetrators of the sacrilege were unknown, but whoever they were the priests and priestesses solemnly cursed them according to the ancient ritual, standing with their faces to the west and shaking red cloths up and down.² Perhaps in these cloths they were catching the souls of those at whom their curses were levelled, just as we have seen that Fijian chiefs used to catch the souls of criminals in scarves and nail them to canoes.³

The Indians of the Nass River, in British Columbia, are impressed with a belief that a physician may swallow his patient's soul by mistake. A doctor who is believed to have done so is made by the other doctors to stand over the patient, while one of them thrusts his fingers down the

¹ W. W. Skeat, *op. cit.* p. 376 *sq.*

² Lysias, *Or.* vi. 51, p. 51 ed. C. Scheibe. The passage was pointed out to me by my friend Mr. W. Wyse.

As to the mutilation of the Hermes, see Thucydides, vi. 27-29, 60 *sq.*; Antiochides, *Or.* i. 37 *sq.*; Plutarch, *Alcibiades*, 18. ³ Above, p. 277.

doctor's throat, another kneads him in the stomach with his knuckles, and a third slaps him on the back. If the soul is not in him after all, and if the same process has been repeated upon all the doctors without success, it is concluded that the soul must be in the head-doctor's box. A party of doctors, therefore, waits upon him at his house and requests him to produce his box. When he has done so and arranged its contents on a new mat, they take him and hold him up by the heels with his head in a hole in the floor. In this position they wash his head, and "any water remaining from the ablution is taken and poured upon the sick man's head."¹ Among the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia it is forbidden to pass behind the back of a shaman while he is eating, lest the shaman should inadvertently swallow the soul of the passer-by. When that happens, both the shaman and the person whose soul he has swallowed fall down in a swoon. Blood flows from the shaman's mouth, because the soul is too large for him and is tearing his inside. Then the clan of the person whose soul is doing this mischief must assemble and sing the song of the shaman. In time the suffering sorcerer vomits out the soul, which he exhibits in the shape of a small bloody ball in the open palms of his hands. He restores it to its owner, who is lying prostrate on a mat, by throwing it at him and then blowing on his head. The man whose soul was swallowed has very naturally to pay for the damage he did to the shaman as well as for his own cure.²

¹ J. B. McCullagh, in *The Church Missionary Observer*, xlv. No. 152 (August 1887), p. 91. The same account is copied from the "North Star" (Sitka, Alaska, December 1888), in *Journal of American Folklore*, ii. (1889), p. 74 *sq.* Mr. McCullagh's account (which is closely followed in the text) of the latter part of the custom is not quite clear. It would seem that failing to find the soul in the head-doctor's box it occurs to them that he may have swallowed it, as the other doctors were at first supposed to have done. With a view of testing this hypothesis they hold him up by the heels to empty out

the soul; and as the water with which his head is washed may possibly contain the missing soul, it is poured on the patient's head to restore the soul to him. We have already seen that the recovered soul is often conveyed into the sick person's head.

² Fr. Boas, in *Eleventh Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 571 (*Report of the British Association for 1896*). For other examples of the capture or recovery of lost, stolen, and strayed souls, in addition to those which have been cited in the preceding pages, see Kistler, "De Toqantannaso of our-sprink-dijke volkstammen van Central

But the spiritual dangers I have enumerated are not the only ones which beset the savage. Often he regards his shadow or reflection as his soul, or at all events as a vital part of himself, and as such it is necessarily a source of danger to him. For if it is trampled upon, struck, or stabbed, he will feel the injury as if it were done to his person; and if it is detached from him entirely (as he believes that it may be) he will die. In the island of Wetar there are magicians who can make a man ill by stabbing his shadow with a pike or hacking it with a sword.¹ After Sankara had destroyed the Buddhists in India, it is said that he journeyed to Nepaul, where he had some difference of opinion with the Grand Lama. To prove his supernatural powers, he soared into the air. But as he mounted up, the Grand Lama, perceiving his shadow swaying and wavering on the ground, struck his knife into it and down fell Sankara and broke his neck.² In the Babar Islands the

Selebes, "*Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xxxv. (1886), p. 93; Neumann, "*Het Paas en Bilastroom-gebed*," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, cl. iii., Afdeeling, meer uitgebreide artikelen, No. 2 (1886), p. 300 sq.; J. L. van der Toorn, "*Het animisme bei den Minangkabauer*," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 51 sq.; H. Ris, "*De onderafdeeling Klein Mandailing Oeloe en Pahantan*," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xlv. (1896), p. 529; H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 274; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 49-51, 452-453, 570 sq.; *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxiv. (1895), pp. 128, 287; Prichonki, "*Die Jakuten*," in Bastian's *Alten aus Volks- und Menschenkunde*, ii. 218 sq.; Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, ii. 388, iii. 236; *id.*, *Völkerstudien aus Brahmaputra*, p. 23; *id.*, "*Hügelstämme Assam's*," *Verhandlungen der Berlin. Gesell. für Anthropol. Ethnol. und Urgeschichte*, 1881, p. 156; Shwuy Yoc, *The Burman*, i. 283 sq., ii. 101 sq.;

Sprang, *Secrets and Studies of Savage Life*, p. 214; Duclittle, *Social Life of the Chinese*, p. 110 sq. (ed. Paxton Hood); T. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i. 242; E. B. Cross, "*On the Karens*," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, iv. (1884), p. 309 sq.; A. W. Howitz, "*On some Australian Beliefs*," in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xiii. (1884), p. 187 sq.; *id.*, "*On Australian Medicine Men*," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xvi. (1887), p. 41; E. P. Houghton, "*On the Land Dayaks of Upper Sarawak*," *Memoirs of the Anthropological Society of London*, iii. (1870), p. 196 sq.; L. Dähle, "*Sikidy and Vintana*," *Antropometrisch Annual and Madagascar Annual*, xi. (1887), p. 320 sq.; C. Leemius, *De Lappontische Pinnarchische corumque lingue, vita et religione pristina commentatio* (Copenhagen, 1767), p. 416 sq. My friend W. Robertson Smith suggested to me that the practice of hunting souls, which is denounced in Ezekiel xiii. 17 sqq., may have been akin to those described in the text.

¹ Riedel, *De stiek- en krankheiter rassen inischen Selebes en Papua*, p. 440.

² Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, x. 355.

demons get power over a man's soul by holding fast his shadow, or by striking and wounding it.¹ The natives of Nias tremble at the sight of a rainbow, because they think it is a net spread by a powerful spirit to catch their souls.² In the Banks Islands, Melanesia, there are certain stones of a remarkably long shape which go by the name *tamate gangan* or "eating ghosts," because certain powerful and dangerous ghosts are believed to lodge in them. If a man's shadow falls on one of these stones, the ghost will draw his soul out from him, so that he will die. Such stones, therefore, are set in a house to guard it; and a messenger sent to a house by the absent owner will call out the name of the sender, lest the watchful ghost in the stone should fancy that he came with evil intent and should do him a mischief.³ In Florida, one of the Solomon Islands, there are places sacred to ghosts, some in the village, some in the gardens, and some in the bush. No man would pass one of these places when the sun was so low as to cast his shadow into it, for then the ghost would draw it from him.⁴ The Indian tribes of the Lower Fraser River believe that man has four souls, of which the shadow is one, though not the principal, and that sickness is caused by the absence of one of the souls. Hence no one will let his shadow fall on a sick shaman, lest the latter should purloin it to replace his own lost soul.⁵ At a funeral in China, when the lid is about to be placed on the coffin, most of the bystanders, with the exception of the nearest kin, retire a few steps or even retreat to another room, for a person's health is believed to be endangered by allowing his shadow to be enclosed in a coffin. And when the coffin is about to be lowered into the grave most of the spectators recoil to a little distance lest their shadows should fall into the grave and harm should thus be done to their persons. The geomancer and his assistants stand on the side of the grave which is turned away from the sun; and the grave-diggers and coffin-bearers attach their shadows firmly to their persons by tying a strip of cloth tightly round

¹ Kiedel, *op. cit.* p. 340.

² E. Modigliani, *Viaggio a Nias*, p. 620, *op. cit.* p. 624.

³ Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 184.

⁴ Codrington, *op. cit.* p. 176.

⁵ Fr. Bois, in *Ninth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 451 *et seq.* (*Report of the British Association for 1894*).

their waists.¹ When members of some Victorian tribes were performing magical ceremonies for the purpose of bringing disease and misfortune on their enemies, they took care not to let their shadows fall on the object by which the evil influence was supposed to be wafted to the foe.² In Darfur people think that they can do an enemy to death by burying a certain root in the earth on the spot where the shadow of his head happens to fall. The man whose shadow is thus tampered with loses consciousness at once and will die if the proper antidote be not administered. In like manner they can paralyse any limb, as a hand or leg, by planting a particular root in the earth in the shadow of the limb they desire to maim.³ Nor is it human beings alone who are thus liable to be injured by means of their shadows. Animals are to some extent in the same predicament. A small snail, which frequents the neighbourhood of the limestone hills in Perak, is believed to suck the blood of cattle through their shadows; hence the beasts grow lean and sometimes die from loss of blood.⁴ The ancients believed that in Arabia, if a hyæna trod on a man's shadow, it deprived him of the power of speech and motion; and that if a dog, standing on a roof in the moonlight, cast a shadow on the ground and a hyæna trod on it, the dog would fall down as if dragged with a rope.⁵ Clearly in these cases the shadow, if not equivalent to the soul, is at least regarded as a living part of the man or the animal, so that injury done to the shadow is felt by the person or animal as if it were done to his body.

Conversely, if the shadow is a vital part of a man, it may under certain circumstances be as hazardous to come into contact with a person's shadow as it would be to come into contact with the person himself. In the Punjab

¹ J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious Systems of China*, I. 94, 210 sq.

² J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 54.

³ Mohammed Elu-Omar El-Tounsy, *Voyage au Darfour*, traduit de l'Arabe par le Dr. Perrot (Paris, 1845), p. 347.

⁴ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 306.

⁵ [Aristotle], *Mirab. Animal.*, 143

(157); *Geoponica*, xv. 1. In the latter passage, for *coræya isariæ* we must read *coræya alvæ*, an emendation necessitated by the context, and confirmed by the passage of Damiri quoted and translated by Richart, *Hieronymus*, I. col. 833, "*cum ad lucem calcat umbra[m] suam, et supra altum est, canis ad eam [scil. hyænam] decidit, et eo illius decorat.*" Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*,² p. 129.

some people believe that if the shadow of a pregnant woman fell on a snake, it would blind the creature instantly.¹ Hence the savage makes it a rule to shun the shadow of certain persons whom for various reasons he regards as sources of dangerous influence. Amongst the dangerous classes he commonly ranks mourners and women in general, but especially his mother-in-law. The Shushwap Indians of British Columbia think that the shadow of a mourner falling upon a person would make him sick.² Amongst the Kurnai tribe of Victoria novices at initiation were cautioned not to let a woman's shadow fall across them, as this would make them thin, lazy, and stupid.³ An Australian native is said to have once nearly died of fright because the shadow of his mother-in-law fell on his legs as he lay asleep under a tree.⁴ The awe and dread with which the untutored savage contemplates his mother-in-law are amongst the most familiar facts of anthropology. In New Britain the native imagination fails to conceive the extent and nature of the calamities which would result from a man's accidentally speaking to his wife's mother; suicide of one or both would probably be the only course open to them. The most solemn form of oath a New Briton can take is, "Sir, if I am not telling the truth, I hope I may shake hands with my mother-in-law."⁵ At Vanua Lava in the Banks' Islands, a man would not so much as follow his mother-in-law along the beach until the rising tide had washed out her footprints in the sand.⁶ In Uganda a man may not see his mother-in-law or speak to her face to face. If he wishes to hold any communication with her, it must be done by a third person, or through a wall or closed door. Were he to break this rule he would be sure to be seized with shaking of the

¹ *Punjab Notes and Queries*, i. p. 12, § 122.

² Fr. Hoas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, pp. 92, 94 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*); compare *ib.* in *Seventh Report*, etc., p. 13 (separate reprint from the *Rep. Brit. Assoc. for 1891*).

³ A. W. Howitt, "The Jeraail, or Initiation Ceremonies of the Kurnai

Tribe," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xlv. (1885), p. 316.

⁴ Miss Mary E. B. Howitt, *Folklore and Legends of some Victorian Tribes* (in manuscript).

⁵ H. H. Rensley and Rev. George Brown, in *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, N.S., ix. (1887), pp. 9, 17.

⁶ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 43.

hands and general debility.¹ To avoid meeting his mother-in-law face to face a very desperate Apache Indian, one of the bravest of the brave, has been seen to clamber along the brink of a precipice at the risk of his life, hanging on to rocks from which had he fallen he would have been dashed to pieces or at least have broken several of his limbs.²

Where the shadow is regarded as so intimately bound up with the life of the man that its loss entails debility or death, it is natural to expect that its diminution should be regarded with solicitude and apprehension, as betokening a corresponding decrease in the vital energy of its owner. An elegant Greek rhetorician has compared the man who lives only for fame to one who should set all his heart on his shadow, puffed up and boastful when it lengthened, sad and dejected when it shortened, wasting and pining away when it dwindled to nothing. The spirits of such an one, he goes on, would necessarily be volatile, since they must rise or fall with every passing hour of the day. In the morning, when the level sun, just risen above the eastern horizon, stretched out his shadow to enormous length, rivalling the shadows cast by the cypresses and the towers on the city wall, how blithe and exultant he would be, fancying that in stature he had become a match for the fabled giants of old; with what a lofty port he would then strut and show himself in the streets and the market-place and wherever men congregated, that he might be seen and admired of all. But as the day wore on, his countenance would change and he would slink back crestfallen to his house. At noon, when his once towering shadow had shrunk to his feet, he would shut himself up and refuse to stir abroad, ashamed to look his fellow-townsmen in the face; but in the afternoon his drooping spirits would revive, and as the day declined his joy and pride would swell again with the length of the evening shadows.³ The rhetorician who thus sought to expose the vanity of fame as an object of human ambition by likening it to an ever-changing shadow, little dreamed that in real life there were men who set almost as much store

¹ From a series of notes on the Waganda sent me by my friend the Rev. John Roscoe, missionary to Uganda.

² J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Crow*, p. 132.

³ Dio Chrysostom, *Or.* lxxvii. vol. ii. p. 230, ed. Dindorf.

by their shadows as the fool whom he had conjured up in his imagination to point a moral. So hard is it for the straining wings of fancy to outstrip the folly of mankind. In Amboyna and Uliase, two islands near the equator, where necessarily there is little or no shadow cast at noon, the people make it a rule not to go out of the house at mid-day, because they fancy that by doing so a man may lose the shadow of his soul.¹ The Mangaians tell of a mighty warrior, Tukaitawa, whose strength waxed and waned with the length of his shadow. In the morning, when his shadow fell longest, his strength was greatest; but as the shadow shortened towards noon his strength ebbed with it, till exactly at noon it reached its lowest point; then, as the shadow stretched out in the afternoon, his strength returned. A certain hero discovered the secret of Tukaitawa's strength and slew him at noon.² It is possible that even in lands outside the tropics the observation of the diminished shadow at noon may have contributed, even if it did not give rise, to the superstitious dread with which that hour has been viewed by many peoples, as by the Greeks, ancient and modern, the Bretons, the Russians, and the Roumanians of Transylvania.³ In this observation, too, we may perhaps detect the reason why noon was chosen by the Greeks as the hour for sacrificing to the shadowless dead.⁴ The loss of the shadow, real or apparent, has often been regarded as a cause or precursor of death. Whoever entered the sanctuary of Zeus on Mount Lycæus in Arcadia was believed to lose his shadow and to die within the year.⁵ In Lower Austria on the evening of St. Sylvester's day—the last day of the year—the company seated round the table mark whose shadow is not cast on the wall, and believe that the seemingly shadowless person will die next year.

¹ Riedel, *De stultis en broedharigezenen tusschen Solobas en Papua*, p. 61.

² Gill, *Myths and Songs of the South Pacific*, p. 284 sqq.

³ Theocritus, l. 15 sqq.; Philostatus, *Hersic*, l. 3; Porphyry, *De antro nympharum*, 26; Drexler, l. 2. "Meridians Caemon," in Roscher's *Lexikon der griech. und röm. Mythologie*, ii. 283: sqq.; Bernard Schmidt, *Das Volksthum der Neugriechen*, pp. 94 sqq., 119 sqq.;

Georgiakis et Pineau, *Folk-Says de Lesbos*, p. 342; De Nore, *Cantiques, mythes, et traditions des provinces de France*, p. 214 sq.; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,² ii. 972; Buchholz, *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch*, i. 62 sqq.; E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest*, i. 331.

⁴ Schol. on Aristophanes, *Ran.* 293.

⁵ Pausanias, viii. 38. 6; Ptolemy, *Geog.* xvi. 12. 7; Plutarch, *Quest. Graec.* 39.

Similar presages are drawn in Germany both on St. Sylvester's day and on Christmas Eve.¹ The Galelareese fancy that if a child resembles his father, they will not both live long; for the child has taken away his father's likeness or shadow, and consequently the father must soon die.²

Nowhere, perhaps, does the equivalence of the shadow to the life or soul come out more clearly than in some customs practised to this day in South-Eastern Europe. In modern Greece, when the foundation of a new building is being laid, it is the custom to kill a cock, a ram, or a lamb, and to let its blood flow on the foundation-stone, under which the animal is afterwards buried. The object of the sacrifice is to give strength and stability to the building. But sometimes, instead of killing an animal, the builder entices a man to the foundation-stone, secretly measures his body, or a part of it, or his shadow, and buries the measure under the foundation-stone; or he lays the foundation-stone upon the man's shadow. It is believed that the man will die within the year.³ In the island of Lesbos it is deemed enough if the builder merely casts a stone at the shadow of a passer-by; the man whose shadow is thus struck will die, but the building will be solid.⁴ A Bulgarian mason measures the shadow of a man with a string, places the string in a box, and then builds the box into the wall of the edifice. Within forty days thereafter the man whose shadow was measured will be dead and his soul will be in the box beside the string; but often it will come forth and appear in its former shape to persons who were born on a Saturday. If a Bulgarian builder cannot obtain a human shadow for this purpose, he will content himself with measuring the shadow of the first animal that comes that way.⁵ The Roumanians of Transylvania think that he whose shadow is

¹ Th. Vernaleken, *Mythen und Bräuche des Volkes in Oesterreich*, p. 341; Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Das festliche Jahr*, p. 401; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*, § 314.

² M. J. van Burda, "Fabeln, Verhalen en Overleveringen der Galelareesen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land-en Volkenkunde van Nederland* -

Indië, xlv. (1895), p. 459.

³ B. Schmidt, *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen*, p. 196 *sq.*

⁴ Georgiades et Pissas, *Folk-lore de Lesbos*, p. 346 *sq.*

⁵ A. Strauss, *Die Bulgaren* (Leipzig, 1898), p. 199; Ralsion, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 127.

thus immured will die within forty days; so persons passing by a building which is in course of erection may hear a warning cry, "Beware lest they take thy shadow!" Not long ago there were still shadow-traders whose business it was to provide architects with the shadows necessary for securing their walls.¹ In these cases the measure of the shadow is looked on as equivalent to the shadow itself, and to bury it is to bury the life or soul of the man, who, deprived of it, must die. Thus the custom is a substitute for the old practice of immuring a living person in the walls, or crushing him under the foundation-stone of a new building, in order to give strength and durability to the structure.²

As some peoples believe a man's soul to be in his shadow, so other (or the same) peoples believe it to be in his reflection in water or a mirror. Thus "the Andamanese do not regard their shadows but their reflections (in any mirror) as their souls."³ According to one account, some of the Fijians thought that man has two souls, a light one and a dark one; the dark one goes to Hades, the light one is his reflection in water or a mirror.⁴ When the Motumotu of New Guinea first saw their likenesses in a looking-glass they thought that their reflections were their souls.⁵ The reflection-soul, being external to the man, is exposed to much the same dangers as the shadow-soul. Among the

¹ W. Schmidt, *Das Jahr und seine Tage in Meinung und Brauch der Romanen Seelenbürger*, p. 271; E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest*, li. 17 sq. Compare F. S. Krauss, *Volkskunde und religiöser Brauch der Seelenbürger*, p. 161.

² As to this custom, see E. B. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,² i. 104 sqq.; F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde*, pp. 284-296; F. S. Krauss, "Der Banoplei bei den Südländern," *Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xvii. (1887), pp. 16-24; P. Sarton, "Ueber das Banoplei," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xxx. (1898), pp. 1-54.

³ E. H. Mann, *Aboriginal Inhabitant of the Andaman Islands*, p. 94.

⁴ Williams, *Fiji*, i. 241. However, Mr. Lorimer Fison writes to me that

this reported belief in a bright soul and a dark soul "is one of Williams' absurdities. I inquired into it on the island where he was, and found that there was no such belief. He took the word for 'shadow,' which is a reduplication of *yalo*, the word for soul, as meaning the dark soul. But *yalo-yalo* does not mean the soul at all. It is not part of a man as his soul is. This is made certain by the fact that it does not take the possessive suffix *yalo-na* = his soul; but *nana yalo-yalo* = his shadow. This settles the question beyond dispute. If *yalo-yalo* were any kind of soul, the possessive form would be *yalo-yalo-na*" (letter dated August 26th, 1898).

⁵ James Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea* (London, 1887), p. 170.

Galelareese, half-grown lads and girls may not look at themselves in a mirror; for they say that the mirror takes away their bloom and leaves them ugly.¹ And as the shadow may be stabbed, so may the reflection. Hence an Aztec mode of keeping sorcerers from the house was to leave a vessel of water with a knife in it behind the door. When a sorcerer entered he was so much alarmed at seeing his reflection in the water transfixed by a knife that he turned and fled.² The Zulus will not look into a dark pool because they think there is a beast in it which will take away their reflections, so that they die.³ The Basutos say that crocodiles have the power of thus killing a man by dragging his reflection under water.⁴ In Saddle Island, Melanesia, there is a pool "into which if any one looks he dies; the malignant spirit takes hold upon his life by means of his reflection on the water."⁵

We can now understand why it was a maxim both in ancient India and ancient Greece not to look at one's reflection in water, and why the Greeks regarded it as an omen of death if a man dreamed of seeing himself so reflected.⁶ They feared that the water-spirits would drag the person's reflection or soul under water, leaving him soulless to die. This was probably the origin of the classical story of the beautiful Narcissus, who languished and died in consequence of seeing his reflection in the water. The explanation that he died for love of his own fair image was probably devised later, after the old meaning of the story was forgotten. The same ancient belief lingers, in a faded form, in the English superstition that whoever sees a water-fairy must pine and die.

¹ M. J. van Baarsda, "Fabelen, Verhalen en Overleveringen der Galelareezen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandisch-Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 462.

² Sahagún, *Historia General de los cosas de la Nueva-España* (Paris, 1880), p. 314. The Chinese hang brass mirrors over the idols in their houses, because it is thought that evil spirits entering the house and seeing themselves in the mirrors will be scared away (*China Review*, ii. 164).

³ Callaway, *Nursery Tales, Traditions, and Histories of the Zulus*, p. 342.

⁴ Arboissat et Damas, *Voyage d'exploration au Nord-est de la Colonie du Cap de Bonne-Espérance*, p. 12.

⁵ Codrington, "Religious Beliefs and Practices in Melanesia," *Journal of Anthrop. Inst.* x. (1881), p. 313; *id.*, *The Melanesians*, p. 186.

⁶ *Fragmenta Philosoph. Græc.* ed. Mollach, i. 510; Antimachus, *Oniocr.* ii. 7; *Levi of Maron*, iv. 38.

" Alas, the moon should ever beam
To show what man should never see !—
I saw a maiden on a stream,
And fair was she !

" I staid to watch, a little space,
Her parted lips if she would sing ;
The waters closed above her face
With many a ring.

" I know my life will fade away,
I know that I must vainly pine,
For I am made of mortal clay,
But she's divine !"

Further, we can now explain the widespread custom of covering up mirrors or turning them to the wall after a death has taken place in the house. It is feared that the soul, projected out of the person in the shape of his reflection in the mirror, may be carried off by the ghost of the departed, which is commonly supposed to linger about the house till the burial. The custom is thus exactly parallel to the Aru custom of not sleeping in a house after a death for fear that the soul, projected out of the body in a dream, may meet the ghost and be carried off by it.¹ In Oldenburg it is thought that if a person sees his image in a mirror after a death he will die himself. So all the mirrors in the house are covered up with white cloth.² In some parts of Germany and Belgium after a death not only the mirrors but everything that shines or glitters (windows, clocks, etc.) is covered up,³ doubtless because they might reflect a person's image. The same custom of covering up mirrors or turning them to the wall after a death prevails in England, Scotland, and Madagascar.⁴ The Suni Mohammedans of Bombay cover with a cloth the mirror in the room of a dying man and do not remove it until the corpse is carried out for burial. They also cover the looking-glasses in their bedrooms before retiring to rest at

¹ See above, p. 256.

² Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*,² p. 429 sq., § 726.

³ Wuttke, *loc. cit.*; E. Monseur, *Le Folklore Wallon*, p. 40.

⁴ *Folk-lore Journal*, III. 281; Dyer, *English Folk-lore*, p. 109; J. Napier, *Folk-lore, or Superstitious Beliefs in the West of Scotland*, p. 60; W. Ellis, *History of Madagascar*, I. 238; *Revue d'Ethnographie*, v. 215.

night.¹ The reason why sick people should not see themselves in a mirror, and why the mirror in a sick-room is therefore covered up,² is also plain; in time of sickness, then the soul might take flight so easily, it is particularly dangerous to project the soul out of the body by means of the reflection in a mirror. The rule is therefore precisely parallel to the rule observed by some peoples of not allowing sick people to sleep;³ for in sleep the soul is projected out of the body, and there is always a risk that it may not return. "In the opinion of the Raskolniks a mirror is an accursed thing, invented by the devil,"⁴ perhaps on account of the mirror's supposed power of drawing out the soul in the reflection and so facilitating its capture.

As with shadows and reflections, so with portraits; they are often believed to contain the soul of the person portrayed. People who hold this belief are naturally loth to have their likenesses taken; for if the portrait is the soul, or at least a vital part of the person portrayed, whoever possesses the portrait will be able to exercise a fatal influence over the original of it. Mortal terror was depicted on the faces of the Battas upon whom von Bremer turned the lens of his camera; they thought he wished to carry off their shadows or spirits in a little box.⁵ The Canelos Indians of South America think that their soul is carried away in their picture. Two of them having been photographed were so alarmed that they came back next day on purpose to ask if it were really true that their souls had been taken away.⁶

¹ *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 169, § 906.

² *Großmann, Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, p. 151, § 1097; *Folklore Journal*, vi. (1888), p. 145 39.; *Punjab Notes and Queries*, ii. p. 61, § 378.

³ J. G. Frazer, "On certain burial customs as illustrative of the primitive theory of the soul," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xv. (1886), p. 82 39. Among the heathen Aztecs, when a man had been stung by a scorpion, he was kept from sleeping for seven days, during which he had to wear a woman's bracelets and earrings (*Resolución, Adición a la Historia de Tlaxcala ante la Independencia*, p. 65, compare p. 69). The old

Mexican custom of masking and veiling the images of the gods so long as the king was sick (Brasseur de Bourbourg, *Histoire des nations civilisées du Mexique et de l'Amérique-Centrale*, iii. 571 39.) may perhaps have been intended to prevent the images from drawing away the king's soul.

⁴ *Raskin, Songs of the Russian People*, p. 117. The objection, however, may be merely Puritanical. W. Robertson Smith informed me that the peculiarities of the Raskolniks are largely due to exaggerated Puritanism.

⁵ Von Bremer, *Reise bei den Kambalen-Siamen* (Würzburg, 1894), p. 195.

⁶ A. Samson, "Notes on the Jivaro

When Joseph Thomson attempted to photograph some of the Wa-teita in Eastern Africa, they imagined that he was a magician trying to obtain possession of their souls, and that if he got their likenesses they themselves would be entire¹ at his mercy.¹ An Indian, whose portrait the Prince Wied wished to get, refused to let himself be drawn, because he believed it would cause his death.² The Mandans also thought that they would soon die if their portrait was in the hands of another; they wished at least to have the artist's picture as a kind of hostage or guarantee.³ The Dakotas hold that every man has several *wanagi* or "apparitions," of which after death one remains at the grave, while another goes to the place of the departed. For many years no Yankton Dakota would consent to have his picture taken lest one of his "apparitions" should remain after death in the picture instead of going to the spirit-land.⁴ The Araucanians of Chile are unwilling to have their portraits drawn, for they believe that he who has their portraits in his possession could, by means of magic, injure or destroy themselves.⁵ Until the reign of the present King of Siam no Siamese coins were ever stamped with the image of the king, "for at that time there was a strong prejudice against the making of portraits in any medium. Europeans who travel into the jungle have, even at the present time, only to point a camera at a crowd in order to procure its instant dispersion. When a copy of the face of a person is made and taken away from him, a portion of his life goes with the picture. Unless the sovereign had been blessed with the years of a Methusaleh he could scarcely have permitted his life to be distributed in small pieces together with the coins of the realm."⁶ When Dr. Catal and some companions were exploring the Bara

and Canelos Indians," *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* ix. (1880), p. 392. Similar notions are entertained by the Aymara Indians of Bolivia and Peru (L. Forbes, in *Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, li. (1879), p. 236).

¹ J. Thomson, *Through African Land*, p. 86.

² Maximilian Prinz zu Wied, *Reise in das Innere Nord-Amerika*, i. 417.

³ *Ibid.* li. 166.

⁴ J. Owen Dorsey, "A Study of Siouan Cults," *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 484.

⁵ E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians* (London, 1855), p. 222.

⁶ E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe* (Westminster, 1898), p. 140.

country on the west coast of Madagascar the people suddenly became hostile. The day before the travellers, not without difficulty, had photographed the royal family, and now found themselves accused of taking the souls of the natives for the purpose of selling them when they returned to France. Denial was vain; in compliance with the custom of the country they were obliged to catch the souls, which were then put into a basket and ordered by Dr. Catat to return to their respective owners.¹ The same belief still lingers in various parts of Europe. Not very many years ago some old women in the Greek island of Carpathus were very angry at having their likenesses drawn, thinking that in consequence they would pine and die.² It is a German superstition that if you have your portrait painted, you will die.³ Some people in Russia object to having their silhouettes taken, fearing that if this is done they will die before the year is out.⁴ An artist once vainly attempted to sketch a gypsy girl. "I won't have her drawed out," said the girl's aunt. "I told her I'd make her scrawl the earth before me, if ever she let herself be drawed out again." "Why, what harm can there be?" "I know there's a fix (a charm) in it. There was my youngest, that the gorja drawed out on Newmarket Heath, she never held her head up after, but wasted away, and died, and she's buried in March churchyard."⁵ There are persons in the West of Scotland "who refuse to have their likenesses taken lest it prove unlucky; and give as instances the cases of several of their friends who never had a day's health after being photographed."⁶

§ 3. Royal and Priestly Taboos (continued)

So much for the primitive conceptions of the soul and the dangers to which it is exposed. These conceptions are

¹ E. Clodd, in *Folk-lore*, vi. (1895), p. 73 sq., referring to *The Times*, 24th March 1891.

² "A far-off Greek Island," *Blackwood's Magazine*, February 1886, p. 235.

³ J. A. E. Köhler, *Völkervend*, etc., in *Volgkunde*, p. 473.

⁴ Balson, *Songs of the Russian People*, p. 117.

⁵ P. H. Groome, in *Gipsy Tents* (Edinburgh, 1880), p. 317 sq.

⁶ James Napier, *Folk-lore, or Superstitious Beliefs in the West of Scotland*, p. 141. For more examples of the same sort, see R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Neue Folge (Leipzig, 1889), p. 18 sqq.

not limited to one people or country; with variations of detail they are found all over the world, and survive, as we have seen, in modern Europe. Beliefs so deep-seated and so widespread must necessarily have contributed to shape the mould in which the early kingship was cast. For if every person was at such pains to save his own soul from the perils which threatened it from so many sides, how much more carefully must *he* have been guarded upon whose life hung the welfare and even the existence of the whole people, and whom therefore it was the common interest of all to preserve? Therefore we should expect to find the king's life protected by a system of precautions or safeguards still more numerous and minute than those which in primitive society every man adopts for the safety of his own soul. Now in point of fact the life of the early kings is regulated, as we have seen and shall see more fully presently, by a very exact code of rules. May we not then conjecture that these rules are in fact the very safeguards which we should expect to find adopted for the protection of the king's life? An examination of the rules themselves confirms this conjecture. For from this it appears that some of the rules observed by the kings are identical with those observed by private persons out of regard for the safety of their souls; and even of those which seem peculiar to the king, many, if not all, are most readily explained on the hypothesis that they are nothing but safeguards or lifeguards of the king. I will now enumerate some of these royal rules or taboos, offering on each of them such comments and explanations as may serve to set the original intention of the rule in its proper light.

As the object of the royal taboos is to isolate the king from all sources of danger, their general effect is to compel him to live in a state of seclusion, more or less complete, according to the number and stringency of the rules he observes. Now of all sources of danger none are more dreaded by the savage than magic and witchcraft, and he suspects all strangers of practising these black arts. To guard against the baneful influence exerted voluntarily or involuntarily by strangers is therefore an elementary dictate

of savage prudence. Hence before strangers are allowed to enter a district, or at least before they are permitted to mingle freely with the inhabitants, certain ceremonies are often performed by the natives of the country for the purpose of disarming the strangers of their magical powers, of counteracting the baneful influence which is believed to emanate from them, or of disinfecting, so to speak, the tainted atmosphere by which they are supposed to be surrounded. Thus in the island of Nanumea (South Pacific) strangers from ships or from other islands were not allowed to communicate with the people until they all, or a few as representatives of the rest, had been taken to each of the four temples in the island, and prayers offered that the god would avert any disease or treachery which these strangers might have brought with them. Meat offerings were also laid upon the altars, accompanied by songs and dances in honour of the god. While these ceremonies were going on, all the people except the priests and their attendants kept out of sight.¹ On returning from an attempted ascent of the great African mountain Kilimanjaro, which is believed by the neighbouring tribes to be tenanted by dangerous demons, Mr. New and his party, as soon as they reached the border of the inhabited country, were disenchanted by the inhabitants, being sprinkled with "a professionally prepared liquor, supposed to possess the potency of neutralising evil influences, and removing the spell of wicked spirits."² In the interior of Yoruba (West Africa) the sentinels at the gates of towns often oblige European travellers to wait till nightfall before they admit them, the fear being that if the strangers were admitted by day the devils would enter behind them.³ Amongst the Ot Danoms of Borneo it is the custom that strangers entering the territory should pay to the natives a certain sum, which is spent in the sacrifice of animals (buffaloes or pigs) to the spirits of the land and water, in order to reconcile them to the presence of the strangers, and to induce them not to

¹ Turner, *Savase*, p. 297-9.

² Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*, p. 432. Cp. *ibid.* pp. 400, 403. For the demons on Mt. Kilimanjaro, see also

Krapf, *Travels, Researches, etc., in Eastern Africa*, p. 192.

³ Pierre Bouche, *La Côte du Esclavier et le Dahomey* (Paris, 1885), p. 133.

withdraw their favour from the people of the land, but to bless the rice-harvest, etc.¹ The men of a certain district in Borneo, fearing to look upon a European traveller lest he should make them ill, warned their wives and children not to go near him. These who could not restrain their curiosity killed fowls to appease the evil spirits and smeared themselves with the blood.² In Laos, before a stranger can be accorded hospitality, the master of the house must offer sacrifice to the ancestral spirits; otherwise the spirits would be offended and would send disease on the inmates.³ In the Mentawej Islands, when a stranger enters a house where there are children, the father or other member of the family takes the ornament which the children wear in their hair and hands it to the stranger, who holds it in his hands for a while and then gives it back to him. This is thought to protect the children from the evil effect which the sight of a stranger might have upon them.⁴ When a Dutch steamship was approaching their villages, the people of Biak, an island off the north coast of New Guinea, shook and knocked their idols about in order to ward off ill-luck.⁵ At Shepherd's Isle Captain Moresby had to be disenchanted before he was allowed to land his boat's crew. When he leaped ashore a devil-man seized his right hand and waved a bunch of palm leaves over the captain's head. Then "he placed the leaves in my left hand, putting a small green twig into his mouth, still holding me fast, and then, as if with great effort, drew the twig from his mouth—this was extracting the evil spirit—after which he blew violently, as if to speed it away. I now held a twig between my teeth, and he went through the same process." Then the two raced round a couple of sticks fixed in the ground and bent to an angle at the top, which had leaves tied to it. After some more ceremonies the devil-man concluded by leaping to the level of Captain Moresby's shoulders (his hands resting on the captain's shoulders) several times, "as if to show that he had

¹ C. A. L. M. Schwann, *Borneo* (Amsterdam, 1853-54), II. 77.

² *Ibid.* II. 157.

³ E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos* (Saigon, 1885), p. 196.

⁴ Rosenberg, *Der Malayische Archi-*

pel (Leipzig, 1878), p. 198.

⁵ D. W. Horst, "Rapport van een reis naar de Noordkust van Nieuw-Guinea," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxxii. (1889), p. 229.

conquered the devil, and was now trampling him into the earth."¹ North American Indians "have an idea that strangers, particularly white strangers, are oftentimes accompanied by evil spirits. Of these they have great dread, as creating and delighting in mischief. One of the duties of the medicine chief is to exorcise these spirits. I have sometimes ridden into or through a camp where I was unknown or unexpected, to be confronted by a tall, half-naked savage, standing in the middle of the circle of lodges, and yelling in a sing-song, nasal tone, a string of unintelligible words."²

When Crevaux was travelling in South America he entered a village of the Apalai Indians. A few moments after his arrival some of the Indians brought him a number of large black ants, of a species whose bite is painful, fastened on palm leaves. Then all the people of the village, without distinction of age or sex, presented themselves to him, and he had to sting them all with the ants on their faces, thighs, and other parts of their bodies. Sometimes when he applied the ants too tenderly they called out

"More! more!" and were not satisfied till their skin was thickly studded with tiny swellings like what might have been produced by whipping them with nettles.³ The object of this ceremony is made plain by the custom observed in Amboyna and Uliase of sprinkling sick people with pungent spices, such as ginger and cloves, chewed fine, in order by the prickling sensation to drive away the demon of disease which may be clinging to their persons.⁴ In Java a popular cure for gout or rheumatism is to rub Spanish pepper into the nails of the fingers and toes of the sufferer; the pungency of the pepper is supposed to be too much for the gout or rheumatism, who accordingly departs in haste.⁵ So on the Slave Coast of Africa the mother of a sick child sometimes believes that an evil spirit has taken possession of the child's body, and in order to drive him out, she makes small

¹ Capt. John Moresby, *Discoveries and Surveys in New Guinea* (London, 1876), p. 102 19.

² R. I. Dodge, *Our Wild Indians* (Hartford, Conn., 1886), p. 119.

³ J. Crevaux, *Voyages dans l'Amérique du Sud*, p. 300.

⁴ Riedel, *De sticht- en kroscharige razen tuschen Seber en Papua*, p. 78.

⁵ J. Kromer, "Hoe de Javanen zijne ziekten verzoegt," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxxvi. (1892), p. 13.

cuts in the body of the little sufferer and inserts green peppers or spices in the wounds, believing that she will thereby hurt the evil spirit and force him to be gone. The poor child naturally screams with pain, but the mother hardens her heart in the belief that the demon is suffering equally.¹ In Hawaii a patient is sometimes pricked with bamboo needles for the sake of hurting and expelling a refractory demon who is lurking in the sufferer's body and making him ill.² Dyak sorceresses in South-Eastern Borneo will sometimes slash the body of a sick man with sharp knives in order, it is said, to allow the demon of disease to escape through the cuts;³ but perhaps the notion rather is to make the present quarters of the spirit too hot for him. With a similar intention some of the natives of Borneo and Celebes sprinkle rice upon the head or body of a person supposed to be infested by dangerous spirits; a fowl is then brought, which, by picking up the rice from the person's head or body, removes along with it the spirit or ghost which is clinging like a burr to his skin. This is done, for example, to persons who have attended a funeral, and who may therefore be supposed to be infested by the ghost of the deceased.⁴ Similarly Basutos, who have carried a corpse to the grave, have their hands scratched with a knife from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the forefinger, and magic stuff is rubbed into the wound,⁵ for the purpose, no doubt, of removing the ghost which may be adhering to their skin. Among the Barotse of South-Eastern Africa a few days after a funeral the sorcerer makes an incision in the forehead of each surviving member of the family and fills it with medicine, "in order to ward off contagion and the effect of the sorcery which caused the death."⁶ When elephant hunters in East Africa have killed an elephant they get

¹ A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast* (London, 1894), p. 113 sq.

² A. Bastian, *Amerikanische Völkerverwandtschaften* (Berlin, 1888), I. 116.

³ J. B. de Collone, "Iets over de gewoonten en ziekten der Daijkers ter Zuid Oostkust van Borneo," *Tijdschrift voor Netherlandsche Indië*, 1840, dl. I. p. 418.

⁴ Parejan, *Ethnographische Beschrijving der Daijkers*, pp. 44, 54, 252; Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid Celebes* (The Hague, 1875), p. 40.

⁵ H. Grützmacher, "Ueber die Gebräuche der Basuto," in *Verhandl. d. Berl. Gesell. für Anthropologie*, etc. 1877, p. 84 sq.

⁶ L. Decle, *Three years in Savage Africa* (London, 1898), p. 81.

upon its carcass, make little cuts in their toes, and rub gun-powder into the cuts. This is done with the double intention of counteracting any evil influence that may emanate from the dead elephant, and of acquiring thereby the fleetness of foot possessed by the animal in its life.¹ The people of Nias carefully scrub and scour the weapons and clothes which they buy, in order to efface all connection between the things and the persons from whom they bought them.²

It is probable that the same dread of strangers, rather than any desire to do them honour, is the motive of certain ceremonies which are sometimes observed at their reception, but of which the intention is not directly stated. In the Ongtong Java Islands, which are inhabited by Polynesians, and lie a little to the north of the Solomon Islands, the priests or sorcerers seem to wield great influence. Their main business is to summon or exorcise spirits for the purpose of averting or dispelling sickness, and of procuring favourable winds, a good catch of fish, and so on. When strangers land on the islands, they are first of all received by the sorcerers, sprinkled with water, anointed with oil, and girt with dried pandanus leaves. At the same time sand and water are freely thrown about in all directions, and the newcomer and his boat are wiped with green leaves. After this ceremony the strangers are introduced by the sorcerers to the chief.³ In Afghanistan and in some parts of Persia the traveller, before he enters a village, is frequently received with a sacrifice of animal life or food, or of fire and incense. The Afghan Boundary Mission, in passing by villages in Afghanistan, was often met with fire and incense.⁴ Sometimes a tray of lighted embers is thrown under the hoofs of the traveller's horse, with the words, "You are welcome."⁵ On entering a village in Central Africa Emin Pasha was received with the sacrifice of two goats; their

¹ P. Reichard, *Deutsch-Ostafrika* (Leipzig, 1892), p. 431.

² Nicewenhuizen en Rosenberg, "Verslag omtrent het eiland Nias," in *Verhandl. v. d. Batav. Genootsch. v. Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxx. 26.

³ R. Parkinson, "Zur Ethnographie

der Ongtong Java- und Tasman-Inseln," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, x. (1897), p. 112.

⁴ *Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, i. 35.

⁵ E. O'Donovan, *The Moro Cases* (London, 1882), ii. 58.

blood was sprinkled on the path and the chief stepped over the blood to greet Emin.¹ Amongst the Esquimaux of Cumberland Inlet, when a stranger arrives at an encampment, the sorcerer goes out to meet him. The stranger folds his arms and inclines his head to one side, so as to expose his cheek, upon which the magician deals a terrible blow, sometimes felling him to the ground. Next the sorcerer in his turn presents his cheek and receives a buffet from the stranger. Then they kiss each other, the ceremony is over, and the stranger is hospitably received by all.² Sometimes the dread of strangers and their magic is too great to allow of their reception on any terms. Thus when Speke arrived at a certain village, the natives shut their doors against him, "because they had never before seen a white man nor the tin boxes that the men were carrying: 'Who knows,' they said, 'but that these very boxes are the plundering Watuta transformed and come to kill us? You cannot be admitted.' No persuasion could avail with them, and the party had to proceed to the next village."³

The fear thus entertained of alien visitors is often mutual. Entering a strange land the savage feels that he is treading enchanted ground, and he takes steps to guard against the demons that haunt it and the magical arts of its inhabitants. Thus on going to a strange land the Maoris performed certain ceremonies to make it *noa* (common), lest it might have been previously *tapu* (sacred).⁴ When Baron Miklucho-Maclay was approaching a village on the Maclay Coast of New Guinea, one of the natives who accompanied him broke a branch from a tree and going aside whispered to it for a while; then stepping up to each member of the party, one after another, he spat something upon his back and gave him some blows with the branch. Lastly, he went into the forest and buried the branch under withered leaves in the thickest part of the jungle. This ceremony was believed to

¹ *Emin Pasha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals* (London, 1888), p. 107.

² *Narrative of the Second Arctic Expedition made by Charles F. Hall*, edited by Prof. J. G. Nourse, U.S.N. (Washington, 1879), p. 269, note. Compare Fr. Boas, "The Central

Esquimo," *Sixth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1888), p. 609.

³ J. A. Grant, *A Walk across Africa*, p. 104 *sq.*

⁴ E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders* (London, 1856), p. 103.

protect the party against all treachery and danger in the village they were approaching.¹ The idea probably was that the malignant influences were drawn off from the heansons into the branch and buried with it in the depths of the forest. Before Stuhlmann and his companions entered the territory of the Wanyamwesi in Central Africa, one of his men killed a white cock and buried it in a pot just at the boundary.² In Australia, when a strange tribe has been invited into a district and is approaching the encampment of the tribe which owns the land, "the strangers carry lighted bark or burning sticks in their hands, for the purpose, they say, of clearing and purifying the air."³ So when two Greek armies were advancing to the onset, sacred men used to march in front of each, bearing lighted torches, which they flung into the space between the hosts and then retired unmolested.⁴ When a Spartan king was about to go forth to war, he sacrificed to Zeus, and if the omens were favourable an official called a Fire-bearer took fire from the altar and carried it before the army to the frontier. There the king again sacrificed, and if the omens were again favourable, he crossed the border, and the fire continued to be borne in front of him and might not be quenched.⁵ Amongst the Ovambo of South-Western Africa in time of war the chief names a general who leads the army to battle. Next to the general the highest place in the army is occupied by the *omunene u shikumi*, that is, "the owner of the firewood," who carries a burning brand before the army on the march. If the brand goes out, it is an evil omen, and the army at once returns.⁶ In these cases the fire borne at the head of the army may have been intended to dissipate the evil influences, whether magical or spiritual, with which the air of the enemy's country might be conceived to teem.

¹ N. von Mildtusho-Macloy, "Ethnologische Bemerkungen über die Papuas der Macloy-Küste in Neu-Guinea," *Naturkundig. Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxvi, 317 sq.

² Fr. Stuhlmann, *Mit Kaiser Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), p. 94.

³ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, I, 134.

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⁴ Schliesser on Euripides, *Phaeniss*, 1377. These men were sacral to the war-god Ares, and were always spared in battle.

⁵ Xenophon, *Respubl. Lacadaem.*, xiii, 2 sq.; Nicolaus Damascus, quoted by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xlv, 41 (vol. II, p. 188, ed. Meineke).

⁶ H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 320.

Again, it is thought that a man who has been on a journey may have contracted some magic evil from the strangers with whom he has been brought into contact. Hence, on returning home, before he is readmitted to the society of his tribe and friends, he has to undergo certain purificatory ceremonies. Thus the Bechuanas "cleanse or purify themselves after journeys by shaving their heads, etc., lest they should have contracted from strangers some evil by witchcraft or sorcery."¹ In some parts of Western Africa when a man returns home after a long absence, before he is allowed to visit his wife, he must wash his person with a particular fluid, and receive from the sorcerer a certain mark on his forehead, in order to counteract any magic spell which a stranger woman may have cast on him in his absence, and which might be communicated through him to the women of his village.² Every year about one-third of the men of the Wanyamwesi tribe make journeys to the east coast of Africa either as porters or as traffickers. Before he sets out, the husband smears his cheeks with a sort of meal-porridge, and during his absence his wife must eat no fles and must keep for him the sediment of the porridge in the pot. On their return from the coast the men sprinkle meal every day on all the paths leading to the camp, for the purpose, it is supposed, of keeping evil spirits off; and when they reach their homes the men again smear porridge on their faces, while the women who have stayed at home strew ashes on their heads.³ A story is told of a Navajo Indian who, after long wanderings, returned to his own people. When he came within sight of his house, his people made him stop and told him not to approach nearer till they had summoned a shaman. When the shaman was come "ceremonies were performed over the returned wanderer, and he was washed from head to foot, and dried with corn-meal; for thus do the Navajo treat all who return to their homes from captivity with another tribe, in order that all alien substances and influences may be removed from them.

¹ John Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, being a Narrative of a Second Journey in the Interior of that Country* (London, 1822), II. 205.

² Ladislaus Magyar, *Reisen in Süd-*

Afrika (Buda-Pest and Leipzig, 1859), p. 203.

³ Fr. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika* (Berlin, 1894), 178-89.

When he had been thus purified he entered the house, and his people embraced him and wept over him."¹ Two Hindoo ambassadors, who had been sent to England by a native prince and had returned to India, were considered to have so polluted themselves by contact with strangers that nothing but being born again could restore them to purity. "For the purpose of regeneration it is directed to make an image of pure gold of the female power of nature, in the shape either of a woman or of a cow. In this statue the person to be regenerated is enclosed, and dragged through the usual channel. As a statue of pure gold and of proper dimensions would be too expensive, it is sufficient to make an image of the sacred *Voni*, through which the person to be regenerated is to pass." Such an image of pure gold was made at the prince's command, and his ambassadors were born again by being dragged through it.² When Damaras return home after a long absence, they are given a small portion of the fat of particular animals which is supposed to possess certain virtues.³ In some of the Moluccas, when a brother or young blood-relation returns from a long journey, a young girl awaits him at the door with a *caladi* leaf in her hand and water in the leaf. She throws the water over his face and bids him welcome.⁴ The natives of Savage Island (South Pacific) invariably killed, not only all strangers in distress who were drifted to their shores, but also any of their own people who had gone away in a ship and returned home. This was done out of dread of disease. Long after they began to venture out to ships they would not immediately use the things they obtained from them, but hung them up in quarantine for weeks in the bush.⁵

When precautions like these are taken on behalf of the people in general against the malignant influence supposed to be exercised by strangers, we shall not be surprised to find that special measures are adopted to protect the king

¹ Washington Matthews, "The Mountain Giant: a Navajo Centenary," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), p. 410.

² *Asiatic Researches*, vi. 535 sq. ed. 4to (p. 537 sq. ed. 8vo).

³ C. J. Anderson, *Laba Ngani*,² (London, 1856), p. 223.

⁴ François Valentyn, *Oud en nieuw Oost-Indiën*, iii. 16.

⁵ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 305 sq.

from the same insidious danger. In the middle ages the envoys who visited a Tartar Khan were obliged to pass between two fires before they were admitted to his presence, and the gifts they brought were also carried between the fires. The reason assigned for the custom was that the fire purged away any magic influence which the strangers might mean to exercise over the Khan.¹ When subject chiefs come with their retinues to visit Kalamba (the most powerful chief of the Bashilange in the Congo Basin) for the first time or after being rebellious, they have to bathe, men and women together, in two brooks on two successive days, passing the nights under the open sky in the market-place. After the second bath they proceed, entirely naked, to the house of Kalamba, who makes a long white mark on the breast and forehead of each of them. Then they return to the market-place and dress, after which they undergo the pepper ordeal. Pepper is dropped into the eyes of each of them, and while this is being done the sufferer has to make a confession of all his sins, to answer all questions that may be put to him, and to take certain vows. This ends the ceremony, and the strangers are now free to take up their quarters in the town for as long as they choose to remain.² At Kilema, in Eastern Africa, when a stranger arrives, a medicine is made out of a certain plant or a tree fetched from a distance, mixed with the blood of a sheep or goat. With this mixture the stranger is besmeared or besprinkled before he is admitted to the presence of the king.³ The King of Monomotapa, in South-East Africa, might not wear any foreign stuffs for fear of their being poisoned.⁴ The King of Cacongo, in West Africa, might not possess or even touch European goods, except metals, arms, and articles made of wood and ivory. Persons wearing foreign stuffs were very careful to keep at a distance from his person, lest

¹ De Piano Carpini, *Historia Mongolorum quos nos Tartaros appellamus*, ed. D'Avezac (Paris, 1838), cap. iii. § iii. p. 627, cap. vi. § i. 2. p. 744, and Appendix, p. 775: "Travels of William de Rubriques into Tartary and China," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vii. 82 29.

² Paul Pogge, "Bericht über die

Scalton Mukenge," *Mittheilungen der Afrikanischen Gesellschaft in Deutschland*, iv. (1883-1885), p. 182 29.

³ J. L. Kumpf, *Travels, Researches, and Missionary Labours during an Eighteen Year Residence in Eastern Africa*, p. 252 29.

⁴ Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 391.

they should touch him.¹ The King of Loango might not look upon the house of a white man.² We have already seen how the native King of Fernando Po dwells secluded from all contact with the whites in the depths of an extinct volcano, shunning the very sight of a pale face, which, in the belief of his subjects, would be instantly fatal to him.³ In a wild mountainous district of Java, to the south of Bantam, there exists a small aboriginal race who have been described as a living antiquity. These are the Baduwis, who about the year 1443 fled from Bantam to escape conversion to Islam, and in their mountain fastnesses, holding aloof from their neighbours, still cleave to the quaint and primitive ways of their heathen forefathers. Their villages are perched in spots which deep ravines, lofty precipices, raging torrents, and impenetrable forests combine to render almost inaccessible. Their hereditary ruler bears the title of Girang-Pu-un and unites in his hands the temporal and spiritual power. He must never quit the capital, and none even of his subjects who live outside the town are ever allowed to see him. Were an alien to set foot in his dwelling, the place would be desecrated and abandoned. In former times the representatives of the Dutch Government and the Regent of Java once paid a visit to the capital of the Baduwis. That very night all the people fled the place and never returned.⁴

In the opinion of savages the acts of eating and drinking are attended with special danger; for at these times the soul may escape from the mouth, or be extracted by the magic arts of an enemy present. Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast "the common belief seems to be that the indwelling spirit leaves the body and returns to it through the mouth; hence, should it have gone out, it behoves a man to be careful about opening his mouth, lest a homeless spirit should take advantage of the opportunity and enter his

¹ Proyar, "History of Loango, Kakongo," etc., in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 583; Dapper, *op. cit.* p. 540; J. Ogilby, *Africa* (London, 1670), p. 521. Cp. Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango Küste*, i. 288.

² Bastian, *op. cit.* i. 268 sq.

³ See above, p. 238 ff.

⁴ L. von Ende, "Die Baduwis auf Java," *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xix. (1889), pp. 7-10. As to the Baduwis (Badocjs), see also G. A. Wilken, *Handreiking voor de vergoelyende Volkskunde van Nederlandisch-Indië* (Leyden, 1893), pp. 640-643.

body. This, it appears, is considered most likely to take place while the man is eating."¹ Precautions are therefore taken to guard against these dangers. Thus of the Baṭṭas of Sumatra it is said that "since the soul can leave the body they always take care to prevent their soul from straying on occasions when they have most need of it. But it is only possible to prevent the soul from straying when one is in the house. At feasts one may find the whole house shut up, in order that the soul (*tondi*) may stay and enjoy the good things set before it."² The Zafimanelo in Madagascar lock their doors when they eat, and hardly any one ever sees them eating.³ In Shoa, one of the southern provinces of Abyssinia, the doors of the house are scrupulously barred at meals to exclude the evil eye, and a fire is invariably lighted, else devils would enter and there would be no blessing on the meat.⁴ The Warua will not allow any one to see them eating and drinking, being doubly particular that no person of the opposite sex shall see them doing so. "I had to pay a man to let me see him drink; I could not make a man let a woman see him drink." When offered a drink of *pombe* they often ask that a cloth may be held up to hide them whilst drinking. Further, each man and woman must cook for themselves; each person must have his own fire.⁵ In Fiji persons who suspected others of plotting against them avoided eating in their presence, or were careful to leave no fragment of food behind.⁶

If these are the ordinary precautions taken by common people, the precautions taken by kings are extraordinary. The King of Loango may not be seen eating or drinking by man or beast under pain of death. A favourite dog having broken into the room where the king was dining, the king ordered it to be killed on the spot. Once the king's

¹ A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 107.

² J. H. Neumann, "Het Pane en Billa-Stroomgebied op het eiland Sumatra," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, dl. iii. (1886), Afdeeling, meer uitgebreide artikelen, No. 2, p. 300.

³ J. Richardson, "Tunala Customs, Superstitions and Beliefs," *The An-*

themsarive Annual and Madagascar Magazine, No. II, p. 219.

⁴ W. Cornwallis Harris, *The High-lands of Aethiopia*, iii. 171 sq.

⁵ Lieut. Cameron, *Across Africa*, ii. 71 (ed. 1877); *id.*, in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* vi. (1877), p. 173.

⁶ Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i. 249.

own son, a boy of twelve years old, inadvertently saw the king drink. Immediately the king ordered him to be finely apparelled and feasted, after which he commanded him to the cut in quarters, and carried about the city with a proclamation that he had seen the king drink. "When the king has a mind to drink, he has a cup of wine brought; he that brings it has a bell in his hand, and as soon as he has delivered the cup to the king he turns his face from him and rings the bell, on which all present fall down with their faces to the ground, and continue so till the king has drank." "His eating is much in the same style, for which he has a house on purpose, where his victuals are set upon a bensa or table: which he goes to and shuts the door: when he has done, he knocks and comes out. So that none ever see the king eat or drink. For it is believed that if any one should, the king shall immediately die." The remnants of his food are buried, doubtless to prevent them from falling into the hands of sorcerers, who by means of these fragments might cast a fatal spell over the monarch.¹ The rules observed by the neighbouring King of Caongo were similar; it was thought that the king would die if any of his subjects were to see him drink.² It is a capital offence to see the King of Dahomey at his meals. When he drinks in public, as he does on extraordinary occasions, he hides himself behind a curtain, or handkerchiefs are held up round his head, and all the people throw themselves with their faces to the earth.³ Any one who saw the Muata Jamwo (a great potentate in the Congo Basin) eating or drinking would certainly be put to death.⁴ Among the Monbutto of Central Africa the king invariably takes his meals in private; no one may see the contents of his dish, and all that he leaves is carefully thrown into a pit set apart for that purpose. Everything that the king has handled is held sacred and

¹ "Adventures of Andrew Battel," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 330; Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 330; Basilio, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 262 ff.; R. F. Burton, *Absoluta and the Cameroons Mountains*, i. 147.

² Poyart's "History of Loango,

Kaongo," etc., in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 584.

³ J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 202; John Duncan, *Travels in Western Africa*, i. 222. Cp. W. W. Reade, *Sanaye Africa*, p. 543.

⁴ Paul Pagge, *Im Reich der Muata Jamwa* (Berlin, 1880), p. 231.

may not be touched.¹ The King of Susa, a region to the south of Abyssinia, presides daily at the feast in the long banqueting-hall, but is hidden from the gaze of his subjects by a curtain.² Among the Ewe-speaking peoples of the Slave Coast the person of the king is sacred, and if he drinks in public every one must turn away the head so as not to see him, while some of the women of the court hold up a cloth before him as a screen. He never eats in public, and the people pretend to believe that he neither eats nor sleeps. It is criminal to say the contrary.³ When the King of Tonga ate, all the people turned their backs to him.⁴ In the palace of the Persian kings there were two dining-rooms opposite each other; in one of them the king dined, in the other his guests. He could see them through a curtain on the door, but they could not see him. Generally the king took his meals alone; but sometimes his wife or some of his sons dined with him.⁵

In these cases, however, the intention may perhaps be to hinder evil influences from entering the body rather than to prevent the escape of the soul. To the former rather than to the latter motive is to be ascribed the custom observed by some African sultans of veiling their faces. The Sultan of Darfur wraps up his face with a piece of white muslin, which goes round his head several times, covering his mouth and nose first, and then his forehead, so that only his eyes are visible. The same custom of veiling the face as a mark of sovereignty is said to be observed in other parts of Central Africa.⁶ The Sultan of Wadai always speaks from behind a curtain; no one sees his face except

¹ G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, li. 45 (third edition, London, 1878); G. Casati, *Ten Years in Equatoria* (London and New York, 1891), l. 177.

² W. Cornwallis Harris, *The Highlands of Ashiopia*, iii. 78.

³ A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 162 *sq.*

⁴ Capt. James Cook, *Voyages*, v. 374 (ed. 1809).

⁵ Heraclides Comanes, in Athenæus, iv. p. 145 B-D. On the other hand, in Kafa no one, not even the king, may

eat except in the presence of a legal witness. A slave is appointed to witness the king's meals, and his office is esteemed honourable. See Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographia Nordost-Afrikas: die geistige Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Samir* (Berlin, 1896), p. 228 *sq.*

⁶ Mohammed Ibn-Omar el Toumy, *Voyage au Darfour* (Paris, 1845), p. 203; *Travels of an Arab Merchant* [Mohammed Ibn-Omar el Toumy] in *Newden*, abridged from the French (of Persico) by Bayle St. John, p. 91 *sq.*

his intimates and a few favoured persons.¹ The King of Jebu, on the Slave Coast of West Africa, is surrounded by a great deal of mystery. Until lately his face might not be seen even by his own subjects, and if circumstances compelled him to communicate with them he did so through a screen which concealed him from view. Now, though his face may be seen, it is customary to hide his body; and at audiences a cloth is held before him so as to conceal him from the neck downwards, and it is raised so as to cover him altogether whenever he coughs, sneezes, spits, or takes snuff. His face is partially hidden by a conical cap with hanging strings of beads.² Amongst the Touaregs of the Sahara all the men (but not the women) keep the lower part of their face, especially the mouth, veiled constantly; the veil is never put off, not even in eating or sleeping.³ In Samoa a man whose family god was the turtle might not eat a turtle, and if he helped a neighbour to cut up and cook one he had to wear a bandage tied over his mouth lest an embryo turtle should slip down his throat, grow up, and be his death.⁴ In West Timor a speaker holds his right hand before his mouth in speaking lest a demon should enter his body, and lest the person with whom he converses should harm the speaker's soul by magic.⁵ In New South Wales for some time after his initiation into the tribal mysteries, a young blackfellow (whose soul at this time is in a critical state) must always cover his mouth with a rug when a woman is present.⁶ We have already seen how common is the notion that the life or soul may escape by the mouth or nostrils.⁷

By an extension of the like precaution kings are sometimes forbidden ever to leave their palaces; or, if they are allowed to do so, their subjects are forbidden to see them abroad. We have seen that the priestly king at Shark

¹ Mohammed Ibn-Omar el Tounsy, *Voyage au Ouadai* (Paris, 1851), p. 375.

² A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 170.

³ H. Daveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara: les Touaregs du Nord*, p. 391 *et*.; Reclus, *Nouvelle Géographie Universelle*, xl. 838 *et*.; James Richardson, *Travels in the Great Desert of Sahara*, ii. 208. Amongst the Arabs men some-

times veiled their faces (Wellhausen, *Reise Arabischen Heidentumes*,¹ p. 146).

⁴ Turner, *Samoa*, p. 67 *et*..

⁵ Riedel, "Die Landschaft Dawan oder West-Timor," *Deutsche Geographische Blätter*, x. 230.

⁶ A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Ceremonies of Initiation," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xiii. (1884), p. 456.

⁷ Alcorn, p. 251 *et*..

Point, West Africa, may never quit his house or even his chair, in which he is obliged to sleep sitting, and that the King of Fernando Po, whom no white man may see is reported to be confined to his house with shackles on his legs.¹ The fetish king of Benin, who was worshipped as a deity by his subjects, might not quit his palace.² After his coronation the King of Loango is confined to his palace, which he may not leave.³ The King of Ibo, West Africa, "does not step out of his house into the town unless a human sacrifice is made to propitiate the gods: on this account he never goes out beyond the precincts of his premises."⁴ The kings of Ethiopia were worshipped as gods, but were mostly kept shut up in their palaces.⁵ On the mountainous coast of Pontus there dwelt in antiquity a rude and warlike people named the Mosyni or Mosynoeci, through whose rugged country the Ten Thousand marched on their famous retreat from Asia to Europe. These barbarians kept their king in close custody at the top of a high tower, from which after his election he was never more allowed to descend. Here he dispensed justice to his people; but if he offended them, they punished him by stopping his rations for a whole day, or even starving him to death.⁶ The kings of Sabaea or Sheba, the spice country of Arabia, were not allowed to go out of their palaces; if they did so, the mob stoned them to death.⁷ But at the top of the palace there was a window

¹ See above, p. 239.

² This rule was mentioned to me in conversation by Miss Mary H. Kingsley. As to the worship of the King of Benin, see above, p. 147 *sp.*

³ Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, i. 263. However, a case is recorded in which he marched out to war (*ibid.* i. 268 *sp.*).

⁴ S. Crowther and J. C. Taylor, *The Gospel on the Banks of the Niger*, p. 433. On p. 379 of the same work mention is made of the king's "annual appearance to the public," but this may have taken place within "the precincts of his premises."

⁵ Strabo, xvii. 2. 2, εἰδόμενοι δ' ὡς θεοὶ τοὺς βασιλεῖς, κατακλεισμένοι δυνάμει καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἐν πύλαις.

⁶ Xenophon, *Anabasis*, v. 4. 26;

Seymour Chize, *Osiris descriptus*, 900 *sp.* (*Geographi Graeci Minores*, ed. C. Müller, i. 234); Diochorus Siculus, xiv. 30. 6 *sp.*; Nicolaus Damascenus, quoted by Stobaeus, *Florilegium*, xiv. 41 (vol. ii. p. 185, ed. Meineke); Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon.* ii. 1026, *sp.*, with the note of the scholiast; Pausanias, *Mela*, i. 106, p. 29, ed. Parthey. Dio Chrysostom refers to the custom without mentioning the name of the people (*Or.* xiv. vol. i. p. 257, ed. Dindorf).

⁷ Strabo, xvi. 4. 19; Diochorus Siculus, iii. 47. Inscriptions found in Sheba (the country about two hundred miles north of Aden) seem to show that the land was at first ruled by a succession of priestly kings, who were afterwards followed by kings in the

with a chain attached to it. If any man deemed he had suffered wrong, he pulled the chain, and the king perceived him and called him in and gave judgment.¹ So to this day the kings of Corea, whose persons are sacred and receive "honours almost divine," are shut up in their palace from the age of twelve or fifteen; and if a suitor wishes to obtain justice of the king he sometimes lights a great bonfire on a mountain facing the palace; the king sees the fire and informs himself of the case.² The Emperor of China seldom quits his palace, and when he does so, no one may look at him; even the guards who line the road must turn their backs.³ The King of Tonquin was permitted to appear abroad twice or thrice a year for the performance of certain religious ceremonies; but the people were not allowed to look at him. The day before he came forth notice was given to all the inhabitants of the city and country to keep from the way the king was to go; the women were obliged to remain in their houses and durst not show themselves under pain of death, a penalty which was carried out on the spot if any one disobeyed the order, even through ignorance. Thus the king was invisible to all but his troops and the officers of his suite.⁴ In Mandalay a stout lattice-paling, six feet high and carefully kept in repair, lined every street in the walled city and all those streets in the suburbs through which the king was likely at any time to pass. Behind this paling, which stood two feet or so from the houses, all the people had to stay when the king or any of the queens went out.

ordinary sense. The names of many of these priestly kings (*anahavids*, literally "blessers") are preserved in inscriptions. See Prof. S. R. Driver, in *Authority and Archaeology, Sacred and Profane*, edited by D. G. Hogarth [London, 1895], p. 82. Probably these "blessers" are the kings referred to by the Greek writers. We may suppose that the blessings they dispensed consisted in a proper regulation of the weather, abundance of the fruits of the earth, and so on.

¹ Heraklides Comares, in Athenæus, xii. p. 517 B-C.

² Ch. Daller, *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* (Paris, 1874), i. pp. xxiv-xxvi.

The king sometimes, though rarely, leaves his palace. When he does so, notice is given beforehand to his people. All doors must be shut and each householder must kneel before his threshold with a broom and a dust-pan in his hand. All windows, especially the upper ones, must be sealed with slips of paper, lest some one should look down upon the king. See W. E. Griffiths, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, p. 122.

³ This I learned from the late Mr. W. Simpson, formerly artist of the *Illustrated London News*.

⁴ Richard, "History of Tonquin," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, ix. 746.

Any one who was caught outside it by the beadles after the procession had started was severely handled, and might think himself lucky if he got off with a beating. Nobody was supposed to peep through the holes in the lattice-work which were besides partly stopped up with flowering shrubs.

Again, magic mischief may be wrought upon a man through the remains of the food he has partaken of, or the dishes out of which he has eaten. On the principles of sympathetic magic a real connection continues to subsist between the food which a man has in his stomach and the refuse of it which he has left untouched, and hence by injuring the refuse you can simultaneously injure the eater. Among the Narrinyeri of South Australia every adult is constantly on the look-out for bones of beasts, birds, or fish, of which the flesh has been eaten by somebody, in order to construct a deadly charm out of them. Every one is therefore careful to burn the bones of the animals which he has eaten lest they should fall into the hands of a sorcerer. Too often, however, the sorcerer succeeds in getting hold of such a bone, and when he does so he believes that he has the power of life and death over the man, woman, or child who ate the flesh of the animal. To put the charm in operation he makes a paste of red ochre and fish oil, inserts in it the eye of a cod and a small piece of the flesh of a corpse, and having rolled the compound into a ball sticks it on the top of the bone. After being left for some time in the bosom of a dead body, in order that it may derive a deadly potency by contact with corruption, the magical implement is set up in the ground near the fire, and as the ball melts, so the person against whom the charm is directed wastes with disease; if the ball is melted quite away, the victim will die. When the bewitched man learns of the spell that is being cast upon him, he endeavours to buy the bone from the sorcerer, and if he obtains it he breaks the charm by throwing the bone into a river or lake.¹ Further, the Narrinyeri think that if a man eats of the totem animal of his tribe, and an enemy obtains a portion of the flesh, the latter can make it

¹ Shway Yoe, *The Burman*, i. 30 sq.; cp. *Indian Antiquary*, xx. (1891), p. 49.

² G. Taplin, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, pp. 24-26; *id.*, in E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. p. 247.

grow in the inside of the eater, and so cause his death. Therefore when a man partakes of his totem he is careful either to eat it all or else to conceal or destroy the refuse.¹ In the Encounter Bay Tribe of South Australia, when a man cannot get the bone of an animal which his enemy has eaten, he cooks a bird, beast, or fish, and keeping back one of the creature's bones, offers the rest under the guise of friendship to his enemy. If the man is simple enough to partake of the proffered food, he is at the mercy of his perfidious foe, who can kill him by placing the abstracted bone near the fire.² Ideas and practices of the same sort prevail in Melanesia; all that was needed to injure a man was to bring the leavings of his food into contact with a malignant ghost or spirit. Hence in the island of Florida when a scrap of an enemy's dinner was secreted and thrown into a haunted place, the man was supposed to fall ill; and in the New Hebrides if a snake of a certain sort carried away a fragment of food to a spot sacred to a spirit, the man who had eaten the food would sicken as the fragment decayed. In Aurora the refuse is made up with certain leaves; as these rot and stink, the man dies. Hence it is, or was, a constant care with the Melanesians to prevent the remains of their meals from falling into the hands of persons who bore them a grudge; for this reason they regularly gave the refuse of food to the pigs.³ In Tana, one of the New Hebrides, people bury or throw into the sea the leavings of their food, lest these should fall into the hands of the disease-makers. For if a disease-maker finds the remnants of a meal, say the skin of a banana, he picks it up and burns it slowly in the fire.

¹ G. Taplin, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 63; *id.*, "Notes on the Mixed Races of Australia," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iv. (1875), p. 53; *id.*, in E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, ii. 245.

² H. E. A. Meyer, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 196.

³ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 203 *ff.*, esp. pp. 178, 188, 214. A corollary from these principles, as Dr. Codrington points out, is that no one who intends to harm a man by the refuse of his food will himself partake of that food; because if he did so,

he would suffer equally with his enemy from any injury done to the refuse. This is the idea which in primitive society lends sanctity to the bond produced by eating together; by partaking of the same food the eaters give each other the best possible guarantee that they will devise no mischief one against the other, since any such mischief would affect the plotter just as much as his victim. In strict logic, however, the sympathetic bond lasts only so long as the food is in the stomach of each of the parties. See W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*,² p. 270.

As it burns the person who ate the banana falls ill and sends to the disease-maker, offering him presents if he will stop burning the banana skin.¹ For the same reason, no one may touch the food which the King of Loango leaves upon his plate; it is buried in a hole in the ground. And no one may drink out of the king's vessel.² Similarly no man may drink out of the same cup or glass with the King of Fida, in Guinea; "he hath always one kept particularly for himself; and that which hath but once touched another's lips he never uses more, though it be made of metal that may be cleansed by fire."³ Amongst the Alfours of Celebes there is a priest called the *Leleu*, whose duty appears to be to make the rice grow. His functions begin about a month before the rice is sown, and end after the crop is housed. During this time he has to observe certain taboos; amongst others he may not eat or drink with any one else, and he may drink out of no vessel but his own.⁴

We have seen that the Mikado's food was cooked every day in new pots and served up in new dishes; both pots and dishes were of common clay, in order that they might be broken or laid aside after they had been once used. They were generally broken, for it was believed that if any one else ate his food out of these sacred dishes, his mouth and throat would become swollen and inflamed. The same ill effect was thought to be experienced by any one who should wear the Mikado's clothes without his leave; he would have swellings and pains all over his body.⁵ In Fiji there is a special name (*kana luma*) for the disease supposed to be caused by eating out of a chief's dishes or wearing his clothes. "The throat and body swell, and the impious person dies. I had a fine mat given to me by a man who durst not use it because Thakambou's eldest son had sat

¹ Turner, *Siam*, p. 320 *sq.* For other examples of witchcraft wrought by means of the refuse of food, see E. S. Hartland, *The Legend of Persius*, ii. 83 *sq.*

² Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 330. We have seen that the food left by the King of the Monbutus, is carefully buried (above, p. 311).

³ Bosman's "Guinea," in Pinker-

ton's *Voyages and Travels*, xvi. 287.

⁴ P. N. Wilken, "Hijdragen tot de kennis van de zeden en gewoonten der Alfours in de Minabassa," *Afdeelingen van onze der (Nederlandsche) Zendingen*, vii. (1863), p. 126.

⁵ Kaempfer's "History of Japan," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vii. 717.

upon it. There was always a family or clan of commoners who were exempt from this danger. I was talking about this once to Thakambau. 'Oh yes,' said he, 'Here, So-and-so! come and scratch my back.' The man scratched; he was one of those who could do it with impunity.¹ The name of the men thus highly privileged was *Na nduka ni*, or the dirt of the chief.²

In the evil effects thus supposed to follow upon the use of the vessels or clothes of the Mikado and a Fijian chief we see that other side of the god-man's character to which attention has been already called. The divine person is a source of danger as well as of blessing; he must not only be guarded, he must also be guarded against. His sacred organism, so delicate that a touch may disorder it, is also electrically charged with a powerful spiritual force which may discharge itself with fatal effect on whatever comes in contact with it. Hence the isolation of the man-god is quite as necessary for the safety of others as for his own. His divinity is a fire, which, under proper restraints, confers endless blessings, but, if rashly touched or allowed to break bounds, burns and destroys what it touches. Hence the disastrous effects supposed to attend a breach of taboo; the offender has thrust his hand into the divine fire, which shrivels up and consumes him on the spot. In Tonga, for example, it was believed that if any one fed himself with his own hands after touching the sacred person of a superior chief or anything that belonged to him, he would swell up and die; the sanctity of the chief, like a virulent poison, infected the hands of his inferior, and, being communicated through them to the food, proved fatal to the eater. A commoner who had incurred this danger could disinfect himself by performing a certain ceremony, which consisted in touching the sole of a chief's foot with the palm and back of each of his hands, and afterwards rinsing his hands in water. If there was no water near, he rubbed his hands with the juicy stem of a plantain or banana. After that he was free to feed himself with his own hands without danger of being attacked by the malady which would other-

¹ Rev. Lorimer Fison, in a letter to the author dated August 26th, 1898. In Fijian, *ana* is to eat; the meaning of *ana* is unknown.

wise follow from eating with tabooed or sanctified hands. But until the ceremony of expiation or disinfection had been performed, if he wished to eat, he had either to get some one to feed him, or else to go down on his knees and pick up the food from the ground with his mouth like a beast. He might not even use a toothpick himself, but might guide the hand of another person holding the toothpick. The Tongans were subject to induration of the liver and certain forms of scrofula, which they often attributed to a failure to perform the requisite expiation after having inadvertently touched a chief or his belongings. Hence they often went through the ceremony as a precaution, without knowing that they had done anything to call for it. The King of Tonga could not refuse to play his part in the rite by presenting his foot to such as desired to touch it, even when they applied to him at an inconvenient time. A fat unwieldy king, who perceived his subjects approaching with this intention, while he chanced to be taking his walks abroad, has been sometimes seen to waddle as fast as his legs could carry him out of their way, in order to escape the importunate and not wholly disinterested expression of their homage. If any one fancied he might have already unwittingly eaten with tabooed hands, he sat down before the chief, and, taking the chief's foot, pressed it against his own stomach, that the food in his belly might not injure him, and that he might not swell up and die.¹ As scrofula was regarded by the Tongans as a result of eating with tabooed hands, we may conjecture that persons who suffered from it among them often resorted to the touch or pressure of the king's foot as a cure for their malady. The analogy of the custom with the old English practice of bringing scrofulous patients to the king to be healed by his touch is sufficiently obvious, and suggests that among our own remote ancestors scrofula may have obtained its name of the King's-evil, from a belief like that of the Tongans, that it was caused

¹ W. Motner, *Tonga Islands*,² l. 141 *sq.* note, 434 note, l. 82 *sq.*, 221-224; Cook, *Voyage* (London, 1809), v. 427 *sq.* Similarly in Fiji any person who had touched the head of a living

chief or the body of a dead one was forbidden to handle his food, and must be fed by another (J. E. Erskine, *23rd Western Pacific*, p. 254).

as well as cured by contact with the divine majesty of kings.¹

In New Zealand the dread of the sanctity of chiefs was at least as great as in Tonga. Their ghostly power, derived from an ancestral spirit or *atua*, diffused itself by contagion over everything they touched, and could strike dead all who rashly or unwittingly meddled with it.² For instance, it once happened that a New Zealand chief of high rank and great sanctity had left the remains of his dinner by the wayside. A slave, a stout, hungry fellow, coming up after the chief had gone, saw the unfinished dinner, and ate it up without asking questions. Hardly had he finished when he was informed by a horror-stricken spectator that the food of which he had eaten was the chief's. "I knew the unfortunate delinquent well. He was remarkable for courage, and had signalised himself in the wars of the tribe," but "no sooner did he hear the fatal news than he was seized by the most extraordinary convulsions and cramp in the stomach, which never ceased till he died, about sundown the same day." He was a strong man, in the prime of life, and if any pakeha [European] freethinker should have said he was not killed by the *tapu* of the chief, which had been communicated to the food by contact, he would have been listened to with feelings of contempt for

¹ On the custom of touching for the King's evil, see T. J. Pettigrew, *Superstitions connected with the History and Practice of Medicine and Surgery* (London, 1844), pp. 117-134; W. E. H. Lecky, *History of England in the Eighteenth Century* (London, 1892), I. 84-90; W. G. Illack, *Folk-medicine*, p. 140 *seq.* The power of healing scrofula by the touch was claimed by the French as well as by the English kings. The English kings were supposed to have inherited the power from Edward the Confessor; the French kings from St. Louis or Clovis. Down to the end of the eighteenth century it was believed in the Highlands of Scotland that certain tribes of Macdonalds had the power of curing a certain disease by their touch and the use of a certain set of words. Hence the disease, which attacked the

chest and lungs, was called "the Macdonald's disease." We are told that the faith of the people in the touch of a Macdonald was very great. See Rev. Dr. Th. Bisset, "Parish of Logierait," *Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland*, III. 84.

² "The idea in which this law [the law of *tahoo* or *tapu*, as it was called in New Zealand] originated appears to have been, that a portion of the spiritual essence of an *atua* or of a sacred person was communicated directly to objects which they touched, and also that the spiritual essence so communicated to any object was afterwards more or less retransmitted to anything else brought into contact with it" (E. Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 102). Compare *id.*, *Māori Religion and Mythology*, p. 25.

his ignorance and inability to understand plain and direct evidence."¹ This is not a solitary case. A Maori woman, having eaten of some fruit, and being afterwards told that the fruit had been taken from a tabooed place, exclaimed that the spirit of the chief, whose sanctity had been thus profaned, would kill her. This was in the afternoon, and next day by twelve o'clock she was dead.² An observer who knows the Maoris well, says, "Tapu [taboo] is an awful weapon. I have seen a strong young man die the same day he was tapued; the victims die under it as though their strength ran out as water."³ A Maori chief's tinder-box was once the means of killing several persons; for, having been lost by him, and found by some men who used it to light their pipes, they died of fright on learning to whom it had belonged. So, too, the garments of a high New Zealand chief will kill any one else who wears them. A chief was observed by a missionary to throw down a precipice a blanket which he found too heavy to carry. Being asked by the missionary why he did not leave it on a tree for the use of a future traveller, the chief replied that "it was the fear of its being taken by another which caused him to throw it where he did, for if it were worn, his tapu" (that is, his spiritual power communicated by contact to the blanket and through the blanket to the man) "would kill the person."⁴

No wonder therefore that the savage should rank his human gods among what he regards as the dangerous classes of society, and should impose upon them the same sort of restraints that he lays on man-slayers, menstruous women, and other persons whom he looks upon with a certain fear and horror. For example, sacred kings and

¹ *Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeha Maori (London, 1884), p. 96 sq.

² W. Brown, *New Zealand and its Aborigines* (London, 1845), p. 76. For more examples of the same kind see *ibid.* p. 77 sq.

³ E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, xiv. (1890), p. 100.

⁴ K. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui: or, New Zealand and its Inhabitants*,² p.

164. Death from purely imaginary causes occurs also not uncommonly among the aborigines of Australia. A native will die after the infliction of even the most superficial wound if only he believes that the weapon which inflicted the wound had been sung over, and thus endowed with magical virtue. He simply lies down, refuses food, and pines away. See Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 537 sq.

priests in Polynesia were not allowed to touch food with their hands, and had therefore to be fed by others;¹ and, as we have just seen, their vessels, garments, and other property might not be used by others on pain of disease and death. Now precisely the same observances are exacted by some savages from girls at their first menstruation, women after childbirth, homicides, mourners, and all persons who have come into contact with the dead. Thus for example among the Maoris any one who had handled a corpse, helped to convey it to the grave, or touched a dead man's bones, was cut off from all intercourse and almost all communication with mankind. He could not enter any house, or come into contact with any person or thing, without utterly bedevilling them. He might not even touch food with his hands, which had become so frightfully tabooed or unclean as to be quite useless. Food would be set for him on the ground, and he would then sit or kneel down, and, with his hands carefully held behind his back, would gnaw at it as best he could. In some cases he would be fed by another person, who with outstretched arm contrived to do it without touching the tabooed man; but the feeder was himself subjected to many severe restrictions, little less onerous than those which were imposed upon the other. In almost every populous village there lived a degraded wretch, the lowest of the low, who earned a sorry pittance by thus waiting upon the defiled. Clad in rags, daubed from head to foot with red ochre and stinking shark oil, always solitary and silent, generally old, haggard, and wizened, often half crazed, he might be seen sitting motionless all day apart from the common path or

¹ W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iv. 388. Ellis appears to imply that the rule was universal in Polynesia, but perhaps he referred only to Hawaii, of which in this part of his work he is treating specially. We are told that in Hawaii the priest who carried the principal idol about the country was tabooed during the performance of this sacred office; he might not touch anything with his hands, and the morsels of food which he ate had to be put into his mouth by the chiefs of the villages through which he passed or even by the king himself, who accompanied the

priest on his rounds (L. de Freycenet, *Voyage autour du Monde*, Historique, ii. Première Partie, p. 596). In Tonga the rule applied to chiefs only when their hands had become tabooed by touching a superior chief (Maciner, *Tonga Islands*, i. 82 *sq.*). In New Zealand chiefs were fed by slaves (A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, i. 102); or they may, like tabooed people in general, have taken up their food from little stages with their mouths or by means of fern-sticks (R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Māui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 162).

thoroughfare of the village, gazing with lack-lustre eyes on the busy doings in which he might never take a part. Twice a day a dole of food would be thrown on the ground before him to munch as well as he could without the use of his hands; and at night, huddling his greasy tatters about him, he would crawl into some miserable lair of leaves and refuse, where, dirty, cold, and hungry, he passed, in broken ghost-haunted slumbers, a wretched night as a prelude to another wretched day. Such was the only human being deemed fit to associate at arm's length with one who had paid the last offices of respect and friendship to the dead. And when, the dismal term of his seclusion being over, the mourner was about to mix with his fellows once more, all the dishes he had used in his seclusion were diligently smashed and all the garments he had worn were carefully thrown away, lest they should spread the contagion of his defilement among others,¹ just as the vessels and clothes of sacred kings and chiefs are destroyed or cast away for a similar reason. So complete in these respects is the analogy which the savage traces between the spiritual influences that emanate from divinities and from the dead, between the odour of sanctity and the stench of corruption.

Among the Shushwap of British Columbia widows and widowers in mourning are secluded and forbidden to touch their own head or body; the cups and cooking-vessels which they use may be used by no one else. They must build a sweat-house beside a creek, sweat there all night and bathe regularly, after which they must rub their bodies with branches of spruce. The branches may not be used more than once, and when they have served their purpose they are stuck into the ground all round the hut. No hunter

¹ *Old New Zealand*, by A. Pakena Macel (London, 1884), pp. 104-114. The rule that corpse-bearers, mourners, etc., might not touch food with their hands would seem to have been universal in Polynesia. See Cook, *Voyages* (London, 1809), vii. 147; James Wilson, *Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean*, p. 363; W. Mariner, *Tonga Islands*, l. 141 *sq.* note; G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 145; W. Yate, *New Zealand*, p. 85; G. F.

Angus, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, li. 90; Diessenbach, *Travels in New Zealand*, li. 104 *sq.*; Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage autour du Monde et à la recherche de La Perouse*, ii. 536. The same rule was observed in Fiji (Ch. Wilson, *Narrative of the United States Exploring Expedition*, iii. 99 *sq.*), and by some tribes in New Guinea (W. G. Lawes, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, viii. (1879), p. 370).

would come near such mourners, for their presence is unlucky. If their shadow were to fall on any one, he would be taken ill at once. They employ thorn bushes for bed and pillow, in order to keep away the ghost of the deceased; and thorn bushes are also laid all around their beds.¹ This last precaution shows clearly what the spiritual danger is which leads to the exclusion of such persons from ordinary society; it is simply a fear of the ghost who is supposed to be hovering near them.

In general, we may say that the prohibition to use the vessels, garments, and so on of certain persons, and the effects supposed to follow an infraction of the rule, are exactly the same whether the persons to whom the things belong are sacred or what we might call unclean and polluted. As the garments which have been touched by a sacred chief kill those who handle them, so do the things which have been touched by a menstruous woman. An Australian black-fellow, who discovered that his wife had lain on his blanket at her menstrual period, killed her and died of terror himself within a fortnight.² Hence Australian women at these times are forbidden under pain of death to touch anything that men use, or even to walk on a path that any man frequents. They are also secluded at childbirth, and all vessels used by them during their seclusion are burned.³ In Uganda whatever a woman touches while the impurity of childbirth or of menstruation is on her should be destroyed.⁴ No Esquimaux of Alaska will willingly drink out of the same cup or eat out of the same dish that has been used by a woman at her confinement until it has been purified by certain incantations.⁵ Amongst some of the Indians of North America, women at menstruation are forbidden to touch men's utensils, which would be so defiled by their touch that their subsequent use would be attended by certain

¹ Fr. Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 91 *ff.* (subsequent reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

² Capt. W. E. Armit, "Customs of the Australian aborigines," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* ix. (1880), p. 459.

³ W. Ridley, "Report on Aus-

tralian Languages and Traditions," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* ii. (1873), p. 268.

⁴ This I learned in a conversation with Messrs. Kinson and Miller, missionaries to Uganda, June 24th, 1897.

⁵ *Report of the International Polar Expedition to Point Barrow, Alaska* (Washington, 1885), p. 46.

mischievous or misfortune.¹ For instance, in some of the Tinnah tribes girls verging on maturity take care that the dishes out of which they eat are used by no one else. When their first periodical sickness comes on, they are fed by their mothers or nearest kinswomen, and will on no account touch their food with their own hands. At the same time they abstain from touching their heads with their hands, and keep a small stick to scratch their heads with when they itch. They remain outside the house in a hut built for the purpose, and wear a skull-cap made of skin to fit very tight, which they never lay aside till the first monthly infirmity is over. A fringe of shells, bones, and so on hangs down from their forehead so as to cover their eyes lest any malicious sorcerer should harm them during this critical period.² In the islands of Mabuiag and Saibai, in Torres Strait, girls at their first menstruation are strictly secluded from the sight of men. In Mabuiag the seclusion lasts three months, in Saibai about a fortnight. During the time of her separation the girl is forbidden to feed herself or to handle food, which is put into her mouth by women or girls told off to wait on her.³ In Tahiti a woman after childbirth was secluded for a fortnight or three weeks in a temporary hut erected on sacred ground; during the time of her seclusion she was debarred from touching provisions, and had to be fed by another. Further, if any one else touched the child at this period, he was subjected to the same restrictions as the mother until the ceremony of her purification had been

¹ Alexander Mackenzie, *Voyage from Montreal through the Continent of North America*, p. cxxiii.

² Gavin Hamilton, "Customs of the New Caledonian Women," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, vii. (1878), p. 206. Among the Nootkas of British Columbia a girl at puberty is hidden from the sight of men for several days behind a partition of mats; during her seclusion she may not scratch her head or her body with her hands, but she may do so with a comb or a piece of bone, which is provided for the purpose. See Fr. Boas, in *Sixth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 47 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1890*).

Again, among the Siksawap of British Columbia a girl at puberty lives alone in a little hut on the mountains and is forbidden to touch her head or scratch her body; but she may scratch her head with a three-toothed comb and her body with the painted bone of a deer. See Fr. Boas, *op. cit.* p. 89 *sq.* In the East Indian island of Serang a girl may not scratch herself with her fingers the night before her teeth are filed, but she may do it with a piece of bamboo. See J. G. F. Riedel, *Deutch- in tractatig, tussen tusschen Saloba en Papua*, p. 137.

³ From notes kindly supplied to me by Dr. C. G. Seligmann. On the Mabuiag custom see below, ch. iv. § 1.

performed.¹ Similarly in Manahiki, an island of the Southern Pacific, for ten days after her delivery a woman was not allowed to handle food, and had to be fed by some other person.² Among the Creek Indians a lad at initiation had to abstain for twelve moons from picking his ears or scratching his head with his fingers; he had to use a small stick for these purposes. For four moons he must have a fire of his own to cook his food at; and a little girl, a virgin, might cook for him. During the fifth moon any person might cook for him, but he must serve himself first, and use one spoon and pan. On the fifth day of the twelfth moon he gathered corn cobs, burned them to ashes, and with the ashes rubbed his body all over. At the end of the twelfth moon he sweated under blankets, and then bathed in water, which ended the ceremony. While the ceremonies lasted, he might touch no one but lads who were undergoing a like course of initiation.³ Caffre boys at circumcision live secluded in a special hut, and when they are healed all the vessels which they had used during their seclusion and the boyish mantles which they had hitherto worn are burned together with the hut.⁴

Once more, warriors are conceived by the savage to move, so to say, in an atmosphere of spiritual danger which constrains them to practise a variety of superstitious observances quite different in their nature from those rational precautions which as a matter of course they adopt against foes of flesh and blood. The general effect of these observances is to place the warrior, both before and after victory, in the same state of seclusion or spiritual quarantine in which, for his own safety, primitive man isolates his human gods and other dangerous characters. Thus when the Maoris went out on the war-path they were sacred or taboo in the highest degree, and they and their friends at home had to observe strictly many curious customs over and above the numerous taboos of ordinary life. They became, in the

¹ James Wilson, *Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean*, p. 354.

² G. Turner, *Samoa*, p. 276.

³ B. Hawkins, "The Creek Confederacy," *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, II, p. 1. (Savannah, 1848), p. 78 *sq.* Hawkins's account is

reproduced by A. S. Gatschet, in his *Migration Legend of the Creek Indians*, I, 185 *sq.* (Philadelphia, 1854).

⁴ L. Alberti, *De Kaffer* (Amsterdam, 1810), p. 76 *sq.*; H. Lichtenstein, *Reisen im südlichen Afrika*, (Berlin, 1811-12), I, 427.

irreverent language of Europeans who knew them in the old fighting days, "tabooed an inch thick"; and as for the leader of the expedition, he was quite unapproachable.¹ Similarly, when the Israelites marched forth to war they were bound by certain rules of ceremonial purity identical with rules observed by Maoris and Australian black-fellows on the war-path. The vessels they used were sacred, and they had to practise continence and a custom of personal cleanliness of which the original motive, if we may judge from the avowed motive of savages who conform to the same custom, was a fear lest the enemy should obtain the refuse of their persons, and thus be enabled to work their destruction by magic.² Among some Indian tribes of North America a young warrior in his first campaign had to conform to certain customs, of which two were identical with the observances imposed by the same Indians on girls at their first menstruation: the vessels he ate and drank out of

¹ *Old New Zealand*, by a Pakeha Maori (London, 1884), pp. 96, 114 *sq.* One of the customs mentioned by the writer was that all the people left in the camp had to fast strictly while the warriors were out in the field. This rule is obviously based on the sympathetic connection supposed to exist between friends at a distance, especially at critical times. See above, p. 27 *sqq.*

² Deuteronomy xxiii. 9-14; I Samuel xxi. 5. The rule laid down in Deuteronomy xxiii. 10, 11, suffices to prove that the custom of continence observed in time of war by the Israelites, as by a multitude of savage and barbarous peoples, was based on a superstitious, not a rational motive. The evidence on this subject is decisive, but must be reserved for another work. Here I will only mention that the rule is often observed by warriors for some time after their victorious return, and also by the persons left at home during the absence of the fighting men. In these cases the observance of the rule evidently does not admit of a rational explanation, which could hardly, indeed, be entertained by any one conversant with savage modes of thought. For some examples of

these cases, see above, pp. 29, 31 *sq.*, and below, pp. 332 *sq.*, 336, 339. The other rule of personal cleanliness referred to in the text is exactly observed, for the reason I have indicated, by the aborigines in various parts of Australia. See (Sir) George Grey, *Journals*, ii. 344; R. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 165; J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 12; Beveridge, in *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1883, p. 69 *sq.* Compare W. Stanbridge, "On the Aborigines of Victoria," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, i. (1861), p. 299; Fison and Howitt, *Kaibeland and Koroit*, p. 251; E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 178 *sq.*, 547. The same dread has resulted in a similar custom of cleanliness in Melanesia and Africa. See R. Parkinson, *Im Blauwonderdriehoek*, p. 143 *sq.*; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 203 note; J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891), p. 131. Mr. Lorimer Fison has sent me some notes on the Fijian practice, which agrees with the one described by Dr. Codrington.

might be touched by no other person, and he was forbidden to scratch his head or any other part of his body with his fingers; if he could not help scratching himself, he had to do it with a stick.¹ The latter rule, like the one which forbids a tabooed person to feed himself with his own fingers, seems to rest on the supposed sanctity or pollution, whichever we choose to call it, of the tabooed hands.² Moreover, among these Indian tribes the men on the war-path had always to sleep at night with their faces turned towards their own country; however uneasy the posture they might not change it. They might not sit upon the bare ground, nor wet their feet, nor walk on a beaten path if they could help it; when they had no choice but to walk on a path, they sought to counteract the ill effect of doing so by doctoring their legs with certain medicines or charms which they carried with them for the purpose. No member of the party was permitted to step over the legs, hands, or body of any other member who chanced to be sitting or lying on the ground; and it was equally forbidden to step over his blanket, gun, tomahawk, or anything that belonged to him. If this rule was inadvertently broken, it became

¹ *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner* (London, 1830), p. 122.

² We have seen (pp. 326, 327) that the same rule is observed by girls at puberty among some Indian tribes of British Columbia and by Creek lads at initiation. It is also observed by Kwakiutl Indians who have eaten human flesh (see below, p. 342). Among the Blackfoot Indians the man who was appointed every four years to take charge of the sacred pipe and other emblems of their religion might not scratch his body with his finger-nails, but carried a sharp stick in his hair which he used for this purpose. During the term of his priesthood he had to fast and practise strict continence. None but he dare handle the sacred pipe and emblems (W. W. Warren, "History of the Ojibways," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society*, v. (1885), p. 68 sq.). In Vedic India the man who was about to offer the solemn sacrifice of soma prepared himself for his duties

by a ceremony of consecration, during which he carried the horn of a black deer or antelope wherewith to scratch himself if necessary (*Satapatha-Brahmana*, Bk. iii. 31, vol. ii. p. 33 sq. trans. by J. Eggeling; H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 399). Amongst the Macusi of British Guiana, when a woman has given birth to a child, the father hangs up his hammock beside that of his wife and stays there till the navel-string drops off the child. During this time the parents have to observe certain rules, of which one is that they may not scratch their heads or bodies with their nails, but must use for this purpose a piece of palm-leaf. If they broke this rule, they think the child would die or be an invalid all its life (K. Schoenberg, *Keian in Britisch-Guiana*, ii. 314). We have seen (p. 85) that some aborigines of Queensland believe that if they scratched themselves with their fingers during a rain-making ceremony, no rain would fall.

the duty of the member whose person or property had been stepped over to knock the other member down, and it was similarly the duty of that other to be knocked down peaceably and without resistance. The vessels out of which and warriors ate their food were commonly small bowls of wood or birch bark, with marks to distinguish the two sides; in marching from home the Indians invariably drank out of one side of the bowl, and in returning they drank out of the other. When on their way home they came within a day's march of the village, they hung up all their bowls on trees, or threw them away on the prairie,¹ doubtless to prevent

¹ *Narrative of the Captivity and Adventures of John Tanner* (London, 1830), p. 123. The superstition that harm is done to a person or thing by stepping over him or it is very widely spread. Thus the Galelæans think that if a man steps over your fishing-rod or your arrow, the fish will not bite when you fish with that rod, and the game will not be hit by that arrow when you shoot it. They say it is as if the implements merely skinned just the fish or the game (M. J. van Boorda, "Euhelen, Verhalen en Overleveringen der Galelæenzen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal-Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, iii. (1895), p. 515). Similarly, if a Highland sportsman saw a person stepping over his gun or fishing-rod, he presumed but little on that day's diversion (John Ramsay, *Scotians and Scotsmen in the Eighteenth Century*, ii. 456). When a Dacota had had luck in hunting, he would say that a woman had been stepping over some part of the animal which he retured (Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, ii. 175). Some of the aborigines of Australia are seriously alarmed if a woman steps over them as they lie asleep on the ground (E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, i. 50). Amongst many South African tribes it is considered highly improper to step over a sleeper; if a wife steps over her husband, he cannot hit his enemy in war; if she steps over his assegais, they are from that time useless, and are given to boys to play with (J. Macdonald, *Light in Africa*, p. 209). Malagasy porters believe that if a woman strides

over their poles, the skin will certainly peel off the shoulders of the bearers when next they take up the burden (J. Richardson, in *Australasia Oriental and Madagascar Augustin*, *Reprint of the First Four Numbers*, p. 529; J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 288; compare De Flacourt, *Histoire de la Grande Ile Madagascar* (Paris, 1658), p. 99). According to the South Slavonians, the most serious maladies may be communicated to a person by stepping over him, but they can afterwards be cured by stepping over him in the reverse direction (F. S. Krauss, *Völkerglaube und religiöser Aberglaube der Südslaven*, p. 32). The belief that to step over a child hinders it from growing is found in France, Belgium, Germany, Austria, and Syria; in Syria, Germany, and Bohemia the mischief can be remedied by stepping over the child in the opposite direction. See L. F. Savé, *Folklore des Hautes-Forges*, p. 226, esp. p. 219 sq.; E. Mousier, *Le Folklore Wallon*, p. 39; A. Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksbergglaube*,² § 603; J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, i. p. 208, § 42; J. A. E. Köhler, *Folkbrauch, etc., im Voigtlande*, p. 423; Kuhn und Schwarz, *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche*, p. 462, § 461; Grohmann, *Aberglaube und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, p. 109, §§ 798, 799; Eljäh Abela, "Beiträge zur Kenntniss, abergläubischer Gebräuche in Syrien," *Zeitschrift der deutschen Palästina-Forschung*, vii. (1884), p. 81.

their sanctity or defilement from being communicated with disastrous effects to their friends, just as we have seen that the vessels and clothes of the sacred Mikado, of women at childbirth and menstruation, of boys at circumcision, and of persons defiled by contact with the dead are destroyed or laid aside for a similar reason. The first four times that an Apache Indian goes out on the war-path, he is bound to refrain from scratching his head with his fingers and from letting water touch his lips. Hence he scratches his head with a stick, and drinks through a hollow reed or cane. Stick and reed are attached to the warrior's belt and to each other by a leathern thong.¹ The rule not to scratch their heads with their fingers but to use a stick for the purpose instead was regularly observed by Ojebways on the war-path.²

If the reader still doubts whether the rules of conduct which we have just been considering are based on superstitious fears or dictated by a rational prudence, his doubts will probably be dissipated when he learns that rules of the same sort are often imposed even more stringently on warriors after the victory has been won and when all fear of the living corporeal foe is at an end. In such cases one motive for the inconvenient restrictions laid on the victors in their hour of triumph is probably a dread of the angry ghosts of the slain; and that the fear of the vengeful ghosts does influence the behaviour of the slayers is often expressly affirmed. The general effect of the taboos laid on sacred chiefs, mourners, women at childbirth, men on the war-path, and so on is to seclude or isolate the tabooed persons from ordinary society, this effect being attained by a variety of rules, which oblige the persons to live in separate huts or in the open air, to shun the commerce of the sexes, to avoid the use of vessels employed by others, and so forth. Now the same effect is produced by similar means in the case of victorious warriors, particularly such as have actually shed the blood of their enemies. In the island of Timor,

¹ J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with* *Barzan of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), p. 490.
Crane (New York, 1891), p. 133;
² J. G. Kohl, *Käntä-Gami*, ii.
id., in *Ninth Annual Report of the* 168.

when a warlike expedition has returned in triumph bringing the heads of the vanquished foe, the leader of the expedition is forbidden by religion and custom to return at once to his own house. A special hut is prepared for him in which he has to reside for two months, undergoing bodily and spiritual purification. During this time he may not go to his wife nor feed himself; the food must be put into his mouth by another person.¹ That these observances are dictated by fear of the ghosts of the slain seems certain; for from another account of the ceremonies performed on the return of a successful head-hunter in the same island we learn that sacrifices are offered on this occasion to appease the soul of the man whose head has been taken; the people think that some misfortune would befall the victor were such offerings omitted. Moreover, a part of the ceremony consists of a dance accompanied by a song, in which the death of the slain man is lamented and his forgiveness is entreated. "Be not angry," they say, "because your head is here with us; had we been less lucky, our heads might now have been exposed in your village. We have offered the sacrifice to appease you. Your spirit may now rest and leave us at peace. Why were you our enemy? Would it not have been better that we should remain friends? Then your blood would not have been spilt and your head would not have been cut off."² In some Dyak tribes men on returning from an

¹ S. Müller, *Reizen en Onderzoekingen in den Indischen Archipel* (Amsterdam, 1857), ii. 252.

² J. S. G. Gramberg, "Eene maand in de binnenlanden van Timor," *Versamelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxi. 208, 216 sq. Compare H. Zondervan, "Timor en de Timorezen," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch-Australisch Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, v. (1888), Afdeeling, meer uitgebreide artikelen, pp. 309, 413. Similarly Gallas returning from war sacrifice to the jinn or guardian spirits of their slain foes before they will re-enter their own houses (Ph. Paulitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas, die jetzige Cultur der Danakil, Galla und Sawdl*, pp. 50, 136). Sometimes perhaps the sacrifice consists of the

slayers' own blood. Among some Brazilian tribes the man who put a prisoner to death was scarified in his breast, arms, legs, and other parts of his body, because it was thought that he would die if his own blood were not drawn after he had taken that of the enemy. See Levy, *Historia Navigations in Brasilien, quae et America dictur* (1586), p. 192; Pero de Magalhães de Gândavo, *História de la provincia de Santa-Cruz* (Paris, 1837), p. 139 (Ternaux-Compans, *Voyages, relations et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique*); Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, ii. 305. So Orestes is said to have appeased the Furies of his murdered mother by biting off one of his fingers (Pausanias, *iii.* 34. 3).

expedition in which they have taken human heads are obliged to keep by themselves and abstain from a variety of things for several days; they may not touch iron nor eat salt or fish with bones, and they may have no intercourse with women.¹ In the Toaripi or Motumota tribe of south-eastern New Guinea a man who has killed another may not go near his wife, and may not touch food with his fingers. He is fed by others, and only with certain kinds of food. These observances last till the new moon.² Among the tribes at the mouth of the Wanigela River, in New Guinea, "a man who has taken life is considered to be impure until he has undergone certain ceremonies: as soon as possible after the deed he cleanses himself and his weapon. This satisfactorily accomplished, he repairs to his village and seats himself on the logs of sacrificial staging. No one approaches him or takes any notice of him. A house is prepared for him which is put in charge of two or three small boys as servants. He may eat only toasted bananas, and only the centre portion of them—the ends being thrown away. On the third day of his seclusion a small feast is prepared by his friends, who also fashion some new perineal bands for him. This is called *ivi poro*. The next day the man dons all his best ornaments and badges for taking life, and sallies forth fully armed and parades the village. The next day a hunt is organised, and a kangaroo selected from the game captured. It is cut open and the spleen and liver rubbed over the back of the man. He then walks solemnly down to the nearest water, and standing straddle-legs in it washes himself. All the young untried warriors swim between his legs. This is supposed to impart courage and strength to them. The following day, at early dawn, he dashes out of his house, fully armed, and calls aloud the name of his victim. Having satisfied himself that he has thoroughly scared the ghost of the dead man, he returns to his house. The beating of flooring-boards and the lighting of fires is also a certain method of scaring the ghost. A day later his

¹ S. W. Troup, "Eit de Salasila van Koetei," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- en Volkskunde van Negerlandisch Indië*, xxxvii. (1888), p. 74.

² Rev. J. Chalmers, "Toaripi," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii. (1898), p. 333.

purification is finished. He can then enter his wife's house."¹

In this last custom the washing of the homicide in the water is doubtless a mode of ridding him of his victim's ghost. Similarly among the Basutos "ablution is specially performed on return from battle. It is absolutely necessary that the warriors should rid themselves, as soon as possible, of the blood they have shed, or the shades of their victims would pursue them incessantly, and disturb their slumbers. They go in a procession, and in full armour, to the nearest stream. At the moment they enter the water a diviner, placed higher up, throws some purifying substances into the current. This is, however, not strictly necessary. The javelins and battle-axes also undergo the process of washing."² Nothing is here said of an enforced seclusion after the ceremonial washing, but some South African tribes certainly require the slayer of a very gallant foe in war to keep apart from his wife and family for ten days after he has washed his body in running water. He also receives from the tribal doctor a medicine which he chews with his food.³ A Zulu who has killed a man in battle is obliged to perform certain purificatory ceremonies before he may return to ordinary life. Amongst other things, he must be sure to make an incision in the corpse of his slain foe, in order to let the gases escape and so prevent the body from swelling. If he fails to do so, his own body will swell in proportion as the corpse becomes inflated.⁴ Among the Ovambos of Southern Africa, when the warriors return to their villages, those who have killed an enemy pass the first night in the open fields, and may not enter their houses until they have been cleansed of the guilt of blood by an older man, who smears

¹ R. E. Guise, "On the Tribes Inhabiting the Mouth of the Wamigela River, New Guinea," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxviii. (1899), p. 213 *sq.*

² Cassin, *The Basutos*, p. 258. So Caffres returning from battle are unclean and must wash before they enter their houses (L. Alberti, *De Kaffers*, p. 104). It would seem that after the slaughter of a foe the Greeks or

Romans had also to bathe in running water before they might touch holy things (Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 749 *sqq.*).

³ Rev. J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891) p. 138.

⁴ Miss Alice Werner, in a letter to the author dated 25th September 1899.

them for this purpose with a kind of porridge.¹ After the slaughter of the Midianites the Israelitish warriors were obliged to remain outside the camp for seven days; whoever had killed a man or touched the slain had to purify himself and his captive. The spoil taken from the enemy had also to be purified, according to its nature, either by fire or water.² Similarly among the Basutos cattle taken from the enemy are fumigated with bundles of lighted branches before they are allowed to mingle with the herds of the tribe.³

The Arunta of Central Australia believe that when a party of men has been out against the enemy and taken a life, the spirit of the slain man follows the party on its return and is constantly on the watch to do a mischief to those of the band who actually shed the blood. It takes the form of a little bird called the *chichurkna*, and may be heard crying like a child in the distance as it flies. If any of the slayers should fail to hear its cry, he would become paralysed in his right arm and shoulder. At night-time especially, when the bird is flying over the camp, the slayers have to lie awake and keep the right arm and shoulder carefully hidden, lest the bird should look down upon and harm them. When once they have heard its cry, their minds are at ease, because the spirit of the dead then recognises that he has been detected, and can therefore do no mischief. On their return to their friends, as soon as they come in sight of the main camp, they begin to perform an excited war-dance, approaching in the form of a square and moving their shields as if to ward off something which was being thrown at them. This action is intended to repel the angry spirit of the dead man, who is striving to attack them. Next the men who did the deed of blood separate themselves from the others, and forming a line, with spears at rest and shields held out in front, stand silent and motionless like statues. A number of old women now approach with a sort of exulting skip and strike the shields of the men-slayers with fighting-clubs till they ring again. They are followed by men who smite the shields with

¹ H. Schlioz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 321.

² Numbers xxxi. 19-24.

³ Cassin, *The Basutos*, p. 258 *sq.*

boomerangs. This striking of the shields is supposed to be a very effective way of frightening away the spirit of the dead man. The natives listen anxiously to the sounds emitted by the shields when they are struck; for if any man's shield gives forth a hollow sound under the blow, that man will not live long, but if it rings sharp and clear, he is safe. For some days after their return the slayers will not speak of what they have done, and continue to paint themselves all over with powdered charcoal, and to decorate their foreheads and noses with green twigs. Finally, they paint their bodies and faces with bright colours, and become free to talk about the affair; but still of nights they must lie awake listening for the plaintive cry of the bird in which they fancy they hear the voice of their victim.¹

In the Washington group of the Marquesas Islands, the man who has slain an enemy in battle becomes tabooed for ten days, during which he may hold no intercourse with his wife, and may not meddle with fire. Hence another has to make fire and to cook for him. Nevertheless he is treated with marked distinction and receives presents of pigs.² In the Pelew Islands, when the men return from a warlike expedition in which they have taken a life, the young warriors who have been out fighting for the first time, and all who handled the slain, are shut up in the large council-house and become tabooed. They may not quit the edifice, nor bathe, nor touch a woman, nor eat fish; their food is limited to cocoa-nuts and syrup. They rub themselves with charmed leaves and chew charmed betel. After three days they go together to bathe as near as possible to the spot where the man was killed.³ Among the Natchez of North America young braves who had taken their first scalps were obliged to observe certain rules of abstinence for six months. They might not sleep with their wives nor eat flesh; their only food was fish and hasty-pudding. If they broke these rules, they believed that the soul of the man they had killed would work their death by magic, that they would gain no more successes over the

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 493-495. (Frankfort, 1882), I. 114-115.

² J. Kahary, *Die sozialen Einrichtungen der Pelauer* (Berlin, 1885), p. 131.

³ Langsdorff, *Reise um die Welt*

enemy, and that the least wound inflicted on them would prove mortal.¹ When a Choctaw had killed an enemy and taken his scalp, he went into mourning for a month, during which he might not comb his hair, and if his head itched he might not scratch it except with a little stick which he wore fastened to his wrist for the purpose.² This ceremonial mourning for the enemies they had slain was not uncommon among the North American Indians. Thus the Dakotas, when they had killed a foe, unbraided their hair, blackened themselves all over, and wore a small knot of swan's down on the top of the head. "They dress as mourners yet rejoice."³ A Thompson River Indian of British Columbia, who had slain an enemy, used to blacken his own face, lest his victim's ghost should blind him.⁴ When the Osages have mourned over their own dead, "they will mourn for the foe just as if he was a friend."⁵ From observing the great respect paid by the Indians to the scalps they had taken, and listening to the mournful songs which they howled to the shades of their victims, Catlin was convinced that "they have a superstitious dread of the spirits of their slain enemies, and many conciliatory offices to perform, to ensure their own peace."⁶ When a Pima Indian has killed an Apache, he must undergo purification. Sixteen days he fasts, and only after the fourth day is he allowed to drink a little pinole. During the whole time he may not touch meat nor salt, nor look on a blazing fire, nor speak to a human being. He lives alone in the woods, waited on by an old woman, who brings him his scanty dole of food. He bathes often in a river, and keeps his head covered almost the whole time with a plaster of mud. On the seventeenth day a large space is cleared near the village and a fire lit in the middle of it. The men of the tribe form a circle round the fire, and outside of it sit all the warriors who have just been purified, each in a small excavation. Some of the old men then take the weapons

¹ "Relation des Natchez," *Voyages au Nord*, ii. 24 (Amsterdam, 1737); *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, vii. 26; Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vi. 186 sq.

² Bossu, *Nouveaux Voyages aux Indes occidentales* (Paris, 1768), ii. 94.

³ Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, iv. 63.

⁴ J. Teit, in *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii. part iv. (April 1900), p. 357.

⁵ J. O. Dorsey, "An Account of the War Customs of the Osages," *American Naturalist*, xviii. (1884), p. 126.

⁶ Catlin, *North American Indians*, i. 245.

of the purified and dance with them in the circle, after which both the slayer and his weapon are considered clean; but not until four days later is the man allowed to return to his family.¹ The Apaches, the enemies of the Pimas, purify themselves for the slaughter of their foes by means of baths in the sweat-house, singing, and other rites. These ceremonies they perform for all the dead simultaneously after their return home; but the Pimas, more punctilious on this point, resort to their elaborate ceremonies of purification the moment a single one of their own band or of the enemy has been laid low.² How heavily these religious scruples must tell against the Pimas in their wars with their ferocious enemies is obvious enough.

Far away from the torrid home of the Pima and Apaches, an old traveller witnessed ceremonies of the same sort practised near the Arctic Circle by some Indians who had surprised and brutally massacred an unoffending and helpless party of Esquimaux. His description is so interesting that I will quote it in full. "Among the various superstitious customs of those people, it is worth remarking, and ought to have been mentioned in its proper place, that immediately after my companions had killed the Esquimaux at the Copper River, they considered themselves in a state of uncleanness, which induced them to practise some very curious and unusual ceremonies. In the first place, all who were absolutely concerned in the murder were prohibited from cooking any kind of victuals, either for themselves or others. As luckily there were two in company who had not shed blood, they were employed always as cooks till we joined the women. This circumstance was exceedingly favourable on my side; for had there been no persons of the above description in company, that task, I was told, would have fallen on me; which would have been no less fatiguing and troublesome, than humiliating and vexatious. When the victuals were cooked, all the murderers took a kind of red earth, or oker, and painted all the space between the nose and chin, as well as the greater

¹ H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 553; Capt. Groseman, cited in *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology*, [Washington, 1892], p. 475 19.

² J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Cochise*, p. 203.

part of their cheeks, almost to the ears, before they would taste a bit, and would not drink out of any other dish, or smoke out of any other pipe, but their own; and none of the others seemed willing to drink or smoke out of theirs. We had no sooner joined the women, at our return from the expedition, than there seemed to be an universal spirit of emulation among them, vying who should make a suit of ornaments for their husbands, which consisted of bracelets for the wrists, and a band for the forehead, composed of porcupine quills and moose-hair, curiously wrought on leather. The custom of painting the mouth and part of the cheeks before each meal, and drinking and smoking out of their own utensils, was strictly and invariably observed, till the winter began to set in; and during the whole of that time they would never kiss any of their wives or children. They refrained also from eating many parts of the deer and other animals, particularly the head, entrails, and blood; and during their uncleanness, their victuals were never sodden in water, but dried in the sun, eaten quite raw, or broiled, when a fire fit for the purpose could be procured. When the time arrived that was to put an end to these ceremonies, the men, without a female being present, made a fire at some distance from the tents, into which they threw all their ornaments, pipe-stems, and dishes, which were soon consumed to ashes; after which a feast was prepared, consisting of such articles as they had long been prohibited from eating; and when all was over, each man was at liberty to eat, drink, and smoke as he pleased; and also to kiss his wives and children at discretion, which they seemed to do with more raptures than I had ever known them to do it either before or since."¹

¹ S. Hearne, *Journey from Prince of Wales's Fort in Hudson's Bay to the Northern Ocean* (London, 1795), pp. 204-206. The custom of painting the face or the body of the manslayer, which may perhaps be intended to disguise him from the vengeful spirit of the slain, is practised by other peoples. Among the Berins Gallas, when a war-party has returned to the village, the victors who have slain a foe are washed by the women with a

mixture of fat and butter, and their faces are painted with red and white (Ph. Paullitschke, *Ethnographie Nordost-Afrikas: die materielle Cultur der Damkil, Galla und Somali* (Berlin, 1893), p. 258). Among the Angoul of Central Africa, after a successful raid, the leader calls together all who have killed an enemy and paints their faces and heads white; also he paints a white band round the body under the arms and across the chest (*British*

Thus we see that warriors who have taken the life of a foe in battle are temporarily cut off from free intercourse with their fellows, and especially with their wives, and must undergo certain rites of purification before they are readmitted to society. Now if the purpose of their seclusion and of the expiatory rites which they have to perform is, as we have been led to believe, no other than to shake off, frighten, or appease the angry spirit of the slain man, we may safely conjecture that the similar purification of homicides and murderers, who have imbrued their hands in the blood of a fellow-tribesman, had at first the same significance, and that the idea of a moral or spiritual regeneration symbolised by the washing, the fasting, and so on, was merely a later interpretation put upon the old custom by men who had outgrown the primitive modes of thought in which the custom originated. The conjecture will be confirmed if we can show that savages have actually imposed certain restrictions on the murderer of a fellow-tribesman from a definite fear that he is haunted by the ghost of his victim. This we can do with regard to the Omahas, a tribe of the Siouan stock in North America. Among these Indians the kinsmen of a murdered man had the right to put the murderer to death, but sometimes they refrained from exercising their right in consideration of presents which they consented to accept. When the life of the murderer was spared, he had to observe certain stringent rules for a period which varied from two to four years. He must walk barefoot, and he might eat no warm food, nor raise his voice, nor look around. He was compelled to pull his robe around him and to have it tied at the neck even in hot weather; he might not let it hang loose or fly open. He might not move his hands about, but had to keep them close to his body. He might not comb his hair, and it might not be blown about by the wind. When the tribe went out hunting, he was obliged to pitch his tent

Central Africa Gazette, No. 86, vol. v. No. 6 (30th April 1898), p. 2). A Kossa Caffre who has slain a man is accounted unclean. He must roast some flesh on a *lee* killed with wood of a special sort which imparts a bitter flavour to the meat. This flesh he

eats, and afterwards blackens his face with the ashes of the fire. After a time he may wash himself, rinse his mouth with fresh milk, and paint himself brown again. From that moment he is clean (H. Lichtenstein, *Reisen in Südlichen Africa*, 3, 418).

about a quarter of a mile from the rest of the people "lest the ghost of his victim should raise a high wind, which might cause damage." Only one of his kindred was allowed to remain with him at his tent. No one wished to eat with him, for they said, "If we eat with him whom Wakanda hates, Wakanda will hate us." Sometimes he wandered at night crying and lamenting his offence. At the end of his long isolation the kinsmen of the murdered man heard his crying and said, "It is enough. Begone, and walk among the crowd. Put on moccasins and wear a good robe."¹ Here the reason alleged for keeping the murderer at a considerable distance from the hunters gives the clue to all the other restrictions laid on him: he was haunted and therefore dangerous. The ancient Greeks believed that the soul of a man who had just been killed was wroth with his slayer and troubled him; wherefore it was needful even for the involuntary homicide to depart from his country for a year until the anger of the dead man had cooled down; nor might the slayer return until sacrifice had been offered and ceremonies of purification performed. If his victim chanced to be a foreigner, the homicide had to shun the native country of the dead man as well as his own.² The legend of the matricide Orestes, how he roamed from place to place pursued by the Furies of his murdered mother, and none would sit at meat with him, or take him in, till he had been purified,³ reflects faithfully the real Greek dread of such as were still haunted by an angry ghost.

Among the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia, men who have partaken of human flesh as a ceremonial rite are subject for a long time afterwards to many restrictions or taboos of the sort we have been dealing with. They may not touch their wives for a whole year; and during the same time they are forbidden to work or gamble. For four months they must live alone in their bedrooms, and when they are obliged to quit the house for a necessary purpose,

¹ J. Owen Dorsey, "Omaha Sociology," *Third Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1884), p. 369.

² Plato, *Lysis*, ix. pp. 865u-866a; Demosthenes, *Contra Ariston*, p. 643.

³ Hesychius, s.v. *breusitropos*.

⁴ Euripides, *Iphig. in Taur.* 940

107.; Pausanias, ii. 31. 8. We may compare the wanderings of the other matricide Alcmaeon, who could find no rest till he came to a new land on which the sun had not yet shone when he murdered his mother (Theophrastus, ii. 102; Apollodorus, iii. 7. 5; Pausanias, xii. 24. 5).

they may not go out at the ordinary door, but must use only the secret door in the rear of the house. On such occasions each of them is attended by all the rest, carrying small sticks. They must all sit down together on a long log, then get up, then sit down again, repeating this three times before they are allowed to remain seated. Before they rise they must turn round four times. Then they go back to the house. Before entering they must raise their feet four times; with the fourth step they really pass the door, taking care to enter with the right foot foremost. In the doorway they turn four times and walk slowly into the house. They are not permitted to look back. During the four months of their seclusion each man in eating must use a spoon, dish, and kettle of his own, which are thrown away at the end of the period. Before he draws water from a bucket or a brook, he must dip his cup into it thrice; and he may not take more than four mouthfuls at one time. He must carry a wing-bone of an eagle and drink through it, for his lips may not touch the brim of his cup. He also wears a copper nail to scratch his head with, for were his own nails to touch his own skin they would drop off. For sixteen days after he has partaken of human flesh he may not eat any warm food, and for the whole of the four months he is forbidden to cool hot food by blowing on it with his breath. At the end of winter, when the season of ceremonies is over, he feigns to have forgotten the ordinary ways of men, and has to learn everything anew. The reason for these remarkable restrictions imposed on men who have eaten human flesh is not stated; but we may surmise that fear of the ghost of the man whose body was eaten has at least a good deal to do with them. We are confirmed in our conjecture by observing that though these cannibals sometimes content themselves with taking bites out of living people, the rules in question are especially obligatory on them after they have devoured a corpse. Moreover, the careful treatment of the bones of the victim points to the same conclusion; for during the four months of seclusion observed by the cannibals, the bones of the person on whom they dined are kept alternately for four days at a time under rocks in the sea and in their bedrooms on the north side of

the house, where the sun cannot strike them. Finally the bones are thrown into the sea.¹

Thus in primitive society the rules of ceremonial purity observed by divine kings, chiefs, and priests agree in many respects with the rules observed by homicides, mourners, women in childbed, girls at puberty, and so on. To us these various classes of persons appear to differ totally in character and condition; some of them we should call holy, others we might pronounce unclean and polluted. But the savage makes no such moral distinction between them; the conceptions of holiness and pollution are not yet differentiated in his mind. To him the common feature of all these persons is that they are dangerous and in danger, and the danger in which they stand and to which they expose others is what we should call spiritual or supernatural, that is, imaginary. The danger, however, is not less real because it is imaginary; imagination acts upon man as really as does gravitation, and may kill him as certainly as a dose of prussic acid. To seclude these persons from the rest of the world so that the dreaded spiritual danger shall neither reach them, nor spread from them, is the object of the taboos which they have to observe. These taboos act, so to say, as electrical insulators to preserve the spiritual force with which these persons are charged from suffering or inflicting harm by contact with the outer world.²

¹ Fr. Bonn, "The social organization and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895*, p. 537 *sq.*

² On the nature of taboo see my article "Taboo" in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition, vol. xxiii. p. 15 *sqq.*; W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,² pp. 148 *sqq.*, 446 *sqq.* Some languages have retained a word for that general idea which includes under it the notions which we now distinguish as sanctity and pollution. The word in Latin is *agens*, in Greek, *ἄγιος*. In Polynesian it is *tahu* (Tongan), *tapu* (Samoa, Tahiti, etc.), *tapu* (Marquesas, Maori, etc.), or *tapu* (Hawaiian). See E. Tregear, *Maoi-Polynesian Comparative Dictionary* (Wellington, N.Z., 1891), *cv*.

tapu. In Diction the word is *tapu*, which in Biggs's *Diction-English Dictionary* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. vii., Washington, 1890, p. 509 *sq.*) is defined as "spiritual, sacred, consecrated; wonderful, incomprehensible; said also of women at the menstrual period." Another writer in the same dictionary defines *tapu* more fully as follows: "Mysterious; incomprehensible; in a peculiar state, which, from not being understood, it is dangerous to meddle with; hence the application of this word to women at the menstrual period, and from hence, too, arises the feeling among the wilder Indians, that if the Bible, the church, the missionary, etc., are 'tapu,' they are to be avoided, or shunned, not as being bad or dangerous,

It was unlawful to lay hands on the person of a Spartan king;¹ no one might touch the body of the King or Queen of Tahiti;² and no one may touch the King of Cambodia for any purpose whatever, without his express command. In July 1874 the king was thrown from his carriage and lay insensible on the ground, but not one of his suite dared to touch him; a European coming to the spot carried the injured monarch to his palace.³ No one may touch the King of Corea; and if he deigns to touch a subject, the spot touched becomes sacred, and the person thus honoured must wear a visible mark (generally a cord of red silk) for the rest of his life. Above all, no iron may touch the king's body. In 1800 King Tieng-tsang-tai-oang died of a tumour in the back, no one dreaming of employing the lancet, which would probably have saved his life. It is said that one king suffered terribly from an abscess in the lip, till his physician called in a jester, whose pranks made the king laugh heartily, and so the abscess burst.⁴ Roman and Sabine priests might not be shaved with iron but only with bronze razors or shears;⁵ and whenever an iron graving-tool was brought

but as waken. The word seems to be the only one suitable for *holy, sacred, etc.*, but the common acceptance of it, given above, makes it quite misleading to the *heathen*. On the notion designated by *wakan*, see also G. H. Pond, "Dakota Superstitions," *Collections of the Minnesota Historical Society for the year 1867* (Saint Paul, 1867), p. 33; J. Owen Dorsey, in *Eleventh Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1894), p. 366 *sq.* It is characteristic of the equivocal notion denoted by these terms that, whereas the condition of women in childhood is commonly regarded by the savage as what we should call unclean, among the Ovaherero the same condition is described as holy; for some time after the birth of her child, the woman is secluded in a hut made specially for her, and every morning the milk of all the cows is brought to her that she may consecrate it by cooching it with her mouth. See H. Schinz, *Deutsch-Südwest-Afrika*, p. 167. Again, whereas a girl at puberty is

commonly secluded as dangerous, among the Wazundi of Eastern Africa she is led by her grandmother all over the house and obliged to touch everything (O. Baumann, *Durch Masailand zur Nilquelle* (Berlin, 1894), p. 221), as if her touch imparted a blessing instead of a curse.

¹ Plutarch, *Agis*, 19.

² W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii. 102.

³ J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Cambodge* (Paris, 1883), i. 226.

⁴ Ch. Dallet, *Histoire de l'Église de Corée* (Paris, 1874), i. p. xxiv. *sq.*; Griffis, *Corea, the Hermit Nation*, p. 219.

⁵ Macrobius, *Sat.* 7. 19. 13; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* i. 448; Joannes Lydus, *De mensuris*, i. 31. We have already seen (p. 242) that the hair of the Flamen Dialis might only be cut with a bronze knife. The Greeks attributed a certain cleansing virtue to bronze; hence they employed it in expiatory rites, at eclipses, etc. See Schul. on Theocritus, li. 36.

into the sacred grove of the Arval Brothers at Rome for the purpose of cutting an inscription in stone, an expiatory sacrifice of a lamb and a pig was offered, which was repeated when the graving-tool was removed from the grove.¹ As a general rule iron might not be brought into Greek sanctuaries.² In Crete sacrifices were offered to Menedemus without the use of iron, because the legend ran that Menedemus had been killed by an iron weapon in the Trojan war.³ The Archon of Plataeae might not touch iron; but once a year, at the annual commemoration of the men who fell at the battle of Plataeae, he was allowed to carry a sword wherewith to sacrifice a bull.⁴ To this day a Hottentot priest never uses an iron knife, but always a sharp splint of quartz, in sacrificing an animal or circumcising a lad.⁵ Amongst the Moquis of Arizona stone knives, hatchets, and so on have passed out of common use, but are retained in religious ceremonies.⁶ After the Pawnees had ceased to use stone arrow-heads for ordinary purposes, they still employed them to slay the sacrifices, whether human captives or buffalo and deer.⁷ Negroes of the Gold Coast remove all

¹ *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, ed. Hensen, pp. 128-135; Mauquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung*, iii. ² (*Das Sacralwesen*) p. 459 ff.

³ Ptolemy, *Prosepta gerenda vi publicae*, xxi. 7. Ptolemy here mentions that gold was also excluded from some temples. At first sight this is surprising, for in general neither the gods nor their ministers have displayed any marked aversion to gold. But a little inquiry suffices to clear up the mystery and set the scruple in its proper light. From an inscription discovered a few years ago we learn that no person might enter the sanctuary of the Mistress at Lycosura wearing golden trinkets, unless for the purpose of dedicating them to the goddess; and if any one did enter the holy place with such ornaments on his body but no such pious intention in his mind, the trinkets were forfeited to the use of religion. See *Ἐφεσίου ἀρχαῖων ἀρχαῖα* (Athens, 1898), col. 249; compare P. Cavadias, *Fouilles de Lycosura* (Athens, 1893), p. 13. The similar rule, that in the procession at the mysteries of Andania no

woman might wear golden ornaments (Dittenberger, *Syllabe Inscriptionum Graecarum*, No. 388, p. 569), was probably subject to a similar exception and enforced by a similar penalty. Once more, if the maidens who served Athena on the Acropolis at Athens put on gold ornaments, the ornaments became sacred, in other words, the property of the goddess (Harpocration, s.v. ἀγρονομία). Thus it appears that the pious scruple about gold concerned rather its exit from, than its entrance into, the sacred edifice.

⁴ Callimachus, referred to by the Old Scholiast on Ovid, *Ibis*. See Callimachus, ed. Bleekfeld, p. 216; Laubeck, *Aglaphaena*, p. 686.

⁵ Ptolemy, *Aristoteles*, 21. This passage was pointed out to me by my friend Mr. W. Wyse.

⁶ Theophilus Hahn, *Tumuli-Gaun, the Supreme Being of the Khas-Khas*, p. 22.

⁷ J. G. Bourke, *The Snake Dance of the Moquis of Arizona*, p. 178 ff.

⁸ G. B. Grinnell, *Pawnee Hero Stories and Folk-tales*, p. 253.

iron or steel from their person when they consult their fetish.¹ The men who made the need-fire in Scotland had to divest themselves of all metal.² In the Highlands of Scotland the shoulder-blades of sheep are employed in divination, being consulted as to future marriages, births, deaths, and funerals; but the forecasts thus made will not be accurate unless the flesh has been removed from the bones without the use of any iron.³ In making the *clavie* (a kind of Yule-tide fire-wheel) at Burghead, no hammer may be used; the hammering must be done with a stone.⁴ Amongst the Jews no iron tool was used in building the Temple at Jerusalem or in making an altar.⁵ The old wooden bridge (*Pons Sublicius*) at Rome, which was considered sacred, was made and had to be kept in repair without the use of iron or bronze.⁶ It was expressly provided by law that the temple of Jupiter Liber at Burfo might be repaired with iron tools.⁷ The council chamber at Cyzicus was constructed of wood without any iron nails, the beams being so arranged that they could be taken out and replaced.⁸ The late Raja Vijyanagram, a member of the Viceroy's Council, and described as one of the most enlightened and estimable of Hindoo princes, would not allow iron to be used in the construction of buildings within his territory, believing that its use would inevitably be followed by small-pox and other epidemics.⁹

This superstitious objection to iron perhaps dates from that early time in the history of society when iron was still

¹ C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides* (ed. 1883), p. 195.

² James Logan, *The Scottish Gael* (ed. Alex. Stewart), ii. 68 *sq.*

³ R. C. MacIsaac, M.D., "Notes on folklore objects from Argyllshire," *Folk-lore*, vi. (1895), p. 157. The shoulder-blades of sheep have been used in divination by many peoples, for example by the South Slavs, Tartars, Kirghiz, and Calmucks, as well as by the Scotch. See M. MacPhail, "Traditions, customs, and superstitions of the Lewis," *Folk-lore*, vi. (1895), p. 167; Dalryell, *Darbar Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 515 *sqq.*; F. S. Kraus, *Völkerglaube und religiöser Brauch der*

Südslawen, pp. 166-170; W. Radloff, *Proben der Völkerritteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, iii. 115, note 1, compare p. 132.

⁴ C. F. Gordon Cumming, *In the Hebrides*, p. 226; E. J. Guthrie, *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 223.

⁵ 1 Kings vi. 7; Exodus xx. 25.

⁶ Dionysius Halicarn. *Antiquit. Roman.* iii. 45, v. 24; Plutarch, *Numa*, 9; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxxvi. 100.

⁷ *Acta Fratrum Arvalium*, ed. Henzen, p. 138; *Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum*, I. No. 603.

⁸ Pliny, l.c.

⁹ *Indian Antiquary*, x. (1881), p. 364.

a novelty, and as such was viewed by many with suspicion and dislike. For everything new is apt to excite the awe and dread of the savage. "It is a curious superstition," says a pioneer in Borneo, "this of the Dusuns, to attribute anything—whether good or bad, lucky or unlucky—that happens to them to something novel which has arrived in their country. For instance, my living in Kindram has caused the intensely hot weather we have experienced of late."¹ Some years ago a harmless naturalist was collecting plants among the high forest-clad mountains on the borders of China and Tibet. From the summit of a pass he gazed with delight down a long valley which, stretching away as far as eye could reach to the south, resembled a sea of bloom, for everywhere the forest was ablaze with the gorgeous hues of the rhododendron and azalea in flower. In this earthly paradise the votary of science hastened to install himself beside a lake. But hardly had he done so when, alas! the weather changed. Though the season was early June, the cold became intense, snow fell heavily, and the bloom of the rhododendrons was cut off. The inhabitants of a neighbouring village at once set down the unusual severity of the weather to the presence of a stranger in the forest; and a round-robin, signed by them unanimously, was forwarded to the nearest mandarin, setting forth that the snow which had blocked the road, and the hail which was blasting their crops, were alike caused by the intruder, and that all sorts of disturbances would follow if he were allowed to remain. In these circumstances the naturalist, who had intended to spend most of the summer among the mountains, was forced to decamp. "Collecting in this country," he adds pathetically, "is not an easy matter."² The unusually heavy rains which happened to follow the English survey of the Nicobar Islands in the winter of 1886-1887 were imputed by the alarmed natives to the wrath of the spirits at the theodolites, dumpy-levellers, and other strange instruments which had been set up in so many of their favourite haunts; and some of them proposed to soothe the anger of

¹ Frank Haxton, *North Borneo* (1886), p. 233.

² A. E. Pratt, "Two journeys to

Ta-tien-hu on the eastern borders of Tibet," *Proceedings of the R. Geographical Society*, xiii. (1891), p. 341.

the spirits by sacrificing a pig.¹ According to the Orotchis of Eastern Siberia, misfortunes have multiplied on them with the coming of Europeans; "they even go so far as to lay the appearance of *new* phenomena like thunder at the door of the Russians."² In the seventeenth century a succession of bad seasons excited a revolt among the Esthonian peasantry, who traced the origin of the evil to a water-mill, which put a stream to some inconvenience by checking its flow.³ The first introduction of iron ploughshares into Poland having been followed by a succession of bad harvests, the farmers attributed the badness of the crops to the iron ploughshares, and discarded them for the old wooden ones. To this day the primitive Baduwis of Java, who live chiefly by husbandry, will use no iron tools in tilling their fields.⁴

The general dislike of innovation, which always makes itself strongly felt in the sphere of religion, is sufficient by itself to account for the superstitious aversion to iron entertained by kings and priests and attributed by them to the gods; possibly this aversion may have been intensified in places by some such accidental cause as the series of bad seasons which cast discredit on iron ploughshares in Poland. But the disfavour in which iron is held by the gods and their ministers has another side. Their antipathy to the metal furnishes men with a weapon which may be turned against the spirits when occasion serves. As their dislike of iron is supposed to be so great that they will not approach persons and things protected by the obnoxious metal, iron may obviously be employed as a charm for banning ghosts and other dangerous spirits. And it often is so used. Thus when Scotch fishermen were at sea,

¹ W. Srobeda, "Die Bewohner des Nikolai-Archipels," *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie*, vi. (1893), p. 13.

² E. H. Frazer, "The fish-eatin Tartars," *Journal of the China Branch of the R. Asiatic Society for the year 1891-92*, N.S., xxvi. p. 15.

³ Kreutewald und Nann, *Mythische und magische Lieder der Esten* (St. Petersburg, 1854), p. 113.

⁴ Alexand. Guagninus, "De ósacra

Samogitia," in *Republika iwo Status Regni Polonice, Lituanice, Prussice, Livonie, etc.* (Elzevir, 1627), p. 276; Johan. Lasicius, "De diis Samogitarum meteorologicis Sarmatibus," in *Republika*, etc. (*loc. supra*), p. 294 (p. 84, ed. Mannhardt, in *Magna hibernica*, von der Lettsch-Literär-Gesellschaft, bd. xiv.).

⁵ L. von Ende, "Die Badawis von Java," *Mittheilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, xiv. (1889), p. 10.

and one of them happened to take the name of God in vain, the first man who heard him called out "Cauld airn," at which every man of the crew grasped the nearest bit of iron and held it between his hands for a while.² So too when he hears the unlucky word "pig" mentioned a Scotch fisherman will feel for the nails in his boots and mutter "cauld airn."³ The same magic words are even whispered in the churches of Scotch fishing-villages when the clergyman reads the passage about the Gadarene swine.⁴ In Morocco iron is considered a great protection against demons; hence it is usual to place a knife or dagger under a sick man's pillow.⁵ The Cingalese believe that they are constantly surrounded by evil spirits, who lie in wait to do them harm. A peasant would not dare to carry good food, such as cakes or roast meat, from one place to another without putting an iron nail on it to prevent a demon from taking possession of the viands and so making the eater ill. No sick person, whether man or woman, would venture out of the house without a bunch of keys or a knife in his hand, for without such a talisman he would fear that some devil might take advantage of his weak state to slip into his body. And if a man has a large sore on his body he tries to keep a morsel of iron on it as a protection against demons.⁶ Among the Majhwar, an aboriginal tribe in the hill country of South Mirzapur, an iron implement such as a sickle or a betel cutter is constantly kept near an infant's head during its first year for the purpose of warding off the attacks of ghosts.⁷ On the Slave Coast of Africa when a mother sees her child gradually wasting away, she concludes that a demon has entered into the child and takes her measures accordingly. To lure the demon out of the body of her offspring, she offers a sacrifice of food; and while the devil is bolting it, she attaches iron rings and small bells to her

² E. J. Guthrie, *Old Scottish Customs*, p. 149; Ch. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland* (London, 1886), iii. 218.

³ J. Macdonald, *Religion and Myth*, p. 91.

⁴ W. Gregor, *Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 201. The fishermen think that if the word "pig," "swine," or "swine" be uttered while

the lines are being baited, the line will certainly be lost.

⁵ A. Leared, *Morocco and the Moors* (London, 1876), p. 273.

⁶ Wickremasinghe, in *Ann. Unvers.*, v. (1894), p. 7.

⁷ W. Crooke, *Tricks and Curses of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 431.

child's ankles and hangs iron chains round his neck. The jingling of the iron and the tinkling of the bells are supposed to prevent the demon, when he has finished his meal, from entering again into the body of the little sufferer. Hence many children may be seen in this part of Africa weighed down with iron ornaments.¹ In India "the mourner who performs the ceremony of putting fire into the dead person's mouth carries with him a piece of iron: it may be a key or a knife, or a simple piece of iron, and during the whole time of his separation (for he is unclean for a certain time, and no one will either touch him or eat or drink with him, neither can he change his clothes²) he carries the piece of iron about with him to keep off the evil spirit. In Calcutta the Bengali clerks in the Government Offices used to wear a small key on one of their fingers when they had been chief mourners."³ In the north-east of Scotland immediately after a death had taken place, a piece of iron, such as a nail or a knitting-wire, used to be stuck into all the meal, butter, cheese, flesh, and whisky in the house, "to prevent death from entering them." The neglect of this precaution is said to have been closely followed by the corruption of the food and drink; the whisky has been known to become as white as milk.⁴ When iron is used as a protective charm after a death, as in these Hindoo and Scotch customs, the spirit against which it is directed is the ghost of the deceased.⁵

There is a priestly king to the north of Zengwih in Burma, revered by the Sotih as the highest spiritual and temporal authority, into whose house no weapon or cutting instrument may be brought.⁶ This rule may perhaps be explained by a custom observed by various peoples after a death; they refrain from the use of sharp instruments so

¹ A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 113.

² The reader may observe how closely the taboos laid upon mourners resemble those laid upon kings. From what has gone before, the reason of the resemblance is obvious.

³ *Panjab Notes and Queries*, III. p. 60, § 282.

⁴ W. Gregor, *Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland*, p. 206.

⁵ This is expressly said in *Panjab*

Notes and Queries, III. p. 202, § 846. On iron as a protective charm see also Liebrecht, *Gewandur von Tilsbury*, p. 99 sq.; *id.*, *Zur Volkskunde*, p. 311; L. Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg*, I. p. 354 sq., § 233; Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*,² § 414 sq.; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*,² I. 140; Mannhardt, *Baumkulte*, p. 132 note.

⁶ Bastian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, I. 136.

long as the ghost of the deceased is supposed to be near, lest they should wound it. Thus after a death the Roumanians of Transylvania are careful not to leave a knife lying with the sharp edge uppermost as long as the corpse remains in the house, "or else the soul will be forced to ride on the blade."¹ For seven days after a death, the corpse being still in the house, the Chinese abstain from the use of knives and needles, and even of chopsticks, eating their food with their fingers.² Amongst the Inuit or Esquimaux of Alaska for four days after a death the women in the village do no sewing, and for five days the men do not cut wood with an axe.³ On the third, sixth, ninth, and fortieth days after the funeral the old Prussians and Lithuanians used to prepare a meal, to which, standing at the door, they invited the soul of the deceased. At these meals they sat silent round the table and used no knives, and the women who served up the food were also without knives. If any morsels fell from the table they were left lying there for the lonely souls that had no living relations or friends to feed them. When the meal was over the priest took a broom and swept the souls out of the house, saying, "Dear souls, ye have eaten and drunk. Go forth, go forth."⁴ In cutting the nails and combing the hair of a dead prince in South Celebes only the back of the knife and of the comb may be used.⁵ The Germans say that a knife should not be left edge upwards, because God and the spirits dwell there, or because it will cut the face of God and the angels.⁶ In Uganda, when the hour of a woman's delivery is at hand, her husband carries

¹ W. Schmidt, *Das Jahr und sein Tag in Meinung und Brauch der Rumänen Siebenbürgens* (Hermannstadt, 1866), p. 40; E. Geerd, *The Land beyond the Forest*, i. 312.

² J. H. Gray, *China*, i. 288.

³ W. H. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 146; *id.*, in *American Naturalist*, ser. 73, *id.*, in *The Yukon Territory* (London, 1898), p. 146.

⁴ Jo. Mejerius, "De religione et institutis veterum Borussiae," in *De Ruscorum Munuscularum et Tartarorum religione, institutis, neptumque, funerum rito* (Spina, 1582), p. 263; Hartknoch, *Alt und neuer Preussen*

(Frankfort and Leipzig, 1684), p. 187 *sq.*; J. Menesius, "De sacrificiis et idolotria veterum Borussiae, Livonum, altarumque vicinarum gentium," reprinted in *Scriptores rerum Livonicarum*, vol. ii. (Riga and Leipzig, 1848), p. 391 *sq.*

⁵ B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, p. 136.

⁶ Tettnau und Temme, *Die Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens*, p. 285; Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,³ iii. 454, *q.v.* pp. 441, 469; Grohmann, *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren*, p. 198, § 1387.

all spears and weapons out of the house,¹ doubtless in order that they may not hurt the tender soul of the new-born child. Early in the period of the Ming dynasty a professor of geomancy made the alarming discovery that the spiritual atmosphere of Kù-yung, a city near Nanking, was in a truly deplorable condition owing to the intrusion of an evil spirit. The Chinese emperor, with paternal solicitude, directed that the north gate, by which the devil had effected his entrance, should be built up solid, and that for the future the population of the city should devote their energies to the pursuits of hair-dressing, corn-cutting, and the shaving of bamboo-roots, because, as he sagaciously perceived, all these professions call for the use of sharp-edged instruments, which could not fail to keep the demon at bay.² We can now understand why no cutting instrument may be taken into the house of the Burmese pontiff. Like so many priestly kings, he is probably regarded as divine, and it is therefore right that his sacred spirit should not be exposed to the risk of being cut or wounded whenever it quits his body to hover invisible in the air or to fly on some distant mission.

We have seen that the Flamen Dialis was forbidden to touch or even name raw flesh.³ In the Pelew Islands when a raid has been made on a village and a head carried off, the relations of the slain man are tabooed and have to submit to certain observances in order to escape the wrath of his ghost. They are shut up in the house, touch no raw flesh, and chew betel over which an incantation has been uttered by the exorcist. After this the ghost of the slaughtered man goes away to the enemy's country in pursuit of his murderer.⁴ The taboo is probably based on the common belief that the soul or spirit of the animal is in the blood. As tabooed persons are believed to be in a perilous state—for example, the relations of the slain man are liable to the attacks of his indignant ghost—it is especially necessary to isolate them from contact with spirits; hence the prohibition to touch raw meat. But as usual the

¹ Fr. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Hiv. von Afrika*, p. 134.

² J. J. M. de Groot, *The Religious System of China*, iii. 1045 (Leyden, 1897).

³ Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 110; *Ælian* Gellius, x. 15. 12.

⁴ J. Kubary, *Die sozialen Einrichtungen der Palauer* (Berlin, 1885), p. 126 sq.

taboo is only the special enforcement of a general precept; in other words, its observance is particularly enjoined in circumstances which seem urgently to call for its application, but apart from such circumstances the prohibition is also observed, though less strictly, as a common rule of life. Thus some of the Esthonians will not taste blood because they believe that it contains the animal's soul, which would enter the body of the person who tasted the blood.¹ Some Indian tribes of North America, "through a strong principle of religion, abstain in the strictest manner from eating the blood of any animal, as it contains the life and spirit of the beast." These Indians "commonly pull their new-killed venison (before they dress it) several times through the smoke and flame of the fire, both by the way of a sacrifice and to consume the blood, life, or animal spirits of the beast, which with them would be a most horrid abomination to eat."² Among the Western Dénés or Tinnéh Indians of British Columbia until lately no woman would partake of blood, "and both men and women abhorred the flesh of a beaver which had been caught and died in a trap, and of a bear strangled to death in a snare, because the blood remained in the carcase."³ Many of the Slave, Hare, and Dogrib Indians scruple to taste the blood of game; hunters of the former tribes collect the blood in the animal's paunch and bury it in the snow.⁴ Jewish hunters poured out the blood of the game they had killed and covered it up with dust. They would not taste the blood, believing that the soul or life of the animal was in the blood, or actually was the blood.⁵ The same belief was held by the Romans,⁶ and is shared by the Arabs,⁷ and by some of the Papuan tribes of New Guinea.⁸

¹ E. J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Esthnen* (St. Petersburg, 1876), pp. 448, 478.

² James Adair, *History of the American Indians* (London, 1775), pp. 134, 177. The Indians described by Adair are the Creek, Cherokee, and other tribes in the south-east of the United States.

³ A. G. Morice, "The Western Dénés, their Manners and Customs," *Proceedings of the Canadian Institute*, Third Series, vii. (1888-89), p. 164.

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⁴ E. Petitot, *Monographie des Dénés* (Paris, 1876), p. 76.

⁵ Leviticus xvi. 10-14. The Hebrew word translated "life" in the English version of verse 11 means also "soul" (marginal note in the Revised Version). Compare Deuteronomy xii. 23-25.

⁶ Servius on Virgil, *Æn.* v. 79; compare *id.*, on *Æn.* iii. 67.

⁷ J. Wellhausen, *Reste Arabischen Heidentums* (Berlin, 1887), p. 217.

⁸ A. Goudswaard, *De Papoea's van de Geestwinkbau* (Schiedam, 1863), p. 77.

It is a common rule that royal blood may not be shed upon the ground. Hence when a king or one of his family is to be put to death a mode of execution is devised by which the royal blood shall not be spilt upon the earth. About the year 1688 the generalissimo of the army rebelled against the King of Siam and put him to death "after the manner of royal criminals, or as princes of the blood are treated when convicted of capital crimes, which is by putting them into a large iron caldron, and pounding them to pieces with wooden pestles, because none of their royal blood must be spilt on the ground, it being, by their religion, thought great impiety to contaminate the divine blood by mixing it with earth."¹ Other Siamese modes of executing a royal person are starvation, suffocation, stretching him on a scarlet cloth and thrusting a billet of fragrant sandal-wood into his stomach,² or lastly, sewing him up in a leather sack with a large stone and throwing him into the river; sometimes the sufferer's neck is broken with sandal-wood clubs before he is thrown into the water.³ When Kublai Khan defeated and took his uncle Nayan, who had rebelled against him, he caused Nayan to be put to death by being wrapt in a carpet and tossed to and fro till he died, "because he would not have the blood of his Line Imperial spilt upon the ground or exposed in the eye of Heaven and before the Sun."⁴ "Friar Ricold mentions the Tartar maxim: 'One Khan will put another to death to get possession of the throne, but he takes great care that the blood be not spilt. For they say that it is highly improper that the blood of the Great Khan should be spilt upon the ground; so they cause the victim to be smothered somehow or other.' The like feeling prevails at the court of Burma, where a peculiar mode of execution without bloodshed is reserved for princes of the blood."⁵ In 1878 the relations of Theebaw, King of Burma, were despatched by being beaten across the throat with a bamboo.⁶ In Tonquin the

¹ Hamilton's "Account of the East Indies," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, vii. 469. Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,³ i. 369, note 1.

² De la Loubère, *Du Royaume de Siam*, i. 317.

³ Faileguix, *Description du Royaume Thai en Siam*, i. 271, 365 sq.

⁴ Marco Polo, trans. by Col. H. Yule (2nd ed. 1875), i. 335.

⁵ Col. H. Yule on Marco Polo, *l.c.*

⁶ *Indian Antiquary*, xx. (1891), p. 49.

ordinary mode of execution is beheading, but persons of the blood royal are strangled.¹ In Ashantee the blood of none of the royal family may be shed; if one of them is guilty of a great crime he is drowned in the river Dah.² As the blood royal of Dahomey may not be shed, offenders of the royal family are drowned or strangled. Commonly they are bound hand and foot, carried out to sea in a canoe, and thrown overboard.³ In Madagascar the blood of nobles might not be shed; hence when four Christians of that class were to be executed they were burned alive.⁴ Formerly when a young king of Uganda came of age all his brothers were burnt except two or three, who were preserved to keep up the succession.⁵ Or a space of ground having been fenced in with a high paling and a deep ditch, the doomed men were led into the enclosure and left there till they died, while guards kept watch outside to prevent their escape.⁶

The reluctance to shed royal blood seems to be only a particular case of a general unwillingness to shed blood or at least to allow it to fall on the ground. Marco Polo tells us that in his day persons caught in the streets of Cambaluc (Peking) at unseasonable hours were arrested, and if found guilty of a misdemeanour were beaten with a stick. "Under this punishment people sometimes die, but they adopt it in order to eschew bloodshed, for their *Bacsis* say that it is an evil thing to shed man's blood."⁷ When Captain Christian was shot by the Manx Government at the Restoration in 1660, the spot on which he stood was covered with white blankets, that his blood might not fall on the ground.⁸ In West

¹ Byron's "Description of the Kingdom of Tonqueen," in Pinkerton's *Voyages and Travels*, ix, 591.

² T. E. Bowdich, *Mission from Cape Coast Castle to Ashantee* (London, 1873), p. 207.

³ A. B. Ellis, *Two-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 234, cp. p. 89.

⁴ Sabine, *Madagascar and its People*, p. 430.

⁵ C. T. Wilson and R. W. Felkin, *Uganda and the Egyptian Soudan* (London, 1882), I, 200.

⁶ This mode of executing the royal princes of Uganda was described to me

by my friend the Rev. John Reesor, missionary in Uganda. There is an Arab legend of a king who was slain by opening the veins of his arms and letting the blood drain into a bowl; not a drop might fall on the ground, otherwise there would be blood revenge for it. Robertson Smith conjectured that the legend was based on an old form of sacrifice regularly applied to captive chiefs (*Religion of the Semites*,³ p. 369 note, cp. p. 418 note).

⁷ Marco Polo, I, 399. Yale's translation, and *cf.*

⁸ Sir Walter Scott, note 2 to *Preval of the Peak*, ch. v.

Sussex people believe that the ground on which human blood has been shed is accursed and will remain barren for ever.¹ Amongst some primitive peoples, when the blood of a tribesman has to be spilt it is not suffered to fall upon the ground, but is received upon the bodies of his fellow-tribesmen. Thus in some Australian tribes boys who are being circumcised are laid on a platform, formed by the living bodies of the tribesmen;² and when a boy's tooth is knocked out as an initiatory ceremony, he is seated on the shoulders of a man, on whose breast the blood flows and may not be wiped away.³ When Australian blacks bleed each other as a cure for headache and other ailments, they are very careful not to spill any of the blood on the ground, but sprinkle it on each other.⁴ We have already seen that in the Australian ceremony for making rain the blood which is supposed to imitate the rain is received upon the bodies of the tribesmen.⁵ "Also the Gauls used to drink their enemies' blood and paint themselves therewith. So also they write that the old Irish were wont; and so have I seen some of the Irish do, but not their enemies' but friends' blood, as, namely, at the execution of a notable traitor at Limerick, called Murrough O'Brien, I saw an old woman, which was his foster-mother, take up his head whilst he was quartered and suck up all the blood that ran thereout, saying that the earth was not worthy to drink it, and therewith also steeped her face and breast and tore her hair, crying out and shrieking most terribly."⁶ After a battle in Horne Island, South Pacific, it was found that the brother of the vanquished king was among the wounded. "It was sad to see his wife collect in her hands the blood which had flowed from his wounds, and throw it on to her head, whilst she uttered piercing cries. All the relatives of the wounded collected in the same

¹ Charlotte Latham, "Some West Sussex Superstitions," *Folklore Record*, I (1878), p. 17.

² *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 230; E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia*, II, 335; Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, I, 75 note.

³ Collins, *Account of the English Colony of New South Wales* (London,

1798), p. 580.

⁴ *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 224 sq.; G. F. Angus, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, I, 110 sq.

⁵ Above, p. 86.

⁶ Edmund Spenser, *View of the State of Ireland*, p. 101 (reprinted in Morley's *Ireland under Elizabeth and James the First*).

manner the blood which had flowed from them, down even to the last drop, and they even applied their lips to the leaves of the shrubs and licked it all up to the last drop."¹ In the Marquesas Islands the persons who helped a woman at childbirth received on their heads the blood which flowed at the cutting of the navel-string; for the blood might not touch anything but a sacred object, and in Polynesia the head is sacred in a high degree.² In South Celebes at childbirth a female slave stands under the house (the houses being raised on posts above the ground) and receives in a basin on her head the blood which trickles through the bamboo floor.³ Among the Latuka of Central Africa the earth on which a drop of blood has fallen at childbirth is carefully scraped up with an iron shovel, put into a pot along with the water used in washing the mother, and buried tolerably deep outside the house on the left-hand side.⁴ In West Africa, if a drop of your blood has fallen on the ground, you must carefully cover it up, rub and stamp it into the soil; if it has fallen on the side of a canoe or a tree, the place is cut out and the chip destroyed.⁵ The intention of these African customs may be to prevent the blood from falling into the hands of magicians, who might make an evil use of it.

The unwillingness to shed blood is extended by some peoples to the blood of animals. When the Wanika in Eastern Africa kill their cattle for food, "they either stone or beat the animal to death, so as not to shed the blood."⁶ Amongst the Damaras cattle killed for food are suffocated, but when sacrificed they are speared to death.⁷ But like most pastoral tribes in Africa, both the Wanika and Damaras very seldom kill their cattle, which are indeed commonly invested with a kind of sanctity.⁸ In killing an animal for

¹ "Futuna, or Herse Island and its people," *Journal of the Polynesian Society*, vol. i. No. 1 (April 1892), p. 43.

² Max Radiguet, *Les derniers sauvages* (Paris, 1882), p. 175.

³ B. F. Matthes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, p. 53.

⁴ Fr. Suchmann, *Mit Emia Paraka im Herz von Afrika*, p. 795.

⁵ Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, pp. 420, 447.

⁶ Lieut. Emery, in *Journal of the R. Geographical Society*, iii. 282.

⁷ Ch. Andamano, *Lulu Ngawi* (London, 1856), p. 224.

⁸ Ch. New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa*, p. 124; Francis Galton, "Domestication of Animals," *Transactions of the Ethnology*.

food the Easter Islanders do not shed its blood, but stun it or suffocate it in smoke.¹ When the natives of San Cristoval, one of the Solomon Islands, sacrifice a pig to a ghost in a sacred place, they take great care that the blood shall not fall on the ground; so they place the animal in a large bowl and cut it up there.²

The explanation of the reluctance to shed blood on the ground is probably to be found in the belief that the soul is in the blood, and that therefore any ground on which it may fall necessarily becomes taboo or sacred.³ In New Zealand anything upon which even a drop of a high chief's blood chances to fall becomes taboo or sacred to him. For instance, a party of natives having come to visit a chief in a fine new canoe, the chief got into it, but in doing so a splinter entered his foot, and the blood trickled on the canoe, which at once became sacred to him. The owner jumped out, dragged the canoe ashore opposite the chief's house, and left it there. Again, a chief in entering a missionary's house knocked his head against a beam, and the blood flowed. The natives said that in former times the house would have belonged to the chief.⁴ As usually happens with taboos of universal application, the prohibition to spill the blood of a tribesman on the ground applies with peculiar stringency to chiefs and kings, and is observed in their case long after it has ceased to be observed in the case of others.

We have seen that the Flamen Dialis was not allowed to walk under a trellised vine.⁵ The reason for this prohibition was perhaps as follows. It has been shown that plants are considered as animate beings which bleed when cut, the red juice which exudes from some of them being regarded as the blood of the plant.⁶ The juice of the grape is therefore

Soc. of London, N.S., III. (1865), p. 135. On the original sanctity of domestic animals see, above all, W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*,² pp. 280-197, 295-307.

¹ L. Linton Palmer, "A Visit to Easter Island," *Journ. R. Geographical Society*, XL. (1870), p. 171.

² R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 189.

³ Connected with, or perhaps sometimes independent of this belief may be

a fear lest the blood should be used by magicians to work harm to the person from whose veins it flowed. This is perhaps the motive of the African customs noted above (p. 357).

⁴ R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Māui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*,² p. 194-5.

⁵ Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 112; Aulus Gellius, I. 15. 13.

⁶ Above, p. 173.

naturally conceived as the blood of the vine.¹ And since, as we have just seen, the soul is often believed to be in the blood, the juice of the grape is regarded as the soul, or as containing the soul, of the vine. This belief is strengthened by the intoxicating effects of wine. For, according to primitive notions, all abnormal mental states, such as intoxication or madness, are caused by the entrance of a spirit into the person; such mental states, in other words, are accounted forms of possession or inspiration. Wine, therefore, is considered on two distinct grounds as a spirit or containing a spirit; first because, as a red juice, it is identified with the blood of the plant, and second because it intoxicates or inspires. Therefore if the Flamen Dialis had walked under a trellised vine, the spirit of the vine, embodied in the clusters of grapes, would have been immediately over his head and might have touched it, which for a person like him in a state of permanent taboo² would have been highly dangerous. This interpretation of the prohibition will be made probable if we can show, first, that wine has been actually viewed by some peoples as blood, and intoxication as inspiration produced by drinking the blood; and, second, that it is often considered dangerous, especially for tabooed persons, to have either blood or a living person over their heads.

With regard to the first point, we are informed by Plutarch that of old the Egyptian kings neither drank wine nor offered it in libations to the gods, because they held it to be the blood of beings who had once fought against the gods, the vine having sprung from their rotting bodies; and the frenzy of intoxication was explained by the supposition that the drunken man was filled with the blood of the enemies of the gods.³ The Aztecs regarded *pulque* or the wine of the country as bad, on account of the wild deeds which men did under its influence. But these wild deeds were believed to be the acts, not of the drunken man, but of the wine-god by whom he was possessed and inspired; and

¹ Cp. W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*,² p. 236.

² "*Dialis solidae feriatas est.*" Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 16.

³ Plutarch, *Isis at Osiris*, 6. A

myth apparently akin to this has been preserved in some native Egyptian writings. See Ad. Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*, p. 364.

so seriously was this theory of inspiration held that if any one spoke ill of or insulted a tipsy man, he was liable to be punished for disrespect to the wine-god incarnate in his votary. Hence, says Sahagun, it was believed, not without ground, that the Indians intoxicated themselves on purpose to commit with impunity crimes for which they would certainly have been punished if they had committed them sober.¹ Thus it appears that on the primitive view intoxication or the inspiration produced by wine is exactly parallel to the inspiration produced by drinking the blood of animals.² The soul or life is in the blood, and wine is the blood of the vine. Hence whoever drinks the blood of an animal is inspired with the soul of the animal or of the god, who, as we have seen,³ is often supposed to enter into the animal before it is slain; and whoever drinks wine drinks the blood, and so receives into himself the soul or spirit of the god of the vine.

With regard to the second point, the fear of passing under blood or under a living person, we are told that some of the Australian blacks have a dread of passing under a leaning tree or even under the rails of a fence. The reason they give is that a woman may have been upon the tree or fence, and some blood from her may have fallen on it and might fall from it on them.⁴ In Ugi, one of the Solomon Islands, a man will never, if he can help it, pass under a tree which has fallen across the path, for the reason that a woman may have stepped over it before him.⁵ Amongst the Karens of Burma "going under a house, especially if there are females within, is avoided; as is also the passing under trees of which the branches extend downwards in a particular direction, and the butt-end of fallen trees, etc."⁶ The Siamese think it unlucky to pass under a rope on which

¹ Bernardino de Sahagun, *Histoire générale des choses de la Nouvelle-Espagne*, traduite par Jourdanet et Siméon (Paris, 1880), p. 46 sq. The native Mexican wine (*pulque*) is made from the sap of the great aloe. See E. J. Payne, *History of the New World called America*, i. 374 sqq.

² See above, p. 133 sqq.

³ P. 135 sq.

⁴ E. M. Carr, *The Australian Race* (Melbourne and London, 1887), II. 179.

⁵ H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands and their Natives* (London, 1887), p. 41.

⁶ E. B. Cross, "On the Karens," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, iv. (1854), p. 312.

women's clothes are hung, and to avert evil consequences the person who has done so must build a chapel to the earth-spirit.¹

Probably in all such cases the rule is based on a fear of being brought into contact with blood, especially the blood of women. From a like fear a Maori will never lean his back against the wall of a native house.² For the blood of women is believed to have disastrous effects upon males. The Aruntas of Central Australia believe that a draught of woman's blood would kill the strongest man.³ In the Encounter Bay tribe of South Australia boys are warned that if they see the blood of women they will early become gray-headed and their strength will fail prematurely.⁴ Men of the Boandik tribe think that if they see the blood of their women they will not be able to fight against their enemies and will be killed, if the sun dazzles their eyes at a fight, the first woman they afterwards meet is sure to get a blow from their club.⁵ In the island of Wetar it is thought that if a man or a lad comes upon a woman's blood he will be unfortunate in war and other undertakings, and that any precautions he may take to avoid the misfortune will be vain.⁶ The people of Ceram also believe that men who see women's blood will be wounded in battle.⁷ Similarly the Ovaherero or Damaras of South Africa think that if they see a lying-in woman shortly after childbirth they will become weaklings and will be shot when they go to war.⁸ It is an Esthonian belief that men who see women's blood will suffer from an eruption on the skin.⁹ A Fan negro told Miss Kingsley that a young man in his village, who was so weak that he could hardly crawl about, had fallen

¹ Basian, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, iii. 230.

² For the reason, see Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, pp. 112 sq., 292; E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890), p. 118.

³ F. J. Gillen in *Report of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia*, pt. iv. p. 182.

⁴ *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 186.

⁵ Mrs. James Smith, *The Boandik Tribe*, p. 5.

⁶ Riedel, *De stelsel en heerswijze van tusschen Soedra en Papua*, p. 450.

⁷ Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 139, compare p. 209.

⁸ E. Dannert, "Customs of the Ovaherero at the Birth of a Child," (South African) *Folk-lore Journal*, ii. (1880), p. 65.

⁹ F. J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem inneren und äusseren Leben der Esten*, p. 475.

into this state through seeing the blood of a woman who had been killed by a falling tree. "The underlying idea regarding blood is of course the old one that the blood is the life. The life in Africa means a spirit, hence the liberated blood is the liberated spirit, and liberated spirits are always whipping into people who do not want them. In the case of the young Fan, the opinion held was that the weak spirit of the woman had got into him."¹

Again, the reason for not passing under dangerous objects, like a vine or women's blood, is a fear that they may come in contact with the head; for among many peoples the head is peculiarly sacred. The special sanctity attributed to it is sometimes explained by a belief that it is the seat of a spirit which is very sensitive to injury or disrespect. Thus the Yorubas of the Slave Coast hold that every man has three spiritual inmates, of whom the first, called *Olori*, dwells in the head and is the man's protector, guardian, and guide. Offerings are made to this spirit, chiefly of fowls, and some of the blood mixed with palm-oil is rubbed on the forehead.² The Karens of Burma suppose that a being called the *tso* resides in the upper part of the head, and while it retains its seat no harm can befall the person from the efforts of the seven *Kelaks*, or personified passions. "But if the *tso* becomes heedless or weak certain evil to the person is the result. Hence the head is carefully attended to, and all possible pains are taken to provide such dress and attire as will be pleasing to the *tso*."³ The Siamese think that a spirit called *Ahuan* or *kwun* dwells in the human head, of which it is the guardian spirit. The spirit must be carefully protected from injury of every kind; hence the act of shaving or cutting the hair is accompanied with many ceremonies. The *kwun* is very sensitive on points of honour,

¹ Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 447. Conversely among the Central Australian tribes women are never allowed to witness the drawing of blood from men, which is often done for purposes of decoration; and when a quarrel has taken place and men's blood has been spilt in the presence of women, it is usual for the man whose blood has been used to perform a

ceremony connected with his own or his father or mother's totem. See Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 463.

² A. B. Ellis, *The Yoruba-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 123 sq.

³ E. B. Cross, "On the Karens," *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, iv. (1854), p. 371, sq.

and would feel mortally insulted if the head in which he resides were touched by the hand of a stranger. When Dr. Bastian, in conversation with a brother of the king of Siam, raised his hand to touch the prince's skull in order to illustrate some medical remarks he was making, a sullen and threatening murmur bursting from the lips of the crouching courtiers warned him of the breach of etiquette he had committed, for in Siam there is no greater insult to a man of rank than to touch his head. If a Siamese touch the head of another with his foot, both of them must build chapels to the earth-spirit to avert the omen. Nor does the guardian spirit of the head like to have the hair washed too often; it might injure or incommode him. It was a grand solemnity when the king of Burmah's head was washed with water taken from the middle of the river. Whenever the native professor, from whom Dr. Bastian took lessons in Burmese at Mandalay, had his head washed, which took place as a rule once a month, he was generally absent for three days together, that time being consumed in preparing for, and recovering from, the operation of head-washing. Dr. Bastian's custom of washing his head daily gave rise to much remark.¹ The head of the king of Persia was cleaned only once a year, on his birthday.² Roman women washed their heads annually on the thirteenth of August.³

Again, the Burmese think it an indignity to have any one, especially a woman, over their heads, and for this reason Burmese houses have never more than one story. The houses are raised on posts above the ground, and whenever anything fell through the floor Dr. Bastian had always difficulty in persuading a servant to fetch it from under the house. In Rangoon a priest, summoned to the bedside of a sick man, climbed up a ladder and got in at the window rather than ascend the staircase, to reach which he must have passed under a gallery. A pious Burman of

¹ Bastian, *Die Völker der östlichen Asien*, ii. 256, iii. 71, 230, 235 *sq.* The spirit is called *Imon* by E. Young [*The Kingdom of the Yellow Lake*, p. 75 *sqq.*]. See below, p. 374 *sq.*

² Herodotus, ix. 110. This passage was pointed out to me by Mr. E. S.

Shuckburgh.

³ Plutarch, *Quæstiones Romanæ*, 100. Plutarch's words (*μυδάρη βύρρεσθαι τὰς κεφαλὰς καὶ καθάισιν ἐν-τροχέαισι*) leave room to hope that the ladies did not strictly confine these ablutions to one day in the year.

Rangoon, finding some images of Buddha in a ship's cabin, offered a high price for them, that they might not be degraded by sailors walking over them on the deck.¹ Formerly in Siam no person might cross a bridge while his superior in rank was passing underneath, nor might he walk in a room above one in which his superior was sitting or lying.² The Cambodians esteem it a grave offence to touch a man's head; some of them will not enter a place where anything whatever is suspended over their heads; and the meanest Cambodian would never consent to live under an inhabited room. Hence the houses are built of one story only; and even the Government respects the prejudice by never placing a prisoner in the stocks under the floor of a house, though the houses are raised high above the ground.³ The same superstition exists amongst the Malays; for an early traveller reports that in Java people "wear nothing on their heads, and say that nothing must be on their heads . . . and if any person were to put his hand upon their head they would kill him; and they do not build houses with storeys in order that they may not walk over each other's heads." In Uganda no person belonging to the king's totem clan was allowed to get on the top of the palace to roof it, for that would have been regarded as equivalent to getting on the top of the king. Hence the palace had to be roofed by men of a different clan from the king.⁴

¹ Bastian, *op. cit.* li. 150; Sangermano, *Description of the Burmese Empire* (Rangoon, 1885), p. 131; C. F. S. Forbes, *British Burma*, p. 334; Shway Yoo, *The Burman*, i. 91.

² E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe* (Westminster, 1898), p. 131.

³ J. Moura, *Le Royaume du Camodge*, i. 178, 388.

⁴ Duarte Barbosa, *Description of the Coasts of East Africa and Malabar in the beginning of the Sixteenth Century* (Hakluyt Society, 1866), p. 197.

⁵ This I learned in conversation with Messrs. Roscoe and Miller, missionaries to Uganda. The system of totemism exists in full force in Uganda. No man will eat his totem animal or marry a woman of his own

totem clan. Among the totems of the clans are the buffalo, sheep, grasshopper, crocodile, otter, beaver, and lizard. See R. P. Ashe, *Two Kings of Uganda* (London, 1889), p. 85; Fr. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pasha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 190; L. Decle, *Three Years in Savage Africa*, p. 443. Further particulars as to the totemism of the Waganda were supplied to me by Messrs. Roscoe and Miller. All the totems seem to be animals—beasts, birds, fish, or insects. Mr. Roscoe did not remember any plant or heavenly body used as a totem. A man will not kill or eat his own totem, but does not object to other people doing so. The rule of exogamy applies to sexual intercourse as well as to marriage and is very strictly observed,

The same superstition as to the head is found in full force throughout Polynesia. Thus of Gattanewa, a Marquesan chief, it is said that "to touch the top of his head, or any thing which had been on his head, was sacrilege. To pass over his head was an indignity never to be forgotten. Gattanewa, nay, all his family, scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door; all must be as open and free as their unrestrained manners. He would pass under nothing that had been raised by the hand of man, if there was a possibility of getting round or over it. Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our water-casks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway."¹ Marquesan women have been known to refuse to go on the decks of ships for fear of passing over the heads of chiefs who might be below.² The son of a Marquesan high priest has been seen to roll on the ground in an agony of rage and despair begging for death, because some one had desecrated his head and deprived him of his divinity by sprinkling a few drops of water on his hair.³ But it was not the Marquesan chiefs only whose heads were sacred. The head of every Marquesan was taboo, and might neither be touched nor stepped over by another; even a father might not step over the head of his sleeping child;⁴ women were forbidden to carry or touch anything that had been in contact with, or had merely hung over, the head of their husband or father.⁵ No one was allowed to be over the head of the king of Tonga.⁶ In Hawaii (the Sandwich Islands) if a man climbed upon a chief's house or upon the wall of his yard, he was put to

except by the king, who is free to marry his "sister," that is, any woman of his own totem clan. In another respect also the king is an exception to the general rule, for he inherits his totem from his mother instead of from his father. The origin of totemism, according to the Wuganda, was that some persons, finding certain foods to disagree with them, abstained from eating these foods and commanded their descendants to do so also.

¹ David Porter, *Journal of a Cruise*

made to the Pacific Ocean in the U.S. Frigate "Essex" (New York, 1822), ii. 65.

² Vincendon-Darroulin et Desgraz (Paris, 1843), *Iles Marquises*, p. 262.

³ Mathias G***, *Lettres sur les Iles Marquises* (Paris, 1843), p. 30.

⁴ Langsdorff, *Reise um die Welt*, i. 115 19.

⁵ Max Radiguet, *Les derniers navigateurs* (Paris, 1882), p. 156.

⁶ Capt. James Cook, *Voyages*, v. 427 (ed. 1809).

death; if his shadow fell on a chief, he was put to death; if he walked in the shadow of a chief's house with his head painted white or decked with a garland or wetted with water, he was put to death.¹ In Tahiti any one who stood over the king or queen, or passed his hand over their heads, might be put to death.² Until certain rites were performed over it, a Tahitian infant was especially taboo; whatever touched the child's head, while it was in this state, became sacred and was deposited in a consecrated place railed in for the purpose at the child's house. If a branch of a tree touched the child's head, the tree was cut down; and if in its fall it injured another tree so as to penetrate the bark, that tree also was cut down as unclean and unfit for use. After the rites were performed, these special taboos ceased; but the head of a Tahitian was always sacred, he never carried anything on it, and to touch it was an offence.³ In New Zealand "the heads of the chiefs were always tabooed (*tapu*), hence they could not pass, or sit, under food hung up; or carry food as others, on their backs; neither would they eat a meal in a house, nor touch a calabash of water in drinking. No one could touch their head, nor, indeed, commonly speak of it, or allude to it; to do so offensively was one of their heaviest curses, and grossest insults, only to be wiped out with blood."⁴ So sacred was the head of a Maori chief that "if he only touched it with his fingers, he was obliged immediately to apply them to his nose, and snuff up the sanctity which they had acquired by the touch, and thus restore it to the part from whence it was taken."⁵ On account of the sacredness of his head a Maori chief "could not blow the fire with his mouth, for the breath being sacred, communicated his sanctity to it, and a brand might be taken by

¹ Jules Remy, *Ka Moolelo Hawaii, Histoire de l'Archipel Hawaiian* (Paris and Leipzig, 1862), p. 159.

² W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, iii. 102.

³ James Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean* (London, 1799), p. 354 *sq.*

⁴ W. Colenso, "The Maori races of New Zealand," p. 43, in *Transac-*

tions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute, 1868, vol. i. (separately paged).

⁵ R. Taylor, *Ti Ika a Maori, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 163. We have seen that under certain special circumstances common persons also are temporarily forbidden to touch their heads with their hands. See above, pp. 326, 327, 349, 337, 337, 342.

a slave, or a man of another tribe, or the fire might be used for other purposes, such as cooking, and so cause his death." ¹ It is a crime for a sacred person in New Zealand to leave his comb, or anything else which has touched his head, in a place where food has been cooked, or to suffer another person to drink out of any vessel which has touched his lips. Hence when a chief wishes to drink he never puts his lips to the vessel, but holds his hands close to his mouth so as to form a hollow, into which water is poured by another person, and thence is allowed to flow into his mouth. If a light is needed for his pipe, the burning ember taken from the fire must be thrown away as soon as it is used; for the pipe becomes sacred because it has touched his mouth; the coal becomes sacred because it has touched the pipe; and if a particle of the sacred cinder were replaced on the common fire, the fire would also become sacred and could no longer be used for cooking. ² Some Maori chiefs, like other Polynesians, object to go down into a ship's cabin from fear of people passing over their heads. ³ Dire misfortune was thought by the Maoris to await those who entered a house where any article of animal food was suspended over their heads: "A dead pigeon, or a piece of pork hung from the roof, was a better protection from molestation than a sentinel." ⁴ If I am right, the reason for the special objection to having animal food over the head is the fear of bringing the sacred head into contact with the spirit of the animal; just as the reason why the Flamen Dialis might not walk under a vine was the fear of bringing his sacred head into contact with the spirit of the vine. Similarly King Darius would not pass through a gate over which there was a tomb, because in doing so he would have had a corpse above his head. ⁵

When the head was considered so sacred that it might not

¹ R. Taylor, *l.c.*

² E. Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand*, p. 203; *ibid.*, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 107-28.

³ J. Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage autour du monde et à la recherche de La Pérouse, exécuté sous son commandement sur le*

corvette "Astrolabe": histoire du voyage, II. 534.

⁴ R. A. Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Months' Residence in New Zealand* (London, 1823), p. 187; Dumont D'Urville, *op. cit.* II. 533; E. Shortland, *The Southern Districts of New Zealand* (London, 1851), p. 30.

⁵ Herodotus, I. 187.

even be touched without grave offence, it is obvious that the cutting of the hair must have been a delicate and difficult operation. The difficulties and dangers which, on the primitive view, beset the operation are of two kinds. There is first the danger of disturbing the spirit of the head, which may be injured in the process and may revenge itself upon the person who molests him. Secondly, there is the difficulty of disposing of the shorn locks. For the savage believes that the sympathetic connection which exists between himself and every part of his body continues to exist even after the physical connection has been broken, and that therefore he will suffer from any harm that may befall the severed parts of his body, such as the clippings of his hair or the parings of his nails. Accordingly he takes care that these severed portions of himself shall not be left in places where they might either be exposed to accidental injury or fall into the hands of malicious persons who might work magic on them to his detriment or death. Such dangers are common to all, but sacred persons have more to fear from them than ordinary people, so the precautions taken by them are proportionately stringent. The simplest way of evading the peril is not to cut the hair at all; and this is the expedient adopted where the risk is thought to be more than usually great. The Frankish kings were never allowed to crop their hair; from their childhood upwards they had to keep it unshorn.¹ To poll the long locks that floated on their shoulders would have been to renounce their right to the throne. When the wicked brothers Clotaire and Childebert coveted the kingdom of their dead brother Clodomir, they inveigled into their power

¹ Agathias, *Hist.* i. 31; Grimm, *Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer*, p. 239-499. The story of the Phrygian king Midas, who conceded the eues of an ass under his long hair (Aristophanes, *Plutus*, 287; Ovid, *Metam.* xi. 146-193), may perhaps be a distorted reminiscence of a similar custom in Phrygia. Parallels to the story are recorded in modern Greece, Ireland, Brittany, Servia, India, and among the Mongols. See B. Schmidt, *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder*, pp. 70 ff., 224 ff.;

Grimm's *Household Tales*, ii. 498, trans. by M. Hunt; Patrick Kennedy, *Legendary Fictions of the Irish Celts*, p. 248 ff. (ed. 1866); De Nore, *Contes, mythes, et traditions des provinces de la France*, p. 219 ff.; Karaischitsch, *Volksmärchen der Serben*, No. 39, p. 225 ff.; *North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii. p. 104, § 218; Jülg, *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung*, No. 22, p. 182 ff.; *Sagas from the Far East*, No. 21, p. 206 ff.

their little nephews, the two sons of Clodomir; and having done so, they sent a messenger bearing scissors and a naked sword to the children's grandmother, Queen Clotilde, at Paris. The envoy showed the scissors and the sword to Clotilde, and bade her choose whether the children should be shorn and live or remain unshorn and die. The proud queen replied that if her grandchildren were not to come to the throne she would rather see them dead than shorn. And murdered they were by their ruthless uncle Clotaire with his own hand.¹ The hair of the Aztec priests hung down to their hams, so that the weight of it became very troublesome; for they might never poll it so long as they lived, or at least until they had been relieved of their office on the score of old age. They wore it braided in great tresses, six fingers broad, and tied with cotton.² A Haida medicine-man may neither clip nor comb his tresses, so they are always long and tangled.³ Amongst the Alfours of Celebes the *Leleen* or priest who looks after the rice-fields may not shear his hair during the time that he exercises his special functions, that is from a month before the rice is sown until it is housed.⁴ Men of the Tsetsaut tribe in British Columbia do not cut their hair, believing that if they cut it they would quickly grow old.⁵ In Ceram men do not crop their hair: if married men did so, they would lose their wives; if young men did so, they would grow weak and enervated.⁶ In Timorlaut married men may not poll their hair for the same reason as in Ceram, but widowers and men on a journey may do so after offering a fowl or a pig in sacrifice.⁷ Malays of the Peninsula are forbidden to clip their hair during their wife's pregnancy and for forty days after the child has been born; and a similar abstention is said to

¹ Gregory of Tours, *Histoire ecclésiastique des Français*, iii. 18, cp. vi. 24 (Guizot's translation).

² Herrera, *General History of the vast Continent and Islands of America*, iii. 218 (Stevenson's translation).

³ G. M. Dawson, "On the Haida Indians of Queen Charlotte Islands," in *Geological Survey of Canada, Report of Progress for 1878-79*, p. 123 B.

⁴ P. N. Wilken, "Bijdragen tot de kennis van de zeden en gewoonten

der Alfoeren in de Minalassa," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, vii. (1863), p. 126.

⁵ Fr. Boas, in *Tenth Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, p. 45 (separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1895*).

⁶ Riedel, *De sticht en kroonharige rassen tuschen Saloei en Papoea*, p. 137.

⁷ Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 202 ff.

have been formerly incumbent on all persons prosecuting a journey or engaged in war.¹ Elsewhere men travelling abroad have been in the habit of leaving their hair unshorn until their return. The reason for this custom is probably the danger to which, as we have seen, a traveller is believed to be exposed from the magic arts of the strangers amongst whom he sojourns; if they got possession of his shorn hair, they might work his destruction through it. The Egyptians on a journey kept their hair uncut till they returned home.² "At Taif when a man returned from a journey his first duty was to visit the Rabba and poll his hair."³ The custom of keeping the hair unshorn during a dangerous expedition seems to have been observed, at least occasionally, by the Romans.⁴ Achilles kept unshorn his yellow hair, because his father had vowed to offer it to the River Sperchius if ever his son came home from the wars beyond the sea.⁵ Formerly when Dyak warriors returned with the heads of their enemies, each man cut off a lock from the front of his head and threw it into the river as a mode of ending the taboo to which they had been subjected during the expedition.⁶ Bechuanas after a battle had their hair shorn by their mothers "in order that new hair might grow, and that all which was old and polluted might disappear and be no more."⁷

Again, men who have taken a vow of vengeance sometimes keep their hair unshorn till they have fulfilled their vow. Thus of the Marquesans we are told that "occasionally they have their head entirely shaved, except one lock on the crown, which is worn loose or put up in a knot. But the

¹ W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, p. 24.

² Diodorus Siculus, i. 28.

³ W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 152-53.

⁴ Valerius Flaccus, *Argonaut.* i. 378 sq. 1-2.

⁵ *Taliesin et Eurytion arripe istucapilla, Quon pater Asenias redirem tuncabit ad aris.*¹

But in this passage the poet perhaps merely imitated Homer. See the next note.

⁶ Homer, *Iliad*, xliii. 141 sqq. The

Greeks often dedicated a lock of their hair to rivers. See Aeschylus, *Cætophori*, 5. 27; Philostratus, *Heroica*, xli. 4; Pausanias, i. 37. 3, viii. 20. 3, viii. 41. 3. The lock might be as the side or the back of the head or over the brow; it received a special name (Pollux, li. 36).

⁷ S. W. Tromp, "Een Dajakisch Feest," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1896), p. 38.

⁸ Arbois de Jubainville, *Relation d'un voyage d'exploration*, p. 365.

latter mode of wearing the hair is only adopted by them when they have a solemn vow, as to revenge the death of some near relation, etc. In such case the lock is never cut off until they have fulfilled their promise.¹ A similar custom was sometimes observed by the ancient Germans; among the Chatti the young warriors never clipped their hair or their beard till they had slain an enemy.² Six thousand Saxons once swore that they would not poll their hair nor shave their beards until they had taken vengeance on their enemies.³ On one occasion a Hawaiian taboo is said to have lasted thirty years, "during which the men were not allowed to trim their beards, etc."⁴ While his vow lasted, a Nazarite might not have his hair cut; "All the days of the vow of his separation there shall no razor come upon his head."⁵ Possibly in this case there was a special objection to touching the tabooed man's head with iron. The Roman priests, as we have seen, were shorn with bronze knives. The same feeling perhaps gave rise to the European rule that a child's nails should not be pared during the first year, but that if it is absolutely necessary to shorten them they should be bitten off by the mother or nurse.⁶ For in all parts of the world a young child is believed to be especially exposed to supernatural dangers, and particular precautions are taken to guard it against them; in other words, the child is under a number of taboos, of which the rule just mentioned is one. "Among Hindus the usual custom seems to be that the nails of a first-born child are cut at the age of six months. With other children a year

¹ D. Forster, *Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean*, II. 120.

² Tacitus, *Germania*, 31. Vows of the same sort were occasionally made by the Romans (Suetonius, *Julius*, 67; Tacitus, *Hist.* IV. 61).

³ Paulus Diaconus, *Hist. Langobard.* III. 7; Gregory of Tours, *Histoire ecclésiastique des Francs*, v. 15 (Guizot's translation).

⁴ W. Ellis, *Polymerian Researches*, IV. 387.

⁵ Numbers VI. 5.

⁶ J. A. E. Köhler, *Folkbrunn*, etc., in *Veigtlande*, p. 424; W. Henderson,

Folk-lore of the Northern Counties, p. 16 19; V. Fanzler, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, I. p. 258, § 23; Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*, § 46, 72; J. W. Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, I. p. 208 § 45, p. 209 § 53; Knop, *Volksagen, Erählungen*, etc., aus dem deutschen Hinterpommern, p. 157 § 23; E. Veckenstedt, *Wendische Sagen, Märchen und abergläubische Gebräuche*, p. 445; J. Haltrich, *Zur Volkskunde der Siebenbürger Sachsen*, p. 313; E. Krause, "Abergläubische Kuren u. sonstiger Aberglauben in Berlin," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, xv. (1883), p. 84.

or two is allowed to elapse."¹ The Slave, Hare, and Dogrib Indians of North America do not pare the nails of female children till they are four years of age.² In some parts of Germany it is thought that if a child's hair is combed in its first year the child will be unlucky;³ or that if a boy's hair is cut before his seventh year he will have no courage.⁴

But when it becomes necessary to crop the hair, precautions are taken to lessen the dangers which are supposed to attend the operation. The chief of Namosi in Fiji always ate a man by way of precaution when he had had his hair cut. "There was a certain clan that had to provide the victim, and they used to sit in solemn council among themselves to choose him. It was a sacrificial feast to avert evil from the chief."⁵ This remarkable custom has been described more fully by another observer. The old heathen temple at Namosi is called Rukunitambua, "and round about it are hundreds of stones, each of which tells a fearful tale. A subject tribe, whose town was some little distance from Namosi, had committed an unpardonable offence, and were condemned to a frightful doom. The earth-mound on which their temple had stood was planted with the mountain *ndalo* (arum), and when the crop was ripe, the poor wretches had to carry it down to Namosi, and give at least one of their number to be killed and eaten by the chief. He used to take advantage of these occasions to have his hair cut, for the human sacrifice was supposed to avert all danger of witchcraft if any ill-wisher got hold of the cuttings of his hair, human hair being the most dangerous channel for the deadliest spells of the sorcerers. The stones round Rukunitambua represented these and other victims who had been

¹ *Panjab Notes and Queries*, II. p. 205, § 1092.

² G. Gibbs, "Notes on the Tinnel or Chepewyan Indians of British and Russian America," in *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1866, p. 305; W. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources*, p. 202. The reason alleged by the Indians is that if the girls' nails were cut sooner the girls would be lazy and unable to embroider in porcupine

quill-work. But this is probably a late invention like the reasons assigned in Europe for the similar custom, of which the commonest is that the child would become a thief if its nails were cut.

³ Knoop, *l.c.*

⁴ Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, I. p. 209, § 57.

⁵ Rev. Lorimer Fison, in a letter to the author, dated August 26th, 1898.

killed and eaten at Namosi. Each stone was the record of a murder succeeded by a cannibal feast."¹ Amongst the Maoris many spells were uttered at hair-cutting; one, for example, was spoken to consecrate the obsidian knife with which the hair was cut; another was pronounced to avert the thunder and lightning which hair-cutting was believed to cause.² "He who has had his hair cut is in immediate charge of the Atua (spirit); he is removed from the contact and society of his family and his tribe; he dare not touch his food himself; it is put into his mouth by another person; nor can he for some days resume his accustomed occupations or associate with his fellow-men."³ The person who cuts the hair is also tabooed; his hands having been in contact with a sacred head, he may not touch food with them or engage in any other employment; he is fed by another person with food cooked over a sacred fire. He cannot be released from the taboo before the following day, when he rubs his hands with potato or fern root which has been cooked on a sacred fire; and this food having been taken to the head of the family in the female line and eaten by her, his hands are freed from the taboo. In some parts of New Zealand the most sacred day of the year was that appointed for hair-cutting; the people assembled in large numbers on that day from all the neighbourhood.⁴ Sometimes a Maori chief's hair was shorn by his wife, who was then tabooed for a week as a consequence of having touched his sacred locks.⁵ It is an affair of state when the king of Cambodia's hair is cropped. The priests place on the barber's fingers certain old rings set with large stones, which are supposed to contain spirits favourable to the kings, and during the operation the Brahmans keep up a noisy music to drive away the evil

¹ From the report of a lecture delivered in Melbourne, December 9th, 1898, by the Rev. H. Worrall, of Fiji, missionary. The newspaper cutting from which the above extract is quoted was sent to me by the Rev. Lorimer Fison in a letter, dated Melbourne January 9th, 1899. Mr. Fison omits to give the name and date of the newspaper.

² R. Taylor, *New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 226 197.

³ Richard A. Cruise, *Journal of a Ten Month Residence in New Zealand*, p. 283, 29. Cf. Dumont D'Urville, *Voyage autour du Monde à la recherche de La Pérouse: histoire du Voyage* (Paris, 1832), ii. 533.

⁴ E. Shostland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 108, 109. (Taylor, L.)

⁵ G. F. Angus, *Savage Life and Times in Australia and New Zealand*, ii. 90 29.

spirits.¹ The hair and nails of the Mikado could only be cut while he was asleep,² perhaps because his soul being then absent from his body, there was less chance of injuring it with the shears.

From their earliest days little Siamese children have the crown of the head clean shorn with the exception of a single small tuft of hair, which is daily combed, twisted, oiled, and tied in a little knot until the day when it is finally removed with great pomp and ceremony. The ceremony of shaving the top-knot takes place before the child has reached puberty, and great anxiety is felt at this time lest the *kwun*, or guardian-spirit who commonly resides in the body and especially the head of every Siamese,³ should be so disturbed by the tonsure as to depart and leave the child a hopeless wreck for life. Great pains are therefore taken to recall this mysterious being in case he should have fled, and to fix him securely in the child. This is the object of an elaborate ceremony performed on the afternoon of the day when the top-knot has been cut. A miniature pagoda is erected, and on it are placed several kinds of food known to be favourites of the spirit. When the *kwun* has arrived and is feasting on these dainties, he is caught and held fast under a cloth thrown over the food. The child is now placed near the pagoda, and all the family and friends form a circle, with the child, the captured spirit, and the Brahman priests in the middle. Hereupon the priests address the spirit, earnestly entreating him to enter into the child. They amuse him with tales, and coax and wheedle him with flattery, jest, and song; the gongs ring out their loudest; the people cheer, and only a *kwun* of the sourest and most obdurate disposition could resist the combined appeal. The last sentences of the formal invocation run as follows: "Benignant *kwun*! Thou fickle being who art wont to wander and dally about! From the moment that the child was conceived in the womb, thou hast enjoyed every pleasure, until ten (lunar) months having elapsed and the time of delivery arrived, thou hast suffered and run the risk of perishing by being born alive into the world. Gracious *kwun*! thou wast at

¹ J. Moun, *Le Royaume du Cambodge*, i. 226 sq.

² See above, p. 234.

³ See above, p. 362 sq.

that time so tender, delicate, and wavering as to cause great anxiety concerning thy fate; thou wast exactly like a child, youthful, innocent, and inexperienced. The least trifle frightened thee and made thee shudder. In thy infantile playfulness thou wast wont to frolic and wander to no purpose. As thou didst commence to learn to sit, and, unassisted, to crawl tottering on all fours, thou wast ever falling flat on thy face or on thy back. As thou didst grow up in years and couldst move thy steps firmly, thou didst begin to run and sport thoughtlessly and rashly all round the rooms, the terrace, and bridging planks of travelling boat or floating house, and at times thou didst fall into the stream, creek, or pond, among the floating water-weeds, to the utter dismay of those to whom thy existence was most dear. O gentle *kwun*, come into thy corporeal abode; do not delay this auspicious rite. Thou art now full-grown and dost form everybody's delight and admiration. Let all the tiny particles of *kwun* that have fallen on land or water assemble and take permanent abode in this darling little child. Let them all hurry to the site of this auspicious ceremony and admire the magnificent preparations made for them in this hall." The brocaded cloth from the pagoda, under which lurks the captive spirit, is now rolled up tightly and handed to the child, who is told to clasp it firmly to his breast and not let the *kwun* escape. Further, the child drinks the milk of the cocoa-nuts which had been offered to the spirit, and by thus absorbing the food of the *kwun* ensures the presence of that precious spirit in his body. A magic cord is tied round his wrist to keep off the wicked spirits who would lure the *kwun* away from home; and for three nights he sleeps with the embroidered cloth from the pagoda fast clasped in his arms.¹

But even when the hair and nails have been safely cut, there remains the difficulty of disposing of them, for their owner believes himself liable to suffer from any harm that may befall them. The notion that a man may be bewitched by means of the clippings of his hair, the parings of his nails, or any other severed portion of his person is

¹ E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, pp. 64-19, 67-84. I have abridged the account of the ceremonies by omitting some details.

world-wide, and attested by evidence too ample, too familiar, and too tedious in its uniformity to be here analysed at length. The general idea on which the superstition rests is that of the sympathetic connection supposed to persist between a person and everything that has once been part of his body or in any way closely related to him. A very few examples must suffice. Thus, when the Chilote Indians, inhabiting the wild, deeply indented coasts and dark rain-beaten forests of Southern Chile, get possession of the hair of an enemy, they drop it from a high tree or tie it to a piece of seaweed and fling it into the surf; for they think that the shock of the fall, or the blows of the waves as the tress is tossed to and fro on the heaving billows, will be transmitted through the hair to the person from whose head it was cut.¹ Dread of sorcery, we are told, formed one of the most salient characteristics of the Marquesan islanders in the old days. The sorcerer took some of the hair, spittle, or other bodily refuse of the man he wished to injure, wrapped it up in a leaf, and placed the packet in a bag woven of threads or fibres, which were knotted in an intricate way. The whole was then buried with certain rites, and thereupon the victim wasted away of a languishing sickness which lasted twenty days. His life, however, might be saved by discovering and digging up the buried hair, spittle, or what not; for as soon as this was done the power of the charm ceased.² A Marquesan chief told Lieutenant Gamble that he was extremely ill, the Happah tribe having stolen a lock of his hair and buried it in a plantain leaf for the purpose of taking his life. Lieutenant Gamble argued with him, but in vain; die he must unless the hair and the plantain leaf were brought back to him; and to obtain them he had offered the Happahs the greater part of his property. He complained of excessive pain in the head, breast, and sides.³ A Maori sorcerer intent on bewitching somebody sought to get a tress of his victim's hair, the parings of his nails, some of his

¹ C. Martin, "Ueber die Eingeborenen von Chile," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix. (1877), p. 177.

² Vincendon-Dumoulin et Desgraz,

Des Marqueses, p. 247 sq.

³ D. Porter, *Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean*, ii. 188.

spittle, or a shred of his garment. Having obtained the object, whatever it was, he chanted some spells and curses over it in a falsetto voice and buried it in the ground. As the thing decayed, the person to whom it had belonged was supposed to waste away.¹ Again, an Australian girl, sick of a fever, laid the blame of her illness on a young man who had come behind her and cut off a lock of her hair; she was sure he had buried it and that it was rotting. "Her hair," she said, "was rotting somewhere, and her *Marm-bu-la* (kidney fat) was wasting away, and when her hair had completely rotted, she would die."² When an Australian blackfellow wishes to get rid of his wife, he cuts off a lock of her hair in her sleep, ties it to his spear-thrower, and goes with it to a neighbouring tribe, where he gives it to a friend. His friend sticks the spear-thrower up every night before the camp fire, and when it falls down it is a sign that his wife is dead.³ The way in which the charm operates was explained to Mr. Howitt by a Mirajuri man. "You see," he said, "when a blackfellow doctor gets hold of something belonging to a man and roasts it with things, and sings over it, the fire catches hold of the smell of the man, and that settles the poor fellow."⁴ A slightly different form of the charm as practised in Australia is to fasten the enemy's hair with wax to the pinion bone of a hawk, and set the bone in a small circle of fire. According as the sorcerer desires the death or only the sickness of his victim he leaves the bone in the midst of the fire or removes it and lays it in the sun. When he thinks he has done his enemy enough harm he places the bone in water, which ends the enchantment.⁵ Lucian describes how a Syrian witch professed to bring back a faithless lover to his forsaken fair one by means of a lock of his hair, his shoes, his garments, or something of that sort. She hung the hair, or whatever it was, on a peg and fumigated it with brimstone, sprinkling salt on the fire and

¹ R. Taylor, *Te Ika a Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*, p. 203 *sq.*; A. S. Thomson, *The Story of New Zealand*, I. 116 *sq.*

² Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, I. 468 *sq.*

³ J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 36.

⁴ A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine-men," in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xvi. (1887), p. 27.

⁵ E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884), p. 293.

mentioning the names of the lover and his lass. Then she drew a magic wheel from her bosom and set it spinning while she gabbled a spell full of barbarous and fearsonic words. This soon brought the false lover back to the feet of his charmer.¹ Apuleius tells how an amorous Thessalian witch essayed to win the affections of a handsome Boeotian youth by similar means. As darkness fell she mounted the roof, and there, surrounded by a hellish array of dead men's bones, she knotted the severed tresses of auburn hair and threw them on the glowing embers of a perfumed fire. But her cunning handmaid had outwitted her; the hair was only goat's hair; and all her enchantments ended in dismal and ludicrous failure.²

In Germany it is a common notion that if birds find a person's cut hair, and build their nests with it, the person will suffer from headache;³ sometimes it is thought that he will have an eruption on the head.⁴ The same superstition prevails, or used to prevail, in West Sussex. "I knew how it would be," exclaimed a maidservant one day, "when I saw that bird fly off with a bit of my hair in its beak that blew out of the window this morning when I was dressing; I knew I should have a clapping headache, and so I have."⁵ Again it is thought that cut or combed-out hair may disturb the weather by producing rain and hail, thunder and lightning. We have seen that in New Zealand a spell was uttered

¹ Lucian, *Dial. Mœtetr.* iv. 4 sq.

² Apuleius, *Metamorph.* lib. 16 sqq. For more evidence of the same sort, see Th. Williams, *Pipi and the Kijians*, i. 248; James Bonwick, *Daily Life of the Tasmanians*, p. 178; James Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, p. 187; J. S. Poiseck, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i. 282; Bastian, *Die Völker der östlichen Asien*, iii. 270; Langsdorff, *Reise um die Welt*, i. 134 sq.; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. 364; A. B. Ellis, *Emigrating peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 99; R. H. Codrington, *The Melanians*, p. 203; Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Traffic in West Africa*, p. 447; Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen der Tiroler Völker*,² § 178; R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, Neue Folge,

p. 12 sqq.; F. S. Hartland, *Legend of Persius*, ii. 64-74, 132-139.

³ Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 509; Birkinger, *Völkertümliches aus Schwaben*, i. 493; Panzer, *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie*, i. 258; J. A. E. Köhler, *Völkertum*, etc., in *Völkertum*, p. 425; A. Witzschel, *Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Thüringen*, p. 282; Zingerle, *op. cit.* § 180; Wolf, *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie*, i. p. 224, § 273. A similar belief prevails among the gypsies of Eastern Europe (H. von Wilschke, *Völkertum und religiöser Brauch der Zigeuner*, p. 81).

⁴ Zingerle, *op. cit.* § 181.

⁵ Charlotte Latham, "Some West Sussex Superstitions," *Folk-lore Record*, i. (1878), p. 40.

at hair-cutting to avert thunder and lightning. In the Tyrol, witches are supposed to use cut or combed-out hair to make hailstones or thunderstorms with.¹ Thlinket Indians have been known to attribute stormy weather to the rash act of a girl who had combed her hair outside of the house.² The Romans seem to have held similar views, for it was a maxim with them that no one on shipboard should cut his hair or nails except in a storm,³ that is, when the mischief was already done. In West Africa, when the Mani of Chitombe or Jumba died, the people used to run in crowds to the corpse and tear out his hair, teeth, and nails, which they kept as a rain-charm, believing that otherwise no rain would fall. The Makoko of the Anzikos begged the missionaries to give him half their beards as a rain-charm.⁴ The Wabondei of Eastern Africa preserve the hair and nails of their dead chiefs and use them both for the making of rain and the healing of the sick.⁵ The hair, beard, and nails of their deceased chiefs are the most sacred possession, the most precious treasure of the Baronga of South-Eastern Africa. Preserved in pellets of cow-dung wrapt round with leathern thongs, they are kept in a special hut under the charge of a high priest, who offers sacrifices and prayers at certain seasons, and has to observe strict continence for a month before he handles these holy relics in the offices of religion. A terrible drought was once the result of this palladium falling into the hands of the enemy.⁶ In some Victorian tribes the sorcerer used to burn human hair in time of drought; it was never burned at other times for fear of causing a deluge of rain. Also when the river was low, the sorcerer would place human hair in the stream to increase the supply of water.⁷

To preserve the cut hair and nails from injury and from the dangerous uses to which they may be put by sorcerers,

¹ Zingerle, *op. cit.* §§ 176, 179.

² A. Krause, *Die Thlinket-Indianer* (Jena, 1885), p. 300.

³ Petronius, *Sat.* 102.

⁴ Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Laage-Küste*, i. 231 *sq.*; *id.*, *Ein Besuch in San Salvador*, p. 117 *sq.*

⁵ O. Baumann, *Umanara und seine Nachbargebiete* (Berlin, 1891), p. 141.

⁶ A. Junod, *Les Baronga* (Neuchâtel, 1898), pp. 398-400.

⁷ W. Stanbridge, "On the Aborigines of Victoria," *Transact. Ethnol. Soc. of London*, N.S., i. (1861), p. 300.

it is necessary to deposit them in some safe place. Hence the natives of the Maldives carefully keep the cuttings of their hair and nails and bury them, with a little water, in the cemeteries; "for they would not for the world tread upon them nor cast them in the fire, for they say that they are part of their body, and demand burial as it does; and indeed, they fold them neatly in cotton; and most of them like to be shaved at the gates of temples and mosques."¹ In New Zealand the severed hair was deposited on some sacred spot of ground "to protect it from being touched accidentally or designedly by any one."² The shorn locks of a chief were gathered with much care and placed in an adjoining cemetery.³ The Tahitians buried the cuttings of their hair at the temples.⁴ In the streets of Soku, West Africa, a recent traveller observed cairns of large stones piled against walls with tufts of human hair inserted in the crevices. On asking the meaning of this, he was told that when any native of the place polled his hair he carefully gathered up the clippings and deposited them in one of these cairns, all of which were sacred to the fetish and therefore inviolable. These cairns of sacred stones, he further learned, were simply a precaution against witchcraft, for if a man were not thus careful in disposing of his hair, some of it might fall into the hands of his enemies, who would, by means of it, be able to cast spells over him and so compass his destruction.⁵ When the top-knot of a Siamese child has been cut with great ceremony, the short hairs are put into a little vessel made of plantain leaves and set adrift on the nearest river or canal. As they float away, all that was wrong or harmful in the child's disposition is believed to depart with them. The long hairs are kept till the child makes a pilgrimage to the holy Footprint of Buddha on the sacred hill at Prabat. They are then presented to the

¹ François Pyrard, *Voyages to the East Indies, the Maldives, the Moluccas, and Brazil*, translated by Albert Gray (Hakluyt Society, 1887), i. 110 sq.

² Shortland, *Traditions and Superstitions of the New Zealanders*, p. 110.

³ Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, i. 38 sq. Compare G. F. Angus, *Savage Life and*

Scenes in Australia and New Zealand, ii. 108 sq.

⁴ James Wilson, *A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean* (London, 1799), p. 355.

⁵ R. A. Freeman, *Travels and Life in Ashanti and Faman* (Westminster, 1898), p. 171 sq.

priests, who are supposed to make them into brushes with which they sweep the Footprint; but in fact so much hair is thus offered every year that the priests cannot use it all, so they quietly burn the superfluity as soon as the pilgrims' backs are turned.¹ The cut hair and nails of the *Flamen Dialis* were buried under a lucky tree.² The shorn tresses of the Vestal virgins were hung on an ancient lotus-tree.³ In Germany the clippings of hair used often to be buried under an elder-bush.⁴ In Oldenburg cut hair and nails are wrapt in a cloth which is deposited in a hole in an elder-tree three days before the new moon; the hole is then plugged up.⁵ In the West of Northumberland it is thought that if the first parings of a child's nails are buried under an ash-tree, the child will turn out a fine singer.⁶ In Amboyna, before a child may taste sago-pap for the first time, the father cuts off a lock of the child's hair, which he buries under a sago-palm.⁷ In the Aru Islands, when a child is able to run alone, a female relation shears a lock of its hair and deposits it on a banana-tree.⁸ In the island of Rotti it is thought that the first hair which a child gets is not his own, and that, if it is not cut off, it will make him weak and ill. Hence, when the child is about a month old, his hair is polled with much ceremony. As each of the friends who are invited to the ceremony enters the house he goes up to the child, snips off a little of its hair and drops it into a cocoa-nut shell full of water. Afterwards the father or another relation takes the hair and packs it into a little bag made of leaves, which he fastens to the top of a palm-tree. Then he gives the leaves of the palm a good shaking,

¹ E. Young, *The Kingdom of the Yellow Robe*, p. 79.

² Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 15. The ancients were not agreed as to the distinction between lucky and unlucky trees. According to Cato and Pliny, trees that bore fruits were lucky, and trees which did not were unlucky (Festus, ed. Müller, p. 39, s.v. *Felices*; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 108); but according to Tanculius Priscus those trees were unlucky which were sacred to the infernal gods and bore black berries or black fruit (Macrobius,

Saturn. ii. 16, but iii. 20 in L. Jan's edition).

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xvi. 235; Festus, p. 37 ed. Müller, s.v. *Capillarem vel capillarem arborem*.

⁴ Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube*,² p. 294 sq., § 464.

⁵ W. Munzhardt, *Germanische Mythen*, p. 630.

⁶ W. Henderson, *Folklore of the Northern Counties*, p. 17.

⁷ Riedel, *De slink- en kruisdrige razen tusschen Seiden en Papua*, p. 74.

⁸ Riedel, *op. cit.* p. 265.

climbs down, and goes home without speaking to any one.¹ Indians of the Yukon territory, Alaska, do not throw away their cut hair and nails, but tie them up in little bundles and place them in the crotches of trees or wherever they are not likely to be disturbed by animals. For "they have a superstition that disease will follow the disturbance of such remains by animals."²

Often the clipped hair and nails are stowed away in any secret place, not necessarily in a temple or cemetery or at a tree, as in the cases already mentioned. Thus in Swabia you are recommended to deposit your clipped hair in some spot where neither sun nor moon can shine on it, for example in the earth or under a stone.³ In Danzig it is buried in a bag under the threshold.⁴ In Ugi, one of the Solomon Islands, men bury their hair lest it should fall into the hands of an enemy who would make magic with it and so bring sickness or calamity on them.⁵ The same fear seems to be general in Melanesia, and has led to a regular practice of hiding cut hair and nails.⁶ In Fiji, the shorn hair is concealed in the thatch of the house.⁷ The Zend Avesta directs that the clippings of hair and the parings of nails shall be placed in separate holes, and that three, six, or nine furrows shall be drawn round each hole with a metal knife.⁸ In the *Grihya-Sûtras* it is provided that the hair cut from a child's head at the end of the first, third, fifth, or seventh, year shall be buried in the earth at a place covered with grass or in the neighbourhood of water.⁹ The Madi or Moru tribe of Central Africa bury the parings of their nails in the ground.¹⁰

¹ G. Heijmeling, "Zelden en gewoonten op het eiland Rotté," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlands Indië*, 1843, ii. pp. 634-637.

² W. Dall, *Alaska and its Resources* (London, 1870), p. 54; F. Whymper, "The Natives of the Yukon River," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S., vii. (1869), p. 174.

³ E. Meier, *Deutsche Sagen, Sitten und Gebräuche aus Schwaben*, p. 509; Birlinger, *Völkchen und Sitten aus Schwaben*, i. 493.

⁴ W. Mannhardt, *Germanische Mythen*, p. 630.

⁵ H. B. Guppy, *The Solomon Islands and their Natives* (London, 1887), p. 54.

⁶ R. H. Codrington, *The Melanesians*, p. 203.

⁷ Th. Williams, *Fiji and the Fijians*, i. 242.

⁸ Fargard, xvi.

⁹ *Grihya-Sûtras*, translated by H. Oldenberg (Oxford, 1886), vol. i. p. 57; Cologne H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 487.

¹⁰ R. W. Felkin, "Notes on the Madi or Moru tribe of Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xii. (1882-84), p. 332.

In Uganda grown people throw away the clippings of their hair, but carefully bury the parings of their nails.¹ The A-lur are careful to collect and bury both their hair and nails in safe places.² The same practice prevails among many tribes of South Africa from a fear lest wizards should get hold of the severed particles and work evil with them.³ The Caffres carry still further this dread of allowing any portion of themselves to fall into the hands of an enemy; for not only do they bury their cut hair and nails in a secret spot, but when one of them cleans the head of another he preserves the vermin which he catches, "carefully delivering them to the person to whom they originally appertained, supposing, according to their theory, that as they derived their support from the blood of the man from whom they were taken, should they be killed by another, the blood of his neighbour would be in his possession, thus placing in his hands the power of some superhuman influence."⁴ Amongst the Wanyoro of Central Africa all cuttings of the hair and nails are carefully stored under the bed and afterwards strewed about among the tall grass.⁵ Similarly the Wahoko of Central Africa take pains to collect their cut hair and nails and scatter them in the forest.⁶ In North Guinea the parings of the finger-nails and the shorn locks of the head are scrupulously concealed, lest they be converted into a charm for the destruction of the person to whom they belong.⁷ Among the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia loose hair was buried, hidden, or thrown into the water, because, if an enemy got hold of it, he might bewitch the owner.⁸ In

¹ Fr. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 185 note. The same thing was told me in conversation by the Rev. J. Roscoe, missionary to Uganda; but I understood him to mean that the hair was not carelessly disposed of, but thrown away in some place where it would not easily be found.

² Fr. Stuhlmann, *op. cit.* p. 516 17.

³ J. Macdonald, *Light in Africa*, p. 209; *id.*, "Manners, customs, superstitions and religions of South African tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891), p. 131.

⁴ A. Steedman, *Wanderings and Adventures in the Interior of Southern Africa* (London, 1835), i. 266.

⁵ *Emin Pascha in Central Africa, being a Collection of his Letters and Journals* (London, 1888), p. 74.

⁶ Fr. Stuhlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 625.

⁷ J. L. Wilson, *Western Africa*, p. 215.

⁸ James Teit, "The Thompson River Indians of British Columbia," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. i. part iv. (April 1900), p. 360.

Bolang Mongondo, a district of Western Celebes, the first hair cut from a child's head is kept in a young cocoa-nut, which is commonly hung on the front of the house, under the roof.¹ To spit upon the hair before throwing it away is thought in some parts of Europe to be a sufficient safeguard against its use by witches.² Spitting as a protective charm is well known.³

Sometimes the severed hair and nails are preserved, not to prevent them from falling into the hands of a magician, but that the owner may have them at the resurrection of the body, to which some races look forward. Thus the Incas of Peru "took extreme care to preserve the nail-parings and the hairs that were shorn off or torn out with a comb; placing them in holes or niches in the walls, and if they fell out, any other Indian that saw them picked them up and put them in their places again. I very often asked different Indians, at various times, why they did this, in order to see what they would say, and they all replied in the same words saying, 'Know that all persons who are born must return to life' (they have no word to express resurrection), 'and the souls must rise out of their tombs with all that belonged to their bodies. We, therefore, in order that we may not have to search for our hair and nails at a time when there will be much hurry and confusion, place them in one place, that they may be brought together more conveniently, and, whenever it is possible, we are also careful to spit in one place.'⁴ In Chili this custom of stuffing the shorn hair

¹ N. P. Wilken en J. A. Schwarz. "Alles over het land en volk van Bolang Mongondo," *Mededeelingen van wege der Nederlandsche Zending-geselschap*, xi. (1867), p. 322.

² Zingerle, *Sitten, Bränche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*,² §§ 176, 580; *Altösterreich*, 1878, col. 79; E. Maseur, *Le Folklore Wallon*, p. 91.

³ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 35; Theophrastus, *Characters, The Superstitious Men*; Theocritus, *Id.*, vi. 39, vii. 127; Persius, *Sat.* ii. 31 seq. At the siege of Danzig in 1734, when the old wives saw a bomb coming, they used to spit thrice and cry, "Fi, fi, fi, there comes the dragon!" in the persuasion that this secured them against

being hit (Teitzs und Temme, *Die Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Lithauens und Westpreussens* (Berlin, 1837), p. 284). For more examples, see Mayor on Javenal, *Sat.* vii. 112; J. K. Crombie, "The Saliva Superstition," *International Folk-Lore Congress, 1892, Papers and Transactions*, p. 249 sq.; C. de Maignac, *Recherches Ethnographiques sur la Salive et le Crachat* (Bordeaux, 1892), p. 50 seq.; F. W. Nicolson, "The Saliva Superstition in Classical Literature," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, viii. (1897), p. 35 seq.

⁴ Garcilasso de la Vega, *First Part of the Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, bk. ii. ch. 7 (vol. i. p. 127, Markham's translation).

into holes in the wall is still observed, it being thought the height of imprudence to throw the hair away.¹ Similarly the Turks never throw away the parings of their nails, but carefully stow them in cracks of the walls or of the boards, in the belief that they will be needed at the resurrection.² Some of the Esthonians keep the parings of their finger and toe nails in their bosom, in order to have them at hand when they are asked for them at the day of judgment.³ In a like spirit peasants of the Vosges will sometimes bury their extracted teeth secretly, marking the spot well so that they may be able to walk straight to it on the resurrection day.⁴ The pains taken by the Chinese to preserve corpses entire and free from decay seems to rest on a firm belief in the resurrection of the dead; hence it is natural to find their ancient books laying down a rule that the hair, nails, and teeth which have fallen out during life should be buried with the dead in the coffin, or at least in the grave.⁵ The Foss of Central Africa object to cut any one else's nails, for should the part cut off be lost and not delivered into its owner's hands, it will have to be made up to him somehow or other after death. The parings are buried in the ground.⁶

Some people burn their loose hair to save it from falling into the power of sorcerers. This is done by the Patagonians and some of the Victorian tribes.⁷ In the Upper Vosges they say that you should never leave the clippings of your hair and nails lying about, but burn them to hinder the sorcerers from using them against you.⁸ For the same reason Italian women either burn their loose hairs or throw them into a place where no one is likely to look for them.⁹ The almost universal dread of witchcraft induces the West

¹ *Mémoires*, 1875, c. 583 *sq.*

² *The People of Turkey*, by a Consul's daughter and wife, ii. 250.

³ Boeckel-Kreutzwald, *Der Esten abgelenkliche Gebräuche, Weisen und Gewohnheiten*, p. 139; F. J. Wiedemann, *Aus dem innern und äussern Leben der Esten*, p. 491.

⁴ L. F. Sauvé, *Folk-lore des Hautes-Vosges*, p. 41.

⁵ J. J. M. de Guent, *The Religious System of China*, i. 342 *sq.* (Leyden, 1892).

⁶ R. W. Felkin, "Notes on the Foss Tribe of Central Africa," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, xiii. (1884-86), p. 230.

⁷ Masters, "On the Races of Patagonia," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* i. (1872), p. 197; J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 36.

⁸ L. F. Sauvé, *Folk-lore des Hautes-Vosges*, p. 170.

⁹ Z. Zanetti, *La medicina delle nostre donne* (Citta di Castello, 1892), p. 234 *sq.*

African negroes, the Makololo of South Africa, and the Tahitians to burn or bury their shorn hair.¹ One of the pygmies who roam through the gloomy depths of the vast Central African forests has been seen to collect carefully the clippings of his hair in a packet of banana leaves and keep them till next morning, when, the camp breaking up for the day's march, he threw them into the hot ashes of the abandoned fire.² In the Tyrol many people burn their hair lest the witches should use it to raise thunderstorms; others burn or bury it to prevent the birds from lining their nests with it, which would cause the heads from which the hair came to ache.³ Cut and combed-out hair is burned in Pomerania and sometimes in Belgium.⁴ In Norway the parings of nails are either burned or buried, lest the elves or the Finns should find them and make them into bullets wherewith to shoot the cattle.⁵ In Corea all the clippings and combings of the hair of a whole family are carefully preserved throughout the year and then burned in potsherds outside the house on the evening of New Year's Day. At such seasons the streets of Seoul, the capital, present a weird spectacle. They are for the most part silent and deserted, sometimes muffled deep in snow; but through the dusk of twilight red lights glimmer at every door, where little groups are busy tending tiny fires whose flickering flames cast a ruddy fitful glow on the moving figures. The burning of the hair in these fires is thought to exclude demons from the house for a year; but coupled with this belief may well be, or once have been, a wish to put these relics out of the reach of witches and wizards.⁶

This destruction of the hair and nails plainly involves

¹ A. B. Ellis, *The East-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 99; Miss Mary H. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 447; David Livingstone, *Narrative of Expedition to the Zambesi*, p. 45 sq.; W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. 365. In some parts of New Guinea cut hair is destroyed for the same reason (H. H. Ransley, *From my Verandah in New Guinea*, London, 1889, p. 83).

² Fr. Stahlmann, *Mit Emin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 451.

³ Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche und*

Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes, p. 28, §§ 177, 179, 180.

⁴ M. Lahn, *Hexameren und Zauberei in Pommern*, p. 15; Méliacine, 1878, c. 79; E. Monseur, *Le Folklore Wallon*, p. 91.

⁵ E. H. Meyer, *Indogermanische Mythen*, ii. *Achilleis* (Berlin, 1877), p. 523.

⁶ P. Lowell, *Choson, the Land of the Morning Calm, a Sketch of Korea* (London, preface dated 1885), pp. 199-201; Mrs. Bishop, *Korea and her Neighbours* (London, 1898), ii. 35 sq.

an inconsistency of thought. The object of the destruction is avowedly to prevent these severed portions of the body from being used by sorcerers. But the possibility of their being so used depends upon the supposed sympathetic connection between them and the man from whom they were severed. And if this sympathetic connection still exists, clearly these severed portions cannot be destroyed without injury to the man.

Before leaving this subject, on which I have perhaps dwelt too long, it may be well to call attention to the motive assigned for cutting a young child's hair in Rotti.¹ In that island the first hair is regarded as a danger to the child, and its removal is intended to avert the danger. The reason of this may be that as a young child is almost universally supposed to be in a tabooed or dangerous state, it is necessary, in removing the taboo, to remove also the separable parts of the child's body because they are infected, so to say, by the virus of the taboo and as such are dangerous. The cutting of the child's hair would thus be exactly parallel to the destruction of the vessels which have been used by a tabooed person.² This view is borne out by a practice, observed by some Australians, of burning off part of a woman's hair after childbirth as well as burning every vessel which has been used by her during her seclusion.³ Here the burning of the woman's hair seems plainly intended to serve the same purpose as the burning of the vessels used by her; and as the vessels are burned because they are believed to be tainted with a dangerous infection, so, we must suppose, is also the hair. We can, therefore, understand the importance attached by many peoples to the first cutting of a child's hair and the elaborate ceremonies by which the operation is accompanied.⁴ Again, we can understand why

¹ Above, p. 381 *op.*

² Above, pp. 235, 324, 325, 327, 330, 339, 342.

³ W. Ridley, "Report on Australian Languages and Traditions," *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* II. (1873), p. 268. So among the Laksas of Central Africa, a woman is secluded for fourteen days after the birth of her child, and at the end

of her seclusion her hair is shaved off and burnt (Fr. Stuhlmann, *Mit Ewin Pascha ins Herz von Afrika*, p. 795).

⁴ See G. A. Wilken, *Ueber das Haarschneiden und einige andere Trachtenbräuche bei den Völkern Indonesiens*, p. 94 *seq.*; H. Plaa, *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*,³ I. 289 *seq.*; K. Potkanski, "Die Ceremonie der Haarschur bei den Slaven und Ger-

a man should poll his head after a journey.¹ For we have seen that a traveller is often believed to contract a dangerous infection from strangers, and that, therefore, on his return home he is obliged to submit to various purificatory ceremonies before he is allowed to mingle freely with his own people.² On my hypothesis the polling³ of the hair is simply one of these purificatory or disinfectant ceremonies. Certainly this explanation applies to the custom as practised by the Bechuanas, for we are expressly told that "they cleanse or purify themselves after journeys by shaving their heads, etc., lest they should have contracted from strangers some evil by witchcraft or sorcery."⁴ The cutting of the hair after a vow may have the same meaning. It is a way of ridding the man of what has been infected by the dangerous state of taboo, sanctity, or uncleanness (for all these are only different expressions for the same primitive conception) under which he laboured during the continuance of the vow. Still more clearly does the meaning of the practice come out in the case of mourners, who cut their hair and nails and use new vessels when the period of their mourning is at an end. This was done in ancient India, obviously for the purpose of purifying such persons from the dangerous influence of death and the ghost to which for a time they had been exposed.⁵ At Hierapolis no man might enter the great temple of Astarte on the same day on which he had seen a corpse; next day he might enter, provided he had first purified himself. But the kinsmen of the deceased were not allowed to set foot in the sanctuary for thirty days after the death, and before doing so they had to shave their heads.⁶ At Agweh, on the Slave Coast of West Africa, widows and widowers at the end of their period of mourning wash themselves, shave their heads, pare their nails, and put on new cloths; and the old cloths, the shorn hair, and the nail-parings are all burnt.⁷ The

manen," *Archiv für die Kunde der Alterthümer in Berlin*, May 1896, pp. 232-251.

¹ Above, p. 369 14.

² Above, p. 366 17.

³ J. Campbell, *Travels in South*

Africa, Second Journey (London, 1822), ii. 205.

⁴ H. Oldenberg, *Die Religion des Veda*, p. 426 19.

⁵ Lucian, *De des Syria*, 53.

⁶ A. B. Ellis, *The Everlasting People of the Slave Coast*, p. 160.

Kayans of Borneo are not allowed to cut their hair or shave their temples during the period of mourning; but as soon as the mourning is ended by the ceremony of bringing home a newly severed human head, the barber's knife is kept busy enough. As each man leaves the barber's hands, he gathers up the shorn locks and spitting on them murmurs a prayer to the evil spirits not to harm him. He then blows the hair out of the verandah of the house.¹ When a Wakikuyu woman has, in accordance with custom, exposed her misshapen or prematurely born infant in the wood for the hyenas to devour, she is shaved on her return by an old woman and given a magic potion to drink; after which she is regarded as clean.² Similarly at some Hindoo places of pilgrimage on the banks of rivers men who have committed great crimes or are troubled by uneasy consciences have every hair shaved off by professional barbers before they plunge into the sacred stream, from which "they emerge new creatures, with all the accumulated guilt of a long life effaced."³ The matricide Orestes is said to have polled his hair after appeasing the angry Furies of his murdered mother.⁴

The same fear of witchcraft which has led so many people to hide or destroy their loose hair and nails has induced other or the same people to treat their spittle in a like fashion. For on the principles of sympathetic magic the spittle is part of the man, and whatever is done to it will have a corresponding effect on him. A Chilote Indian, who has gathered up the spittle of an enemy, will put it in a potato, and hang the potato in the smoke, uttering certain

¹ W. H. Furness, *Folk-lore in Borneo* (Wallington, Pennsylvania, 1899; privately printed), p. 28.

² J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakikuyu und ihre Nachkommen," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x. (1878), p. 395. Children who are born in an unusual position, the second born of twins, and children whose upper teeth appear before the lower, are similarly exposed by the Wakikuyu. The mother is regarded as unclean, not so much because she has exposed, as because she has given birth to such a child.

³ Monier Williams, *Religious Thought and Life in India*, p. 375.

⁴ Strabo, xii. 2. 3; Pausanias, viii. 34. 3. In two paintings on Greek vases we see Apollo in his character of the purifier preparing to cut off the hair of Orestes. See *Museo di Napoli*, 1847, pl. 48; *Annali dell' Instituto di Correspondenza Archeologica*, 1847, pl. 7; *Archaeologische Zeitung*, 1860, pl. cxxvii. cxxviii.; L. Stephani, in *Compte Rendu de la Commission Archéologique* (St. Petersburg), 1863, p. 271 19.

spells as he does so in the belief that his foe will waste away as the potato dries in the smoke. Or he will put the spittle in a frog and throw the animal into an inaccessible, un-navigable river, which will make the victim quake and shake with ague.¹ If a Wotjobaluk sorcerer cannot get the hair or his foe, a shred of his rug, or something else that belongs to the man, he will watch till he sees him spit, when he will carefully pick up the spittle with a stick and use it for the destruction of the careless spitter.² Hence among some tribes of South Africa no man will spit when an enemy is near, lest his foe should find the spittle and give it to a wizard, who would then mix it with magical ingredients so as to injure the person from whom it fell. Even in a man's own house his saliva is carefully swept away and obliterated for a similar reason.³ Negroes of Senegal, the Bissagos Archipelago, and some of the West Indian Islands, such as Guadeloupe and Martinique, are also careful to efface their spittle by pressing it into the ground with their feet, lest a sorcerer should use it to their hurt.⁴ If common folk are thus cautious, it is natural that kings and chiefs should be doubly so. In the Sandwich Islands chiefs were attended by a confidential servant bearing a portable spittoon, and the deposit was carefully buried every morning to put it out of the reach of sorcerers.⁵ On the Slave Coast of Africa, for the same reason, whenever a king or chief expectorates, the saliva is scrupulously gathered up and hidden or buried.⁶ At Bulebanc, in Senegambia, a French traveller observed a captive engaged, with an air of great importance, in covering over with sand all the spittle that fell from the lips of a native dignitary; the man used a small stick for the purpose.⁷ Page-boys, who carry tails of elephants, hasten to sweep up or cover with sand the spittle of the King of Ashantee,⁸ and

¹ C. Martin, "Unter die Eingeborenen von Chiloe," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, ix. (1877), p. 177 sq.

² A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine-men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887), p. 27.

³ Rev. J. Macdonald, *Light in Africa*, p. 809; id., in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891), p. 131.

⁴ C. de Massignac, *Recherches Ethnographiques sur la Salive et le Crachat* (Bordeaux, 1892), p. 48 sq.

⁵ W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, i. 365.

⁶ A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 99.

⁷ A. Raffetel, *Voyage dans l'Afrique occidentale* (Paris, 1846), p. 338.

⁸ C. de Massignac, *op. cit.* p. 48.

a custom of the same sort prevails or used to prevail at the court of the Muata Jamwo in the valley of the Congo.¹

As might have been expected, the superstitions of the savage cluster thick about the subject of food; and he abstains from eating many animals and plants, wholesome enough in themselves, but which for one reason or another he fancies would prove dangerous or fatal to the eater. Examples of such abstinence are too familiar and far too numerous to quote. But if the ordinary man is thus deterred by superstitious fear from partaking of various foods, the restraints of this kind which are laid upon sacred or tabooed persons, such as kings and priests, are still more numerous and stringent. We have already seen that the Flamen Dialis was forbidden to eat or even name several plants and animals, and that the flesh diet of the Egyptian kings was restricted to veal and goose.² The *Gangas* or fetish priests of the Loango Coast are forbidden to eat or even see a variety of animals and fish, in consequence of which their flesh diet is extremely limited; often they live only on herbs and roots, though they may drink fresh blood.³ The heir to the throne of Loango is forbidden from infancy to eat pork; from early childhood he is interdicted the use of the *cola* fruit in company; at puberty he is taught by a priest, not to partake of fowls except such as he has himself killed and cooked; and so the number of taboos goes on increasing with his years.⁴ In Fernando Po the king after installation is forbidden to eat *coco* (*arum acule*), deer, and porcupine, which are the ordinary foods of the people.⁵ Amongst the Murrans of Manipur (a district of Eastern India, on the border of Burma), "there are many prohibitions in regard to the food, both animal and vegetable, which the chief should eat, and the Murrans say the chief's post must be a very uncomfortable one."⁶ To explain the ultimate

¹ R. Andree, *Ethnographische Forschungen und Vergleichs*, Neue Folge, p. 13.

² Above, pp. 241, 242.

³ Bastian, *Die deutsche Expedition an der Loango-Küste*, II. 170. The blood may perhaps be drunk by them as a medium of inspiration. See above, p. 133 *supra*.

⁴ Dapper, *Description de l'Afrique*, p. 336.

⁵ T. J. Hutchinson, *Inspections of Western Africa* (London, 1858), p. 198.

⁶ G. W. Watt (quoting Col. W. J. McCalloch), "The Aboriginal Tribes of Manipur," in *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.* xvi. (1887), p. 360.

reason why any particular food is prohibited to a whole tribe or to certain of its members would commonly require a far more intimate knowledge of the history and beliefs of the tribe than we possess. The general motive of such prohibitions is doubtless the same which underlies the whole taboo system, namely, the conservation of the tribe and the individual.

We have seen that among the many taboos which the Flamen Dialis at Rome had to observe, there was one that forbade him to have a knot on any part of his garments, and another that obliged him to wear no ring unless it were broken.¹ These rules are probably of kindred significance, and may conveniently be considered together. To begin with knots, many people in different parts of the world entertain a strong objection to having any knot about their person at certain critical seasons, particularly childbirth, marriage, and death. Thus among the Saxons of Transylvania, when a woman is in travail all knots on her garments are untied, because it is believed that this will facilitate her delivery, and with the same intention all the locks in the house, whether on doors or boxes, are unlocked.² The Lapps think that a lying-in woman should have no knot on her garments, because a knot would have the effect of making the delivery difficult and painful.³ In the East Indies this superstition is extended to the whole time of pregnancy; the people believe that if a pregnant woman were to tie knots, or braid, or make anything fast, the child would thereby be constricted or the woman would herself be "tied up" when her time came.⁴ Nay, some of them enforce the observance of the rule on the father as well as the mother of the unborn child. Among the Sea Dyaks neither of the parents may bind up anything with string or make anything

¹ Aulus Gellius, x. 15. 6 and 9.

² J. Hillner, *Völkethümlicher Brauch und Glaube bei Geburt und Taufe im Siebenbürger Sachsenlande*, p. 13.

³ C. Leemans, *De Lappouitser Finmarkens arumque lingua, vita, et religione pristina commentatio* (Copenhagen, 1767), p. 494.

⁴ J. Kreemer, "Hoe de Javanen zijne

zaken verzorgt," *Mededeelingen van nage het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxxvi. (1892), p. 114. C. M. Pleyte, "Plichtigheden en Gebruiken uit den cyclus van het familieleven der volken van den Indischen Archipel," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xli. (1892), p. 586.

fast during the wife's pregnancy.¹ Among the Land Dyaks the husband of the expectant mother is bound to refrain from tying things together with rattans until after her delivery.² In the Toumbuluh tribe of North Celebes a ceremony is performed in the fourth or fifth month of a woman's pregnancy, and after it her husband is forbidden, among many other things, to tie any fast knots and to sit with his legs crossed over each other.³ In all these cases the idea seems to be that the tying of a knot would, as they say in the East Indies, "tie up" the woman, in other words impede and perhaps prevent her delivery. On the principles of sympathetic or imitative magic the physical obstacle or impediment of a knot on a cord would create a corresponding obstacle or impediment in the body of the woman. That this is really the explanation of the rule appears from the custom observed by the same peoples of opening all locks, doors, and so on, while a birth is taking place in the house. We have seen that at such a time the Germans of Transylvania open all the locks, and the same thing is done also in Voigtland and Mecklenburg.⁴ Among the Mandelings of Sumatra the lids of all chests, boxes, pans, and so forth, are opened; and if this does not produce the desired effect, the anxious husband has to strike the projecting ends of some of the house-beams in order to loosen them; for they think that "everything must be open and loose to facilitate the delivery."⁵ In some parts of Java, when a woman is in travail, everything in the house that was shut is opened, in order that the birth may not be impeded; not only are doors opened and the lids of chests, boxes, rice-pots, and water-buts lifted up, but even swords are unsheathed and spears drawn out of their cases.⁶ Customs of the same sort

¹ H. Ling Roth, *The Natives of Sarawak and British North Borneo*, i. 98.

² Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*,² l. 170.

³ J. G. F. Riedel, "Alte Gebräuche bei Heirathen, Geburt und Sterbefällen bei dem Toumbuluh-Stamm in der Minahassa (Nord Celebes)," *Internationale Archiv für Ethnographie*, viii. (1895), p. 95 ff.

⁴ Wuttke, *Der deutsche Volkskater-*

glauke,² p. 355, § 574.

⁵ H. Ris, "De oedernsdeeling Klein Mandailing Oeloe en Palanton en hare Bevolking," *Rijdschap tot de Taal-Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, xlv. (1895), p. 503.

⁶ *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkskunde*, xxxv. 310; J. Kremer, "Hoe de Javanen zijne zieken verzorgt," *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxxvi. (1892), pp. 120, 124.

are practised with the same intention in other parts of the East Indies.¹ Again, we have seen that a Toubulub man abstains not only from tying knots, but also from sitting with crossed legs during his wife's pregnancy. The train of thought is the same in both cases. Whether you cross threads in tying a knot, or only cross your legs in sitting at your ease, you are equally, on the principles of sympathetic magic, crossing or thwarting the free course of things, and your action cannot but check and impede whatever may be going forward in your neighbourhood. Of this important truth the Romans were fully aware. To sit beside a pregnant woman or a patient under medical treatment with clasped hands, says the grave Pliny, is to cast a malignant spell over the person, and it is worse still if you nurse your leg or legs with your clasped hands, or lay one leg over the other. Such postures were regarded by the old Romans as a let and hindrance to business of every sort, and at a council of war or a meeting of magistrates, at prayers and sacrifices, no man was suffered to cross his legs or clasp his hands.² The stock instance of the dreadful consequences that might flow from doing one or the other was that of Alcmena, who travailed with Hercules for seven days and seven nights, because the goddess Lucina sat in front of the house with clasped hands and crossed legs, and the child could not be born until the goddess had been beguiled into changing her attitude.³

The magical effect of knots in trammelling and obstructing human activity was believed to be manifested at marriage not less than at birth. During the Middle Ages, and down to the eighteenth century, it seems to have been commonly held in Europe that the consummation of marriage could be prevented by any one who, while the wedding ceremony was taking place, either locked a lock or tied a knot in a cord, and then threw the lock or the cord

¹ Van Hasselt, *Vollbeschrijving van Midden-Sumatra* (Leyden, 1882), p. 266; J. G. F. Riedel, *De sluis- en kruisheilige rassen tusschen Selebes en Papoea*, pp. 135, 207, 325.

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 39.

³ Ovid, *Metam.* ix. 285 sqq. An-

tonius Liberalis, quoting Nicander, says it was the Fates and Ilithyia who impeded the birth of Hercules, and though he says they clasped their hands, he does not say that they crossed their legs (*Transform.* 29). Compare Pausanias, ix. 11, 3.

away. The lock or the knotted cord had to be flung into water; and until it had been found and unlocked, or untied, no real union of the married pair was possible.¹ Hence it was a grave offence, not only to cast such a spell, but also to steal or make away with the material instrument of it, whether lock or knotted cord. In the year 1718 the parliament of Bordeaux sentenced some one to be burned alive for having spread desolation through a whole family by means of knotted cords; and in 1705 two persons were condemned to death in Scotland for stealing certain charmed knots which a woman had made, in order thereby to mar the wedded happiness of Spalding of Ashintilly.² The belief in the efficacy of these charms appears to have lingered in the Highlands of Perthshire down to the end of the eighteenth century, for at that time it was still customary in the beautiful parish of Logierait, between the River Tummel and the River Tay, to unloose carefully every knot in the clothes of the bride and bridegroom before the celebration of the marriage ceremony. When the ceremony was over, and the bridal party had left the church, the bridegroom immediately retired one way with some young men to tie the knots that had been loosed a little before; and the bride in like manner withdrew somewhere else to adjust the disorder of her dress.³ In some parts of the Highlands it was deemed enough that the bridegroom's left shoe should be without buckle or latchet, "to prevent witches from depriving him, on the nuptial night, of the power of loosening the virgin zone."⁴ We meet with the same superstition and the same custom

¹ Grimm, *Deutsche Mythologie*,⁴ ii. 897, 983; Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, ii. 299; Dalrymple, *Dark Superstitions of Scotland*, pp. 302, 304 ff.; B. Souché, *Croyances, Préjugés et Traditions diverses*, p. 16; J. G. Bousquet, in *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), p. 367.

² Dalrymple, *ibid.*

³ Rev. Dr. Th. Bisset, in Sibbald's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, v. 83. In his account of the second tour which he made in Scotland in the summer of 1772, Pennant says

that "the precaution of loosening every knot about the new-joined pair is strictly observed" (Pennant's *Voyages and Travels*, iii. 382). He is here speaking particularly of the Perthshire Highlands.

⁴ Pennant, "Tour in Scotland," *Pennant's Voyages and Travels*, iii. 91. However, at a marriage on the Island of Skye, the same traveller observed that "the bridegroom put all the powers of magic to defiance, for he was married with both shoes tied with their latchet" (Pennant, "Second Tour in Scotland," *Pennant's Voyages and Travels*, iii. 325).

at the present day in Syria. The persons who help a Syrian bridegroom to don his wedding garments take care that no knot is tied on them and no button buttoned, for they believe that a button buttoned or a knot tied would put it within the power of his enemies to deprive him of his nuptial rights by magical means.¹ In Lesbos the malignant person who would thus injure a bridegroom on his wedding day ties a thread to a bush, while he utters imprecations; but the bridegroom can defeat the spell by wearing at his girdle a piece of an old net or of an old mantilla belonging to the bride in which knots have been tied.² A curious use is made of knots at marriage in the little East Indian island of Rotti. When a man has paid the price of his bride, a cord is fastened round her waist, if she is a maid, but not otherwise. Nine knots are tied in the cord, and in order to make them harder to unloose, they are smeared with wax. Bride and bridegroom are then secluded in a chamber, where he has to untie the knots with the thumb and forefinger of his left hand only. It may be from one to twelve months before he succeeds in undoing them all. Until he has done so he may not look on the woman as his wife. In no case may the cord be broken, or the bridegroom would render himself liable to any fine that the bride's father might choose to impose. When all the knots are loosed, the woman is his wife, and he shows the cord to her father, and generally presents his wife with a golden or silver necklace instead of the cord.³ The meaning of this custom is not clear, but we may conjecture that the nine knots refer to the nine months of pregnancy, and that miscarriage would be the supposed result of leaving a single knot untied.

The maleficent power of knots may also be manifested in the infliction of sickness and disease. Babylonian witches and wizards of old used to strangle their victim, seal his mouth, wrack his limbs, and tear his entrails by merely tying

¹ Eijob Abela, "Beiträge zur Kenntnis abersinnlicher Gebräuche in Syrien," *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*, vii. (1884), p. 91 sq.

² Georgenlis et Pinson, *Folk-lore de Lesbos*, p. 344 sq.

³ "Eenige Mededeelingen betreffende Rote door een inlandischen

Schoolmeester," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvi. (1882), p. 554; N. Genauffand, "Eenige aantekeningen op ethnographisch gebied ten aanzien van het eiland Rote," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxviii. (1889), p. 373 sq.

knots in a cord, while at each knot they muttered a spell. But happily the evil could be undone by simply undoing the knots.¹ We hear of a man in one of the Orkney Islands who was utterly ruined by nine knots cast on a blue thread; and it would seem that sick people in Scotland sometimes prayed to the devil to restore them to health by loosing the secret knot that was doing all the mischief.² In the Koran there is an allusion to the mischief of "those who puff" into the knots," and an Arab commentator on the passage explains that the words refer to women who practise magic by tying knots in cords, and then blowing and spitting upon them. He goes on to relate how, once upon a time, a wicked Jew bewitched the prophet Mohammed himself by tying nine knots on a string, which he then hid in a well. So the prophet fell ill, and nobody knows what might have happened if the archangel Gabriel had not opportunely revealed to the holy man the place where the knotted cord was concealed. The trusty Ali soon fetched the baleful thing from the well; and the prophet recited over it certain charms, which were specially revealed to him for the purpose. At every verse of the charms a knot untied itself, and the prophet experienced a certain relief.³ It will hardly be disputed that by tying knots on the string the pestilent Hebrew contrived, if I may say so, to constrict or astringe or, in short, to tie up some vital organ or organs in the prophet's stomach. At least we are informed that something of this sort is done by Australian blackfellows at the present day, and if so, why should it not have been done by Arabs in the time of Mohammed? The Australian mode of operation is as follows. When a blackfellow wishes to settle old scores with another blackfellow, he ties a rope of fibre or bark so tightly round the neck of his slumbering friend as to partially choke him. Having done this he takes out the man's caul-fat from under his short rib, ties up his inside carefully with string, replaces the skin, and having effaced all external marks of the wound, makes off with the stolen

¹ M. Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 268, 270.

² Dalrymple, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 307.

³ *Al-Baidawi's Commentary on the*

Koran, chap. 113, verse 4. I have to thank my friend Prof. A. A. Bevan for indicating this passage to me, and furnishing me with a translation of it.

fat. The victim on awakening feels no inconvenience, but sooner or later, sometimes months afterwards, while he is hunting or exerting himself violently in some other way, he will feel the string snap in his inside. "Hallo," says he "somebody has tied me up inside with string!" and he goes home to the camp and dies on the spot.¹ Who can doubt but that in this lucid diagnosis we have the true key to the prophet's malady, and that he too might have succumbed to the wiles of his insidious foe if it had not been for the timely intervention of the archangel Gabriel?

If knots are supposed to kill, they are also supposed to cure. This follows from the belief that to undo the knots which are causing sickness will bring the sufferer relief. But apart from this negative virtue of maleficent knots, there are certain beneficent knots to which a positive power of healing is ascribed. Pliny tells us that some folk cured diseases of the groin by taking a thread from a web, tying seven or nine knots on it, and then fastening it to the patient's groin; but to make the cure effectual it was necessary to name some widow as each knot was tied.² In Argyleshire threads with three knots on them are still used to cure the internal ailments of man and beast. The witch rubs the sick person or cow with the knotted thread, burns two of the knots in the fire, saying, "I put the disease and the sickness on the top of the fire," and ties the rest of the thread with the single knot round the neck of the person or the tail of the cow, but always so that it may not be seen.³

On the principle that prevention is better than cure, Zulu hunters immediately tie a knot in the tail of any animal

¹ E. Palmer, "Notes on some Australian Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1884), p. 293. The Tahitians ascribed certain painful illnesses to the twisting and knotting of their insides by devils (W. Ellis, *Polyesian Researches*, i. 363).

² Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xviii. 48.

³ R. C. MacLagan, M.D., "Notes on Folklore Objects collected in Argyleshire," *Folk-lore*, vi. (1895), pp. 154-156. Dalrymple says that for maleficent

purposes Highland sorcerers used three threads of different colours, with three knots tied on each thread; and he aptly compares the mention of a love-charm of the very same sort in Virgil (*Ecl.* viii. 78 sq.). See Dalrymple, *Darker Superstitions of Scotland*, p. 306. In the north-west of Ireland divination by means of a knotted thread is practised in order to discover whether a sick beast will recover or die. See E. B. Tytler, in *International Folk-lore Congress, 1891, Papers and Transactions*, p. 391 sq.

they have killed, because they believe that this will hinder the meat from giving them pains in their stomachs.¹ An ancient Hindoo book recommends that travellers on a dangerous road should tie knots in the skirts of their garments, for this will cause their journey to prosper.² Similarly among some Caffre tribes, when a man is going on a doubtful journey, he knots a few blades of grass together that the journey may turn out well.³ In Laos hunters fancy that they can throw a spell over a forest so as to prevent any one else from hunting there successfully. Having killed game of any kind, they utter certain magical words, while they knot together some stalks of grass, adding, "As I knot this grass, so let no hunter be lucky here." The virtue of this spell will last, as usually happens in such cases, so long as the stalks remain knotted together.⁴ In Russia amulets often derive their protective virtue in great measure from knots. Here, for example, is a spell which will warrant its employer against all risk of being shot: "I attach five knots to each hostile, infidel shooter, over arquebuses, bows, and all manner of warlike weapons. Do ye, O knots, bar the shooter from every road and way, lock fast every arquebuse, entangle every bow, involve all warlike weapons, so that the shooters may not reach me with their arquebuses, nor may their arrows attain to me, nor their warlike weapons do me hurt. In my knots lies hid the mighty strength of snakes—from the twelve-headed snake." A net, from its affluence of knots, has always been considered in Russia very efficacious against sorcerers; hence in some places, when a bride is being dressed in her wedding attire, a fishing-net is flung over her to keep her out of harm's way. For a similar purpose the bridegroom, as in Lesbos, and his companions are often girt with pieces of net, or at least with tight-drawn girdles, for before a wizard can begin to injure them he must undo all the knots in the net, or take off the girdles. But often a Russian amulet is merely a knotted thread. A skein of red wool wound about the arms and legs is thought

¹ David Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amotongas* (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 147.

² *Grihya-Sūtras*, translated by H. Oldenberg, vol. i. p. 432.

³ J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 217 sq.

⁴ E. Aymonier, *Nôtes sur le Laos* (Savigon, 1885), p. 23 sq.

to ward off agues and fevers; and nine skeins, fastened round a child's neck, are deemed a preservative against scarlatina. In the Tver Government a bag of a special kind is tied to the neck of the cow which walks before the rest of a herd, in order to keep off wolves; its force binds the jaws of the ravening beast. On the same principle, a padlock is carried thrice round a herd of horses before they go afield in the spring, and the bearer locks and unlocks it as he goes, saying, "I lock from my herd the mouths of the grey wolves with this steel lock." After the third round the padlock is finally locked, and then, when the horses have gone off, it is hidden away somewhere till late in the autumn, when the time comes for the drove to return to winter quarters. In this case the "firm word" of the spell is supposed to lock up the mouths of the wolves. The Bulgarians have a similar mode of guarding their cattle against wild beasts. A woman takes a needle and thread after dark, and sews together the skirt of her dress. A child asks her what she is doing, and she tells him that she is sewing up the ears, eyes, and jaws of the wolves so that they may not hear, see, or bite the sheep, goats, calves, and pigs.¹ Similarly in antiquity a witch fancied that she could shut the mouths of her enemies by sewing up the mouth of a fish with a bronze needle,² and farmers attempted to ward off hail from their crops by tying keys to ropes all round the fields.³ To this day a Transylvanian sower thinks he can keep birds from the corn by carrying a lock in the seed-bag.⁴ Such magical uses of locks and keys are clearly parallel to the magical use of knots, with which we are here concerned. In Ceylon the Cingalese observe "a curious custom of the threshing-floor called 'Goigote'—the tying of the cultivator's knot. When a sheaf of corn has been threshed out, before it is removed the grain is heaped up and the threshers, generally six in number, sit round it, and taking a few stalks, with the ears of corn attached, jointly tie a knot and bury it in the heap. It is left there until all the sheaves have

¹ W. R. S. Ralston, *Songs of the Russian People*, pp. 388-390. p. 309 sq.

² *Geoponica*, l. 14.

³ Ovid, *Fasti*, ll. 377 sqq.; compare W. Warde Fowler, *Roman festivals of the period of the Republic*,

⁴ A. Heinrich, *Agrarische Sitten und Gebräuche unter den Sachsen Siebenbürgens*, p. 9.

been threshed, and the corn winnowed and measured. The object of this ceremony is to prevent the devils from diminishing the quantity of corn in the heap."¹

The precise mode in which the virtue of the knot is supposed to take effect in some of these cases does not clearly appear. But in general we may say that in all the cases we have been considering the leading characteristic of the magic knot or lock is that, in strict accordance with its physical nature, it always acts as an impediment, hindrance, or obstacle, and that its influence is maleficent or beneficent according as the thing which it impedes or hinders is good or evil. The obstructive tendency attributed to the knot in spiritual matters appears in a Swiss superstition that if, in sewing a corpse into its shroud, you make a knot on the thread, it will hinder the soul of the deceased on its passage to eternity.² The Germans of Transylvania, place a little pillow with the dead in the coffin; but in sewing it they take great care not to make any knot on the thread, for they say that to do so would hinder the dead man from resting in the grave and his widow from marrying again.³

A similar belief as to rings is held in the Greek island of Carpathus, where the people never button the clothes they put upon a dead body and are careful to remove all rings from it; "for the spirit, they say, can even be detained in the little finger, and cannot rest."⁴ Here it is plain that even if the soul is not definitely supposed to issue at death from the finger-tips, yet the ring is conceived to exercise a certain constrictive influence which detains and imprisons the immortal spirit in spite of its efforts to escape from the tabernacle of clay; in short the ring, like the knot, acts as a spiritual fetter. This may have been the reason of an ancient Greek maxim, attributed to Pythagoras, which forbade people to wear rings.⁵ Nobody might enter the ancient

¹ C. J. R. Le Mazurier, "Customs and superstitions connected with the cultivation of rice in the southern province of Ceylon," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, N.S., xvii. (1885), p. 371.

² H. Runge, "Volksglaube in der Schweiz," *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde*, iv. (1859),

p. 178, § 25. The belief is reported from Zurich.

³ E. Gerard, *The Land beyond the Forest*, i. 208.

⁴ "On a far-off Island," *Blackwood's Magazine*, February 1886, p. 235.

⁵ Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, v. 5: 28, p. 662, ed. Potter; *Jamblichus*,

Arcadian sanctuary of the Mistress at Lycosura with a ring on his or her finger.¹ On the other hand, the same constriction which hinders the egress of the soul may prevent the entrance of evil spirits; hence we find rings used as amulets against demons, witches, and ghosts. In the Tyrol it is said that a woman in childbed should never take off her wedding-ring, or spirits and witches will have power over her.² Among the Lapps, the person who is about to place a corpse in the coffin receives from the husband, wife, or children of the deceased a brass ring, which he must wear fastened to his right arm until the corpse is safely deposited in the grave. The ring is believed to serve the person as an amulet against any harm which the ghost might do to him.³ We have seen that magic cords are fastened round the wrists of Siamese children to keep off evil spirits; that on the return from a funeral the Burmese tie up the wrists of the surviving members of the family with string in order to prevent the escape of their souls;⁴ and that with the same intention the Bagobos put brass rings on the wrists or ankles of the sick.⁵ This use of wrist-bands, bracelets, and anklets as amulets to keep the soul in the body is exactly parallel to the use of finger-rings which we are here considering. The placing of these spiritual fetters on the wrists is especially appropriate, because some people fancy that a soul resides wherever a pulse is felt beating.⁶ How far the custom of wearing finger-rings may have been influenced by, or even have sprung from, a belief in their efficacy as amulets to keep the soul in or demons out of the body, is a question

Adversus ad Philosophum, 23; Plutarch, *De educatione puerorum*, 17. According to others, all that Pythagoras forbade was the wearing of a ring on which the likeness of a god was engraved (Diogenes Laertius, viii. 1. 17; Porphyry, *Vit. Pythag.* 42; Seidas, s.v. *Πυθαγόρας*); according to Julian a ring was only forbidden if it bore the names of the gods (Julian, *Or.* vii. p. 236 v, p. 305 ed. Dindorf). I have shown elsewhere that the maxims or symbols of Pythagoras, as they were called, are in great measure merely popular superstitions (*Folk-lore*, I.

(1890), p. 147 199.).

¹ This we learn from an inscription recently found on the site. See *Επεμνήματα ἀρχαιογραφικά*, Athens, 1898, col. 249.

² Zingerle, *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen der Tiroler Völker*,² p. 3.

³ J. Scheffer, *Lapplandia*, p. 313.

⁴ Above, pp. 262, 375.

⁵ Above, p. 251.

⁶ De la Borda, "Relation de l'Ordre, etc., des Caraïbes Sauvages," 15, in *Récueil de divers Voyages faits en Afrique et en l'Amérique* (Paris, 1684).

which seems worth considering.¹ Here we are only concerned with the belief in so far as it seems to throw light on the rule that the Flamen Dialis might not wear a ring unless it were broken. Taken in conjunction with the rule which forbade him to have a knot on his garments, it points to a fear that the powerful spirit embodied in him might be trammelled and hampered in its goings-out and comings-in by such corporeal and spiritual fetters as rings and knots.

Before quitting the subject of knots I may be allowed to hazard a conjecture as to the meaning of the famous Gordian knot, which Alexander the Great, failing in his efforts to untie it, cut through with his sword. In Gordium, the ancient capital of the kings of Phrygia, there was preserved a waggon of which the yoke was fastened to the pole by a strip of cornel bark twisted and tied in an intricate knot. Tradition ran that the waggon had been dedicated by Midas, the first king of the dynasty, and that whoever untied the knot would be ruler of Asia.² Perhaps the knot was a talisman with which the fate of the dynasty was believed to be bound up in such a way that whenever the knot was loosed the reign of the dynasty would come to an end. We have seen that the magic virtue ascribed to knots is supposed to last only so long as they remain untied. If the Gordian knot was the talisman of the Phrygian kings, the local fame it enjoyed, as guaranteeing to them the rule of Phrygia, might easily be exaggerated by distant rumour into a report that the sceptre of Asia itself would fall to him who should undo the wondrous knot.³

Unable to discriminate clearly between words and things, the savage commonly fancies that the link between a name and the person or thing denominated by it is not a mere arbitrary and ideal association, but a real and substantial bond which unites the two in such a way that, for example, magic may be wrought on a man just as easily through his name as through his hair, his nails, or any other material

¹ A considerable body of evidence as to the custom of wearing rings and the virtues attributed to them has been collected by Mr. W. Jones in his work *Ring-ring Love* (London, 1877).

² *Atrium, Atrium*, ii. 3; Quintus

Curtius, iii. 1; Justin, xl. 7.

³ Public talismans, on which the safety of the state was supposed to depend, were common in antiquity. See Lobbeck, *Asiaticum*, p. 278 *sq.*, and my note on Pausanias, viii. 47. 3.

part of his person.¹ In fact, primitive man regards his name as a vital portion of himself and takes care of it accordingly. If we may judge from the evidence of language, this crude conception of the relation of names to persons was widely prevalent, if not universal, among the forefathers of the Aryan race. For an analysis of the words for "name" in the various languages of that great family of speech points to the conclusion that "the Celts, and certain other widely separated Aryans, unless we should rather say the whole Aryan family, believed at one time not only that the name was a part of the man, but that it was that part of him which is termed the soul, the breath of life, or whatever you may choose to define it as being."² However this may have been among the primitive Aryans, it is quite certain that many savages at the present day regard their names as vital parts of themselves, and therefore take great pains to conceal their real names, lest these should give to evil-disposed persons a handle by which to injure their owners.

Thus, to begin with the savages who rank at the bottom of the social scale, we are told that the secrecy with which among the Australian aborigines personal names are often kept from general knowledge "arises out of the belief that an enemy who has your name, has something which he can use magically to your detriment."³ "An Australian black," says another writer, "is always very unwilling to tell his real name, and there is no doubt that this reluctance is due to the fear that through his name he may be injured by sorcerers."⁴ On Herbert River the wizards, in order to practise their arts against some one, "need only to know the name of the person in question, and for this reason they rarely use their proper names in addressing or speaking of each other, but simply their class names."⁵ Another writer,

¹ On the primitive conception of the relation of names to persons and things, see E. B. Tylor, *Early History of Mankind*,² p. 123 seq.; R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, p. 163 seq.; E. Clodd, *Two-till-tot* (London, 1898), pp. 55 seq., 79 seq. In what follows I have used with advantage the works of all these writers.

² Professor J. Rhys, "Welsh Fables,"

The Nineteenth Century, xxx. (July-December 1891), p. 566 sq.

³ A. W. Howitt, "On Australian Medicine-men," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xvi. (1887), p. 27, note.

⁴ R. Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 269, note.

⁵ C. Lumholtz, *Among the Camahairs* (London, 1889), p. 280.

who knew the Australians well, observes that in many tribes the belief prevails "that the life of an enemy may be taken by the use of his name in incantations. The consequence of this idea is, that in the tribes in which it obtains, the name of the male is given up for ever at the time when he undergoes the first of a series of ceremonies which end in conferring the rights of manhood. In such tribes a man has no name, and when a man desires to attract the attention of any male of his tribe who is out of his boyhood, instead of calling him by name, he addresses him as brother, nephew, or cousin, as the case may be, or by the name of the class to which he belongs. I used to notice, when I lived amongst the Bangerang, that the names which the males bore in infancy were soon almost forgotten by the tribe."¹ It may be questioned, however, whether the writer of these words was not deceived in thinking that among these tribes men gave up their individual names on passing through the ceremony of initiation into manhood. It is more in harmony with savage beliefs and practices to suppose either that the old names were retained but dropped out of use in daily life, or that new names were given at initiation and sedulously concealed from fear of sorcery. A missionary who resided among the aborigines at Lake Tyers, in Victoria, informs us that "the blacks have great objections to speak of a person by name. In speaking to each other they address the person spoken to as brother, cousin, friend, or whatever relation the person spoken to bears. Sometimes a black bears a name which we would term merely a nickname, as the left-handed, or the bad-handed, or the little man. They would speak of a person by this name while living, but they would never mention the proper name. I found great difficulty in collecting the native names of the blacks here. I found afterwards that they had given me wrong names; and, on asking the reason why, was informed they had two or three names, but they never mentioned their right name for fear any one got it, when they would die."² Amongst the tribes of Central Australia every man, woman, and child has,

¹ E. M. Carr, *The Australian Race*, I. 46.

² J. Bulmer, in Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, II. 94. The writer

appears to mean that the natives feared they would die if any one, or at any rate, an enemy, learned their real names.

besides a personal name which is in common use, a secret or sacred name which is bestowed by the older men upon him or her soon after birth, and which is known to none but the fully initiated members of the group. This secret name is never mentioned except upon the most solemn occasions; to utter it in the hearing of women or of men of another group would be a most serious breach of tribal custom, as serious as the most flagrant case of sacrilege among ourselves. When mentioned at all, the name is spoken only in a whisper, and not until the most elaborate precautions have been taken that it shall be heard by no one but members of the group. "The native thinks that a stranger knowing his secret name would have special power to work him ill by means of magic."¹

The same fear seems to have led to a custom of the same sort amongst the ancient Egyptians, whose comparatively high civilisation was strangely dashed and chequered with relics of the lowest savagery. Every Egyptian received two names, which were known respectively as the true name and the good name, or the great name and the little name; and while the good or little name was made public, the true or great name appears to have been carefully concealed.² Similarly in Abyssinia at the present day it is customary to conceal the real name which a person receives at baptism and to call him only by a sort of nickname which his mother gives him on leaving the church. The reason for this concealment is that a sorcerer cannot act upon a person whose real name he does not know. But if he has ascertained his victim's real name, the magician takes a particular kind of straw, and muttering something over it bends it into a circle and places it under a stone. The person aimed at is taken ill at the very moment of the bending of the straw; and if the straw snaps, he dies.³ The everyday name of a Hindoo is quite distinct from his real name, which is only used at formal ceremonies such as marriage.⁴ Amongst

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 139; cp. *ibid.* p. 637.

² E. Lefébure, "La Vertu et la Vie da Noms en Egypte," *Mitteilungen*, viii. (1897), col. 226 sq.

³ Mansfield Parkyns, *Life in Abyssinia* (London, 1868), p. 301 sq.

⁴ D. C. J. Ibbetson, *Outlines of Panjáb Ethnography* (Calcutta, 1883), p. 118.

the Kru negroes of West Africa a man's real name is always concealed from all but his nearest relations; to other people he is known only under an assumed name.¹ The Ewe-speaking people of the Slave Coast "believe that there is a real and material connection between a man and his name, and that by means of the name injury may be done to the man. An illustration of this has been given in the case of the tree-stump that is beaten with a stone to compass the death of an enemy; for the name of that enemy is not pronounced solely with the object of informing the animating principle of the stump who it is whose death is desired, but through a belief that, by pronouncing the name, the personality of the man who bears it is in some way brought to the stump."² The Wolofs of Senegambia are very much annoyed if any one calls them in a loud voice, even by day; for they say that their name will be remembered by an evil spirit and made use of by him to do them a mischief at night.³ Similarly, the natives of Nias believe that harm may be done to a person by the demons who hear his name pronounced. Hence the names of infants, who are especially exposed to the assaults of evil spirits, are never spoken; and often in haunted spots, such as the gloomy depths of the forest, the banks of a river, or beside a bubbling spring, men will abstain from calling each other by their names for a like reason.⁴

The Indians of Chiloe, a large island off the southern coast of Chili, keep their names secret and do not like to have them uttered aloud; for they say that there are fairies or imps on the mainland or neighbouring islands who, if they knew folk's names, would do them an injury; but so long as they do not know the names, these mischievous sprites are powerless.⁵ The Araucanians, who inhabit the mainland of Chili to the north of Chiloe, will hardly ever tell a stranger their names because they fear that he would thereby acquire some supernatural power over themselves. Asked his name by a stranger, who is ignorant of their

¹ A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 109.

² A. B. Ellis, *The Ewe-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 98.

³ Béranger-Férand, *Les peuples de la Sénégambie* (Paris, 1879), p. 28.

⁴ E. Modigliani, *Un Viaggio a Nias* (Milan, 1890), p. 465.

⁵ This I learned from my wife, who spent some years in Chili and visited the island of Chiloe.

superstitions, an Araucanian will answer, "I have none."¹ Names taken from plants, birds, or other natural objects are bestowed on the Indians of Guiana at their birth by their parents or the medicine-man, "but these names seem of little use, in that owners have a very strong objection to telling or using them, apparently on the ground that the name is part of the man, and that he who knows the name has part of the owner of that name in his power. To avoid any danger of spreading knowledge of their names, one Indian, therefore, generally addresses another only according to the relationship of the caller and the called, as brother, sister, father, mother, and so on; or, when there is no relationship, as boy, girl, companion, and so on. These terms, therefore, practically form the names actually used by Indians amongst themselves."² Amongst the Indians of the Goajira peninsula in Colombia it is a punishable offence to mention a man's name; in aggravated cases heavy compensation is demanded.³ The Indians of Darien never tell their names, and when one of them is asked, "What is your name?" he answers, "I have none."⁴ In North America superstitions of the same sort are current. "Names bestowed with ceremony in childhood," says Schoolcraft, "are deemed sacred, and are seldom pronounced, out of respect, it would seem, to the spirits under whose favour they are supposed to have been selected. Children are usually called in the family by some name which can be familiarly used."⁵ The Navajoes of New Mexico are most unwilling to reveal their own Indian names or those of their friends; they generally go by some Mexican names which they have received from the whites.⁶ "No Apache will give his name to a stranger, fearing some hidden power may thus be placed in the stranger's hand to his detriment."⁷ The Tonkawe Indians of Texas will give

¹ E. R. Smith, *The Araucanians* (London, 1855), p. 222.

² E. F. im Thurn, *Among the Indians of Guiana*, p. 226.

³ F. A. Simons, "An Exploration of the Goajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, N.S., vii. (1883), p. 790.

⁴ Cullen, "The Darien Indians,"

Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London, N.S., iv. (1866), p. 265.

⁵ H. R. Schoolcraft, *The American Indians, their history, condition, and prospects* (Buffalo, 1851), p. 213.

⁶ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, iv. 217.

⁷ J. G. Bourke, "Notes upon the Religion of the Apache Indians," *Folklore*, ii. (1891), p. 423.

their children Comanche and English names in addition to their native names, which they are unwilling to communicate to others; for they believe that when somebody calls a person by his or her native name after death the spirit of the deceased may hear it, and may be prompted to take revenge on such as disturbed his rest; whereas if the spirit be called by a name drawn from another language, it will pay no heed.¹ Blackfoot Indians believe that they would be unfortunate in all their undertakings if they were to speak their names.² When an Ojebway is asked his name, he will look at some bystander and ask him to answer. "This reluctance arises from an impression they receive when young, that if they repeat their own names it will prevent their growth, and they will be small in stature. On account of this unwillingness to tell their names, many strangers have fancied that they either have no names or have forgotten them."³

In this last case no scruple seems to be felt about communicating a man's name to strangers, and no ill effects appear to be dreaded as a consequence of divulging it; harm is only done when a name is spoken by its owner. Why is this? and why in particular should a man be thought to stunt his growth by uttering his own name? We may conjecture that to savages who act and think thus a person's name only seems to be a part of himself when it is uttered with his own breath; uttered by the breath of others it has no vital connection with him, and no harm can come to him through it. Whereas, so these primitive philosophers may have argued, when a man lets his own name pass his lips, he is parting with a living piece of himself, and if he persists in so reckless a course he must certainly end by dissipating his energy and shattering his constitution. Many a broken-down debauchee, many a feeble frame wasted with consumption, may have been pointed out by these simple moralists

¹ A. S. Gatschet, *The Karankawa Indians, the Coast people of Texas* (*Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University*, vol. i, No. 2), p. 69.

² G. B. Grinnell, *Blackfoot Lodge Tales*, p. 194.

³ Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 162. Compare A. P. Reid, "Religious Beliefs of the Ojibois or Saulteux Indians," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii (1874), p. 107.

to their awe-struck disciples as a fearful example of the fate that must sooner or later overtake the profligate who indulges immoderately in the seductive habit of mentioning his own name.

However we may explain it, the fact is certain that many a savage evinces the strongest reluctance to pronounce his own name, while at the same time he makes no objection at all to other people pronouncing it, and will even invite them to do so for him in order to satisfy the curiosity of an inquisitive stranger. Thus in some parts of Madagascar it is *fady* or taboo for a person to tell his own name, but a slave or attendant will answer for him.¹ "Chatting with an old Sakalava while the men were packing up, we happened to ask him his name; whereupon he politely requested us to ask one of his servants standing by. On expressing our astonishment that he should have forgotten this, he told us that it was *fady* (tabooed) for one of his tribe to pronounce his own name. We found this was perfectly true in that district, but it is not the case with the Sakalava a few days farther down the river."² The same curious inconsistency, as it may seem to us, is recorded of some tribes of American Indians. Thus we are told that "the name of an American Indian is a sacred thing, not to be divulged by the owner himself without due consideration. One may ask a warrior of any tribe to give his name, and the question will be met with either a point-blank refusal or the more diplomatic evasion that he cannot understand what is wanted of him. The moment a friend approaches, the warrior first interrogated will whisper what is wanted, and the friend can tell the name, receiving a reciprocation of the courtesy from the other."³ This general statement applies, for example, to the Indian tribes of British Columbia, as to whom it is said that "one of their strangest prejudices, which appears to pervade all tribes alike, is a dislike to telling their names—thus you never get a man's right name from himself;

¹ J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 289.

² H. W. Grainger, "Journal of a Visit to Mojanga on the North-west Coast," *Antananarivo Annual and Madagascar Magazine*, No. 1, p. 25.

(reprint of the first four numbers, Antananarivo and London, 1885).

³ J. G. Bourke, "Medicine-men of the Apaches," *Ninth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1892), p. 461.

but they will tell each other's names without hesitation.¹ Though it is considered very rude for a stranger to ask an Apache his name, and the Apache will never mention it himself, he will allow his friend at his side to mention it for him.² The Abipones of South America thought it a sin in a man to utter his own name, but they would tell each other's names freely; when Father Dobrizhoffer asked a stranger Indian his name, the man would nudge his neighbour with his elbow as a sign that his companion should answer the question.³ In the whole of the East Indian Archipelago the etiquette is the same. As a general rule no one will utter his own name. To inquire, "What is your name?" is a very indelicate question in native society. When in the course of administrative or judicial business a native is asked his name, instead of replying he will look at his comrade to indicate that he is to answer for him, or he will say straight out, "Ask him." The superstition is current all over the East Indies without exception,⁴ and it is found also among the Motu and Motumotu tribes of New Guinea.⁵ Among many tribes of South Africa men and women never mention their names if they can get any one else to do it for them, but they do not absolutely refuse when it cannot be avoided.⁶

¹ R. C. Mayne, *Four Years in British Columbia and Vancouver Island* (London, 1862), p. 278 *sq.*

² J. G. Bourke, *On the Border with Creek*, p. 131 *sq.*

³ Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus* (Vienna, 1784), II. 298.

⁴ G. A. Wilken, *Handreiking van de vergelijkende Volkskunde van Nederlandch-Indië*, p. 221. The custom is reported for the British settlements in the Straits of Malacca by Newbold (*Political and Statistical Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca* (London, 1839), II. 176); for Sumatra in general by Marsden (*History of Sumatra*, p. 286 *sq.*); for the Battas by Baron van Hoevell ("Iets over 't oorlogvoeren der Batta's," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandch Indië*, N.S., VII. (1878), p. 436, note); for the Dyaks by C. Hupe ("Korte Verhandeling over de Godsdienst, Zeden, enz. der Dajaks," *Tijdschrift voor Nede-*

lands Indië, 1846, dl. III. p. 250); for the island of Sumba by S. Roos ("Bijdrage tot de Kennis van Taal, Land en Volk op het Eiland Soemba," p. 70, *Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxvi.); and for Bolang Mongondo, in the west of Celebes, by N. P. Wilken and J. A. Schwarz ("Alleslei over het land en volk van Bolang Mongondou," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendelinggenootschap*, xi. (1867), p. 356).

⁵ J. Chalmers, *Pioneering in New Guinea*, p. 187. If a Motumotu man is hard pressed for his name and there is nobody near to help him, he will at last in a very stupid way mention it himself.

⁶ J. Macdonald, "Manners, Customs, Superstitions, and Religions of South African Tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, x. (1891), p. 131.

No Warua will tell his name, but he does not object to being addressed by it.¹

When it is deemed necessary that a man's real name should be kept secret, it is often customary, as we have seen, to call him by a surname or nickname. As distinguished from the real or primary names, these secondary names are apparently held to be no part of the man himself, so that they may be freely used and divulged to everybody without endangering his safety thereby. Sometimes in order to avoid the use of his own name a man will be called after his child. Thus we are informed that "the Gippsland blacks objected strongly to let any one outside the tribe know their names, lest their enemies, learning them, should make them vehicles of incantation, and so charm their lives away. As children were not thought to have enemies, they used to speak of a man as 'the father, uncle, or cousin of So-and-so,' naming a child; but on all occasions abstained from mentioning the name of a grown-up person."² The Alfoors of Poso, in Celebes, will not pronounce their own names. Among them, accordingly, if you wish to ascertain a person's name, you ought not to ask the man himself, but should inquire of others. But if this is impossible, for example, when there is no one else near, you should ask him his child's name, and then address him as the "Father of So-and-so." Nay, these Alfoors are shy of uttering the names even of children; so when a boy or girl has a nephew or niece, he or she is addressed as "Uncle of So-and-so," or "Aunt of So-and-so."³ These facts go to show that the widespread custom of naming parents, and especially fathers, after their children, originates merely in a reluctance to utter the real names of persons addressed or directly referred to. That reluctance is probably based in part on a fear of attracting the notice of evil spirits.⁴

It might naturally be expected that the reserve so

¹ Cameron, *Across Africa* (London, 1877), ii. 61.

² E. M. Curr, *The Australian Race*, iii. 545. Similarly among the Decorah "there is no secrecy in children's names, but when they grow up there is a secrecy in men's names" (Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, iii. 240).

³ A. C. Krijt, "Een en ander aan-

gaande het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van den Poso-Alfoer," *Mededeelingen van onze het Nederlandsche Zendingmaatschappij*, xi. (1896), p. 273 spg.

⁴ For evidence of the custom in Australia, see E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery into Central Australia* (London, 1845), ii. 325; in Sumatra, see Marsden, *History of*

commonly maintained with regard to personal names would be dropped or at least relaxed among relations and friends. But the reverse of this is often the case. It is precisely the persons most intimately connected by blood and especially by marriage to whom the rule applies with the greatest stringency. Such people are often forbidden, not only to pronounce each other's names, but even to utter ordinary words which resemble or have a single syllable in common with these names. The persons who are thus mutually debarred from mentioning each other's names are especially husbands and wives, a man and his wife's parents, and a woman and her husband's father. For example, among the Caffres of South Africa a woman may not publicly pronounce the birth-name of her husband or of any of his brothers, nor may she use the interdicted word in its ordinary sense. If her husband, for instance, be called u-Mpaka, from *impaka*, a small feline animal, she must speak of that beast by some other name.¹ Further, a Caffre wife is forbidden to pro-

Sumatra, p. 285: among the Battas, see Baron van Hoëvell, "Iets over 't oorlogsvoren der Battas," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, N.S., vii. (1878), p. 436, note: among the Dyaks, see C. Hupe, "Korte Verhaandeling over de Godsdienst, Zeden, enz. der Dajakkers," *Tijdschrift voor Nederlandsch Indië*, 1846, dl. iii. p. 249; H. Low, *Sarawak*, p. 197: among the Kayans of Borneo, see W. H. Furness, *Folklore in Borneo* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 1899, privately printed), p. 26: among the Khasis of Northern India, see Yale, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, ix. (1886), p. 298: among the Caffres and Bechuanas of South Africa, see J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal* (London, 1857), p. 220 sq.; D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Ametongas*² (Edinburgh, 1875), p. 171 sq.; Theil, *Kafir Folklore*, p. 225: among the Mayas of Guatemala, see Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, ii. 680: and among the Tinnex and occasionally the Thlinkeet Indians of North-West America, see E. Peitot, *Monographie des Dind-Dindjil* (Paris, 1876), p. 61; H. J. Holmberg, "Ethnographische Skizzen über die Völker des russischen Amerika,"

Acta Societatis Scientiarum Fennicae, iv. (1856), p. 319. G. A. Wilken held that the custom springs from a desire on the part of the father to assert his paternity, and Prof. E. B. Tylor seems disposed to take the same view. See G. A. Wilken, *Handleiding voor de vergelijkende Volkskunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, p. 216 sqq. (where more evidence of the prevalence of the custom in the East Indies is given); E. B. Tylor, in *Journ. Anthropol. Institute*, xviii. (1889), p. 248 sqq. (who refers to a paper by Wilken in *De Indische Gids* for 1880, which I have not seen). But this explanation fails to account not merely for the custom of naming the mother after her child, but also for the parallel custom in Feso of naming young children after their nephews and nieces. Wilken's explanation is rejected by Mr. A. C. Knijff (*l.c.*) in favour of the one indicated in the text; but that explanation itself hardly covers the many cases discussed above, where, though a man will not mention his own name, he does not object to other people doing so.

¹ J. Shooter, *The Kafirs of Natal*, p. 221.

nounce even mentally the names of her father-in-law and of all her husband's male relations in the ascending line; and whenever the emphatic syllable of any of their names occurs in another word, she must avoid it by substituting either an entirely new word, or, at least, another syllable in its place. Hence this custom has given rise to an almost distinct language among the women, which the Caffres call *Ukuteta Kwabafasi* or "women's speech."¹ The interpretation of this "women's speech" is naturally very difficult, "for no definite rules can be given for the formation of these substituted words, nor is it possible to form a dictionary of them, their number being so great—since there may be many women, even in the same tribe, who would be no more at liberty to use the substitutes employed by some others, than they are to use the original words themselves."² A Caffre man, on his side, may not mention the name of his mother-in-law, nor may she pronounce his; but he is free to utter words in which the emphatic syllable of her name occurs.³ In Northern Nyasaland no woman will speak the name of her husband or even use a word that may be synonymous with it. If she were to call him by his proper name, she believes it would be unlucky and would affect her powers of conception. In like manner women abstain, for superstitious reasons, from using the common names of articles of food, which they designate by terms peculiar to themselves.⁴ Among the Barea and Bogos of Eastern Africa a woman never mentions her husband's name; a Bogo wife would

¹ Maclean, *Compendium of Kaffir Laws and Customs* (Cape Town, 1866), p. 92 *sq.*; D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*,² pp. 141 *sq.*, 172; Kraus, *Natur- und Kulturleben der Zulus* (Weinbaden, 1880), p. 114 *sq.*; Theal, *Kaffir Folk-lore*³ (London, 1886), p. 214.

² Rev. Francis Flemming, *Kaffraria and its Inhabitants* (London, 1853), p. 97; *id.*, *Southern Africa* (London, 1856), p. 238. This writer states that the women are forbidden to pronounce "any word which may happen to contain a sound similar to any one in the names of their nearest male relatives." But perhaps the restriction is

limited to the names of men with whom the woman is connected by marriage, and does not apply to the names of her blood relatives.

³ Maclean, *op. cit.* p. 93; D. Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Amatongas*,² pp. 46, 102, 172. The extensive system of taboos on personal names among the Caffres is known as *Ukuklonipa*, or simply *klonipa*. The fullest account of it with which I am acquainted is given by Leslie, *op. cit.* pp. 141 *sq.*, 172-180.

⁴ Sir H. H. Johnston, *British Central Africa* (London, 1897), p. 452.

rather be unfaithful to him than commit the monstrous sin of allowing his name to pass her lips.¹ A Kirghiz woman dares not pronounce the names of the older relations of her husband, nor even use words which resemble them in sound. For example, if one of these relations is called Shepherd, she may not speak of sheep, but must call them "the bleating ones"; if his name is Lamb, she must refer to lambs as "the young of the bleating ones."² Among the Ojebways husbands and wives never mention each other's names;³ among the Omahas a man and his father-in-law and mother-in-law will on no account utter each other's names in company;⁴ A Dakota "is not allowed to address or to look towards his wife's mother, especially, and the woman is shut off from familiar intercourse with her husband's father and others, and etiquette prohibits them from speaking the names of their relatives by marriage." "None of their customs," adds the same writer, "is more tenacious of life than this; and no family law is more binding."⁵

Among the Dyaks a child never pronounces the names of his parents, and is angry if any one else does so in his presence. A husband never calls his wife by her name, and she never calls him by his. If they have children, they name each other after them, "Father of So-and-so" and "Mother of So-and-so"; if they have no children they use the pronouns "he" and "she," or an expression such as "he or she whom I love"; and in general members of a Dyak family do not mention each other's names.⁶ Moreover, when the personal names happen also, as they often do, to be names of common objects, the Dyak is debarred from designating these objects by their ordinary names. For instance, if a man or one of his family is called Bintang, which means "star," he must not call a star a star (*bintang*); he must call it a *pariama*. If he or a member of

¹ W. Munzinger, *Ostafrikanische Studien* (Schaffhausen, 1864), p. 326; *id.*, *Sitten und Recht der Bogos* (Winterthur, 1859), p. 95.

² W. Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der Türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibirien*, iii. 13, note 3.

³ Peter Jones, *History of the Ojebway Indians*, p. 162.

⁴ E. James, *Expedition from Pittsburgh to the Rocky Mountains* (London, 1823), i. 232.

⁵ S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography* (Washington, 1893), p. 202.

⁶ C. Hupe, "Korte Verhaandeling over de Godsdienst, Zeden, enz. der Dajakkers," *Nijderlandsche Oost-Indië*, 1846, dl. iii. p. 289 27.

his domestic circle bears the name of Bulan, which means "moon," he may not speak of the moon as the moon (*bulan*); he must call it *penala*. Hence it comes about that in the Dyak language there are two sets of distinct names for many objects.¹ Among the Alfours of Poso, in Central Celebes, you may not pronounce the names of your father, mother, grandparents, and other near relations. But the strictest taboo is on the names of parents-in-law. A son-in-law and a daughter-in-law may not only never mention the names of their parents-in-law, but if the names happen to be ordinary words of the language, they may never allow the words in their common significance to pass their lips. For example, if my father is called Njara ("horse"), I may not speak of him by that name; but in speaking of the animal I am free to use the word horse (*njara*). But if my father-in-law is called Njara, the case is different, for then not only may I not refer to him by his name, but I may not even call a horse a horse; in speaking of the animal I must use some other word. The missionary who reports the custom is acquainted with a man whose mother-in-law rejoices in the name of Ringgi ("rixdollar"). When this man has occasion to refer to real rixdollars, he alludes to them delicately as "large guilders" (*roepia grote*). Another man may not use the ordinary word for water (*air*); in speaking of water he employs a word (*uwai*) taken from a different dialect. Indeed, among these Alfours it is the common practice in such cases to replace the forbidden word by a kindred word of the same significance borrowed from another dialect. In this way many fresh terms or new forms of an old word pass into general circulation.² Among the Alfours of Minahassa, in Northern Celebes, the custom is carried still further so as to forbid the use even of words which merely resemble the personal names in sound. It is especially the name of a father-in-law which is thus laid under an interdict.

¹ "De Dialect op Borneo," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xlii. (1869), p. 78; G. A. Wilken, *Handreiding voor de vergelykende Volkskunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, p. 599.

² A. C. Krijt, "Een en ander zingende hetgeestelijken maatschappelijk leven van den Poso-Alfours," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xl. (1896), p. 273 sq. The word for taboo among these people is *kepati*.

If he, for example, is called Kalala, his son-in-law may not speak of a horse by its common name *karwalo*; he must call it a "riding-beast" (*sasakajan*).¹ So among the Alfoors of the island of Buro it is taboo to mention the names of parents and parents-in-law, or even to speak of common objects by words which resemble these names in sound. Thus, if your mother-in-law is called Dalu, which means "betel," you may not ask for betel by its ordinary name, you must ask for "red mouth" (*mue jaiha*); if you want betel-leaf, you may not say betel-leaf (*dalu 'nuu*), you must say *karon jenna*. In the same island it is also taboo to mention the name of an elder brother in his presence.² In Bolang Mongondo, a district in the west of Celebes, the unmentionable names are those of parents, parents-in-law, uncles and aunts.³ Among the Alfoors of Halmahera a son-in-law may never use his father-in-law's name in speaking to him; he must simply address him as "Father-in-law."⁴ In Sunda it is thought that a particular crop would be spoilt if a man were to mention the names of his father and mother.⁵ In the Banks Islands, Melanesia, the taboos laid on the names of persons connected by marriage are very strict. A man will not mention the name of his father-in-law, much less the name of his mother-in-law, nor may he name his wife's brother; but he may name his wife's sister, she is nothing to him. A woman may not name her father-in-law, nor on any account her son-in-law. Two people whose children have intermarried are also debarred from mentioning each other's names. And not only are all these persons

¹ G. A. Wilken, *op. cit.* p. 599 *sq.*

² G. A. Wilken, "Bijdrage tot de kennis der Alfoeren van het Eiland Boeroe," p. 26 (*Verhandelingen van het Bataviaasch Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxxvi.). The words for taboo among these Alfoors are *poto* and *hain*; *poto* applies to actions, *hain* to things and places. The literal meaning of *poto* is "warm," "hot" (Wilken, *op. cit.* p. 25).

³ N. P. Wilken and J. A. Schwarz, "Alberlei over het Land en Volk van Bolang Mongondo," *Mededeelingen van naar het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xl. (1867), p. 356.

⁴ C. F. H. Campen, "De godsdienstbegrippen der Halmaherische Alfoeren," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkskunde*, xxvii. (1882), p. 450.

⁵ K. F. Holle, "Snippers van den Regent van Golel," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-Land- en Volkskunde*, xxvii. (1882), p. 101 *sq.* The precise consequence supposed to follow is that the *sebi* (?) plantations would have no bulbs (*geen knollen*). The names of several animals are also tabooed in Sunda. See Note A at the end of this volume, "Taboos on Common Words."

forbidden to utter each other's names; they may not even pronounce ordinary words which chance to be either identical with these names or to have any syllables in common with them. "A man on one occasion spoke to me of his house as a shed, and when that was not understood, went and touched it with his hand to show what he meant; a difficulty being still made, he looked round to be sure that no one was near and whispered, not the name of his son's wife, but the respectful substitute for her name, *amen Mulegona*, she who was with his son, and whose name was Tuwarina, Hind-house." Again, we hear of a native of these islands who might not use the common words for "pig" and "to die," because these words occurred in the polysyllabic name of his son-in-law; and we are told of another unfortunate who might not pronounce the everyday words for "hand" and "hot" on account of his wife's brother's name, and who was even debarred from mentioning the number "one," because the word for "one" formed part of the name of his wife's cousin.¹

It might be expected that similar taboos on the names of relations and on words resembling them would commonly occur among the aborigines of Australia, and that some light might be thrown on their origin and meaning by the primitive modes of thought and forms of society prevalent among these savages. Yet this expectation can hardly be said to be fulfilled; for the evidence of the observance of such customs in Australia is scanty and hardly of a nature to explain their origin. We are told that there are instances "in which the names of natives are never allowed to be spoken, as those of a father or mother-in-law, of a son-in-law, and some cases arising from a connection with each other's wives."² Among some Victorian tribes, a man never at any time mentioned the name of his mother-in-law, and from the time of his betrothal to his death neither she nor her sisters might ever look at or speak to him. He might not go within fifty yards of their habitation, and when he met them on a path they immediately left it, clapped their hands, and covering up their heads with their rugs

¹ R. H. Codrington, *The Melan-*
esians, p. 43 sq.

² E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expedi-*
tions, ii. 339.

walked in a stooping posture and spoke in whispers until he had gone by. They might not talk with him, and when he and they spoke to other people in each other's presence they used a special form of speech which went by the name of "turn tongue." This was not done with any intention of concealing their meaning, for "turn tongue" was understood by everybody.¹ A writer, who enjoyed unusually favourable opportunities of learning the language and customs of the Victorian aborigines, informs us that, "A stupid custom existed among them, which they called *kual-ayne*. Whenever a female child was promised in marriage to any man, from that very hour neither he nor the child's mother were permitted to look upon or hear each other speak or hear their names mentioned by others; for, if they did, they would immediately grow prematurely old and die."² In the Boondik tribe of South Australia persons connected by marriage, except husbands and wives, spoke to each other in a low whining voice and employed words different from those in common use.³ Another writer, speaking of the same tribe, says: "Mothers-in-law and sons-in-law studiously avoid each other. A father-in-law converses with his son-in-law in a low tone of voice, and in a phraseology differing somewhat from the ordinary one."⁴

It will perhaps occur to the reader that customs of this latter sort may possibly have originated in the intermarriage of tribes speaking different languages; and there are some Australian facts which seem at first sight to favour this supposition. Thus with regard to the natives of South Australia we are told that "the principal mark of distinction between the tribes is difference of language or dialect; where the tribes intermix greatly no inconvenience is experienced on this account, as every person understands, in addition to his own dialect, that of the neighbouring tribe; the consequence is that two persons commonly converse in

¹ J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 29. Specimens of this peculiar form of speech are given by Mr. Dawson. For example, "It will be very warm by and by" was expressed in the ordinary language *Baowun kullun*; in "turn tongue" it was *Gullewa*

Gwainan tiranbunt.

² Joseph Parker, in Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, ii. 156.

³ Mrs. James Smith, *The Boondik Tribe*, p. 5.

⁴ D. Stewart, in E. M. Curr's *Australian Race*, iii. 461.

two languages, just as an Englishman and German would hold a conversation, each person speaking his own language, but understanding that of the other as well as his own. This peculiarity will often occur in one family through inter-marriages, neither party ever thinking of changing his or her dialect for that of the other. Children do not always adopt the language of the mother, but that of the tribe among whom they live."¹ Among some tribes of Western Victoria a man was actually forbidden to marry a wife who spoke the same dialect as himself; and during the preliminary visit, which each paid to the tribe of the other, neither was permitted to speak the language of the tribe whom he or she was visiting. The children spoke the language of their father and might never mix it with any other. To her children the mother spoke in their father's language, but to her husband she spoke in her own, and he answered her in his; "so that all conversation is carried on between husband and wife in the same way as between an Englishman and a Frenchwoman, each speaking his or her own language. This very remarkable law explains the preservation of so many distinct dialects within so limited a space, even where there are no physical obstacles to ready and frequent communication between the tribes."² So amongst the Sakais, an aboriginal race of the Malay Peninsula, a man goes to a considerable distance for a wife, generally to a tribe who speak quite a different dialect.³ It is well known that the Carib women spoke a language which differed in some respects from that of the men, and the explanation generally given of the difference is that the women preserved the language of a race of whom the men had been exterminated and the women married by the Caribs. This explanation is not, as some seem to suppose, a mere hypothesis of the learned, devised to clear up a curious discrepancy; it was a tradition current among the Caribs themselves in the seventeenth

¹ C. W. Schürmann, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 249.

² J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, pp. 27, 30 *ib.*, 20. So among the Gowarditch-wara tribe of Western Victoria the child spoke his father's language, and not his mother's, when

she happened to be of another tribe (Fison and Howitt, *Kawilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 276).

³ A. Hailo, "On the Sakais," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xv, (1886), p. 291.

century,¹ and as such it deserves serious attention. But there are other facts which seem to point to a different explanation.² However this may be, a little reflection will probably convince us that a mere intermixture of races speaking different tongues could scarcely account for the phenomena of language under consideration. For the reluctance to mention the names or even syllables of the names of persons connected with the speaker by marriage can hardly be separated from the reluctance evinced by so many people to utter their own names or the names of the dead or of chiefs and kings; and if the reticence as to these latter names springs mainly from superstition, we may infer that the reticence as to the former has no better foundation. That the savage's unwillingness to mention his own name is based, at least in part, on a superstitious fear of the ill use that might be made of it by his foes, whether human or spiritual, has already been shown. It remains to examine the similar usage in regard to the names of the dead and of royal personages.

The custom of abstaining from all mention of the names of the dead was observed in antiquity by the Albanians of the Caucasus,³ and at the present day it is in full force among many savage tribes. Thus we are told that one of the customs most rigidly observed and enforced amongst the Australian aborigines is never to mention the name of a deceased person, whether male or female; to name aloud one who has departed this life would be a gross violation of their most sacred prejudices, and they carefully abstain from it.⁴ The chief motive for this abstinence appears to be a

¹ De Rochefort, *Histoire Naturelle et Morale des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique* (Rotterdam, 1665), p. 349 *sq.*; De la Harpe, "Relation de l'origine, etc., des Caraïbes sauvages des Iles Antilles de l'Amérique," pp. 4, 39 (*Recueil de divers Voyages faits en Afrique et en Amérique, qui n'ont point été encore publiés*, Paris, 1684); Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, I. 55. On the language of the Carib women, see also Jean Baptiste du Tertre, *Histoire générale des Iles de S. Christophe, de la Guadeloupe, de la Martinique et autres dans*

l'Amérique (Paris, 1654), p. 462; Labat, *Nouveau Voyage aux Iles de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1713), vi, 127 *sq.*; J. N. Rat, "The Carib language," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxvii, (1898), p. 321 *sq.*

² See C. Sapper, "Mittelamerikanische Caribben," *Internationale Archiv für Ethnographie*, x, (1897), p. 56 *sq.*; and my article, "A suggestion as to the origin of gender in language," *Fortnightly Review*, January 1900.

³ Strabo, vi, 4, 5.

⁴ G. Grey, *Journals of Two Expeditions of Discovery*, ii, 232, 257.

fear of evoking the ghost, although the natural unwillingness to revive past sorrows undoubtedly operates also to draw the veil of oblivion over the names of the dead.¹ Once Mr. Oldfield so terrified a native by shouting out the name of its deceased person, that the man fairly took to his heels and did not venture to show himself again for several days. At their next meeting he bitterly reproached Mr. Oldfield for his indiscretion; "nor could I," adds Mr. Oldfield, "induce him by any means to utter the awful sound of a dead man's name, for by so doing he would have placed himself in the power of the malign spirits."² On another occasion a Watchandie woman having mentioned the name of a certain man, was informed that he had long been dead. At that she became greatly excited and spat thrice to counteract the evil effect of having taken a dead man's name into her lips. This custom of spitting thrice, as Mr. Oldfield afterwards learned, was the regular charm whereby the natives freed themselves from the power of the dangerous spirits whom they had provoked by such a rash act.³ Among the aborigines of Victoria the dead were very rarely spoken of, and then never by their names; they were referred to in a subdued voice as "the lost one" or "the poor fellow that is no more." To speak of them by name would, it was supposed, excite the malignity of Couit-gil, the spirit of the departed, which hovers on earth for a time before it departs for ever towards the setting sun.⁴ Once when a Kurnai

The writer is here speaking especially of Western Australia, but his statement applies, with certain restrictions which will be mentioned presently, to all parts of the continent. For evidence see D. Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1804), p. 390; S. Gasco, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 275; Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, i. 120, ii. 297; A. L. F. Cameron, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xlv. (1885), p. 303; Flinn and Howitt, *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 284; E. M. Carr, *The Australian Race*, i. 88, 138, ii. 195, iii. 22, 29, 139, 166, 596; J. D. Lang, *Queensland* (London, 1861), pp. 367, 137, 388; C. Lumholtz, *Arctug*

Cannibals (London, 1859), p. 279; *Report on the Work of the Horn Scientific Expedition to Central Australia* (London and Melbourne, 1896), pp. 137, 168. More evidence is adduced below.

¹ On this latter head, see especially the remarks of Mr. A. W. Howitt, in *Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 249. Compare also C. W. Schürmann, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 247; F. Bonney, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xiii. (1882), p. 127.

² A. Oldfield, "The Aborigines of Australia," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S., iii. (1865), p. 238.

³ A. Oldfield, *op. cit.* p. 240.

⁴ W. Sturmlidge, "On the Abori-

man was spoken to about a dead friend, soon after the decease, he looked round uneasily and said, "Do not do that, he might hear you and kill me!"¹ Of the tribes in the Lower Murray River we are told that when a person dies "they carefully avoid mentioning his name; but if compelled to do so, they pronounce it in a very low whisper, so faint that they imagine the spirit cannot hear their voice."² Amongst the tribes of Central Australia no one may utter the name of the deceased during the period of mourning, unless it is absolutely necessary to do so, and then it is only done in a whisper for fear of disturbing and annoying the man's spirit which is walking about in ghostly form. If the ghost hears his name mentioned he concludes that his kinsfolk are not mourning for him properly; if their grief were genuine they could not bear to bandy his name about. Touched to the quick by their hard-hearted indifference, the indignant ghost will come and trouble them in dreams.³

The same reluctance to utter the names of the dead appears to prevail among all the Indian tribes of America from Hudson's Bay Territory to Patagonia. Among the Iroquois, for example, the name of the deceased was never mentioned after the period of mourning had expired.⁴ The same rule was rigidly observed by the Indians of California and Oregon; its transgression might be punished with a heavy fine or even with death.⁵ Thus among the Karok of California we are told that "the highest crime one can commit is the *pet-chi-é-ri*, the mere mention of the dead relative's name. It is a deadly insult to the survivors, and can be atoned for only by the same amount of blood-money paid for wilful murder. In default of that they will have the villain's blood."⁶ Amongst the Wintun, also of California, if some one in a group of merry talkers inadvertently men-

plines of Victoria," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S., i. (1861), p. 299.

¹ A. W. Howitt, "On some Australian Beliefs," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xii. (1884), p. 191.

² G. F. Angus, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, i. 94.

³ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 498.

⁴ L. H. Morgan, *League of the Iroquois* (Rochester, U.S., 1851), p. 175.

⁵ A. S. Gatschett, *The Klamath Indians of South-western Oregon* (Washington, 1890), (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. ii. pt. 1), p. xli.; Chase, quoted by Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 357, note 76.

⁶ S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 13, compare p. 68.

tions the name of a deceased person, "straightway there falls upon all an awful silence. No words can describe the shuddering and heart-sickening terror which seizes upon them at the utterance of that fearful word."¹ Among the Goajirons of Colombia to mention the dead before his kinsmen is a dreadful offence, which is often punished with death; for if it happen on the *ranchos* of the deceased, in presence of his nephew or uncle, they will assuredly kill the offender on the spot if they can. But if he escapes, the penalty resolves itself into a heavy fine, usually of two or more oxen.² So among the Abipones of Paraguay to mention the departed by name was a serious crime, which often led to blows and bloodshed. When it was needful to refer to such an one, it was done by means of a general phrase such as "he who is no more," eked out with particulars which served to identify the person meant.³

A similar reluctance to mention the names of the dead is reported of peoples so widely separated from each other as the Samoyeds of Siberia and the Todas of Southern India, the Mongols of Tartary and the Tuaregs of the Sahara, the Ainos of Japan and the Wakamba of Central Africa, and the inhabitants of the Nicobar Islands, of Borneo, and Tasmania.⁴ In all cases, even where it is not expressly

¹ S. Powers, *op. cit.* p. 240.

² F. A. Simons, "An Expedition of the Guajira Peninsula, U.S. of Colombia," *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society*, vi. (1885), p. 791.

³ Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abiponibus*, il. 301, 498. For more evidence of the observance of this taboo among the American Indians, see W. Colquhoun Grant, "Description of Vancouver's Island," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxvi. (1857), p. 303 (as to Vancouver Island); Capt. Wilson, "Report on the Indian Tribes," *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London*, N.S. iv. (1866), p. 236 (as to Vancouver Island and neighbourhood); A. Ross, *Adventures on the Oregon or Columbia River*, p. 322; H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, iv. 226 (as to the Bonaks of California); Ch. N. Bell, "The Mosquito Terri-

tory," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xxxii. (1862), p. 255; A. Fihart, "Les Indiens de l'Etat de Panama," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, vi. (1887), p. 56; Munster, in *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society*, xli. (1871), p. 68 (as to Patagonia). More evidence is adduced below.

⁴ See Pallas, *Reise durch verschiedene Provinzen des russischen Reichs*, iii. 76 (Samoyeds); W. E. Marshall, *Travels amongst the Todas*, p. 177; Plan de Carpin (de Plano Carpini), *Relation des Mongols en Tartarie*, ed. D'Avezac, cap. iii. § iii.; H. Duveyrier, *Exploration du Sahara, les Touaregs du Nord* (Paris, 1864), p. 415; Lieut. S. C. Holland, "The Ainos," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. (1874), p. 238; J. M. Hildebrandt, "Ethnographische Notizen über Wakamba und ihre Nachbarn," *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, x. (1878), p. 405; N.

stated, the fundamental reason for this avoidance is probably the fear of the ghost. That this is the real motive with the Tuaregs of the Sahara we are positively informed. They dread the return of the dead man's spirit, and do all they can to avoid it by shifting their camp after a death, ceasing for ever to pronounce the name of the departed, and eschewing everything that might be regarded as an evocation or recall of his soul. Hence they do not, like the Arabs, designate individuals by adding to their personal names the names of their fathers; they never speak of So-and-so, son of So-and-so; they give to every man a name which will live and die with him.¹ So among some of the Victorian tribes in Australia personal names were rarely perpetuated, because the natives believed that any one who adopted the name of a deceased person would not live long;² probably his ghostly namesake was supposed to come and fetch him away to the spirit-land. Among the Klallam Indians of Washington Territory no person may bear the name of his deceased father, grandfather, or any other direct ancestor in the paternal line.³ The Masai of Eastern Africa resort to a simple device which enables them to speak of the dead freely without risk of the inopportune appearance of the ghost. As soon as a man or woman dies, they change his or her name, and henceforth always speak of him or her by the new name, while the old name falls into oblivion, and to utter it in the presence of a kinsman of the deceased is an insult which calls for vengeance. They assume that the dead man will not know his new name, and so will not answer to it when he hears it pronounced.⁴ Ghosts are notoriously dull-witted; nothing is easier than to dupe them.

The same fear of the ghost, which moves people to

Fentana, "On the Nicobar Isles," *Asiatic Researches*, iii. (London, 1799), p. 154; W. H. Furness, *Folk-lore in Borneo* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 1899), p. 26; J. E. Calder, "Native Tribes of Tasmania," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, iii. (1874), p. 23; J. Boswick, *Daily Life of the Tamaricans*, pp. 97, 145, 183.

¹ H. Duveyrier, *Exploration du*

Sahara, les Touaregs du Nord, p. 431.

² J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 42.

³ Myron Eels, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute for 1887*, Part I, p. 656.

⁴ R. Andree, *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche*, p. 182 sq.

suppress his old name, naturally leads all persons who bear a similar name to exchange it for another, lest its utterance should attract the attention of the ghost, who cannot reasonably be expected to discriminate between all the different applications of the same name. Thus we are told that in the Adelaide and Encounter Bay tribes of South Australia the repugnance to mentioning the names of persons who have died lately is carried so far, that persons who bear the same name as the deceased abandon it, and either adopt temporary names or are known by any others that happen to belong to them.¹ The same practice was observed by the aborigines of New South Wales,² and is said to be observed by the tribes of the Lower Murray River,³ and of King George's Sound in Western Australia.⁴ In some Australian tribes the change of name thus brought about is permanent; the old name is laid aside for ever, and the man is known by his new name for the rest of his life, or at least until he is obliged to change it again for a like reason.⁵ Among the North American Indians all persons, whether men or women, who bore the name of one who had just died were obliged to abandon it and to adopt other names, which was formally done at the first ceremony of mourning for the dead.⁶ In some tribes to the east of the Rocky Mountains this change of name lasted only during the season of mourning,⁷ but in other tribes on the Pacific Coast of North America it seems to have been permanent.⁸

Sometimes by an extension of the same reasoning all the near relations of the deceased change their names, whatever they may happen to be, doubtless from a fear that the

¹ W. Wyatt, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 165.

² D. Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales* (London, 1804), p. 392.

³ P. Beveridge, "Notes on the dialects, habits, and mythology of the Lower Murray aborigines," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Victoria*, vi. 20 &c.

⁴ "Description of the natives of King George's Sound (Swan River) and adjoining country," *Journal of the R. Geograph. Society*, i. (1832), p. 46 &c.

⁵ G. F. Angus, *Savage Life and Scenes in Australia and New Zealand*, ii. 228.

⁶ Lafitau, *Mœurs des Sauvages Américains*, ii. 434.

⁷ Charlevoix, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, vi. 109.

⁸ S. Powers, *Tribes of California*, p. 349; Myron Eels, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institute for 1887*, p. 656.

sound of the familiar names might lure back the vagrant spirit to its old home. Thus in some Victorian tribes the ordinary names of all the next of kin were disused during the period of mourning, and certain general terms, prescribed by custom, were substituted for them. To call a mourner by his own name was considered an insult to the departed, and often led to fighting and bloodshed.¹ Among Indian tribes of North-Western America near relations of the deceased often change their names "under an impression that spirits will be attracted back to earth if they hear familiar names often repeated."² Among the Lenguas of South America not only is a dead man's name never mentioned, but all the survivors change their names also. They say that Death has been among them and has carried off a list of the living, and that he will soon come back for more victims; hence in order to defeat his fell purpose they change their names, believing that on his return Death, though he has got them all on his list, will not be able to identify them under their new names, and will depart to pursue the search elsewhere.³

Further, when the name of the deceased happens to be that of some common object, such as an animal, or plant, or fire, or water, it is sometimes considered necessary to drop that word in ordinary speech and replace it by another. A custom of this sort, it is plain, may easily be a potent agent of change in language; for where it prevails to any considerable extent many words must constantly become obsolete and new ones spring up. And this tendency has been remarked by observers who have recorded the custom in Australia, America, and elsewhere. For example, with regard to the Australian aborigines it has been noted that "the dialects change with almost every tribe. Some tribes name their children after natural objects; and when the person so named dies, the word is never again mentioned; another word has therefore to be invented for the object

¹ J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 42.

² H. H. Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, i. 248. Compare Baer and Helmsen, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der russischen Reiche und*

der angrenzenden Länder Asiens, i. 107 sq. (as to the Kenyem of Cook's Inlet and the neighbourhood).

³ F. de Azara, *Voyage dans l'Amérique Méridionale* (Paris, 1808), ii. 153 sq.

after which the child was called." The writer gives as an instance the case of a man whose name Karla signified "fire"; when Karla died, a new word for fire had to be introduced. "Hence," adds the writer, "the language is always changing."¹ In the Moorunde tribe the name for "teal" used to be *torpool*; but when a boy called Torpool died, a new name (*tilquaitch*) was given to the bird, and the old name dropped out altogether from the language of the tribe.² Sometimes, however, such substitutes for common words were only in vogue for a limited time after the death, and were then discarded in favour of the old words. Thus a missionary, who lived among the Victorian aborigines, remarks that "it is customary among these blacks to disuse a word when a person has died whose name was the same or even of the same sound. I find great difficulty in getting blacks to repeat such words. I believe this custom is common to all the Victorian tribes, though in course of time the word is resumed again. I have seen among the Murray blacks the dead freely spoken of when they have been dead some time."³ Again in the Encounter Bay tribe of South Australia, if a man of the name of Ngnye, which means "water," were to die, the whole tribe would be obliged to use some other word to express water for a considerable time after his decease. The writer who records this custom surmises that it may explain the presence of a number of synonyms in the language of the tribe.⁴ This conjecture is confirmed by what we know of some Victorian tribes whose speech comprised a regular set of synonyms to be used instead of the common terms by all members of a tribe in times of mourning. For instance, if a man called Waa ("crow") departed this life, during the period of mourning for him nobody might call a crow a *waa*; everybody had to speak of the bird as a *narrapart*. When a person who rejoiced in the title of Ringtail Opossum (*wearn*) had gone the way of all flesh, his sorrowing relations and the tribe at large were bound for a time to refer to ringtail opossums by the more

¹ Brough Smyth, *Aborigines of Victoria*, II. 266.

² J. Balmer, in Brough Smyth's *Aborigines of Victoria*, II. 94.

³ E. J. Eyre, *Journals of Expeditions of Discovery*, II. 354 sq.

⁴ H. E. A. Meyer, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 199, compare p. xxix.

sonorous name of *nunauungkurt*. If the community were plunged in grief for the loss of a respected female who bore the honourable name of Turkey Bustard, the proper name for turkey bustards, which was *barrim barrim*, went out and *tillit tillitsh* came in. And so *mutatis mutandis* with the names of Black Cockatoo, Grey Duck, Gigantic Crane, Kangaroo, Eagle, Dingo, and the rest.¹

A similar custom used to be constantly transforming the language of the Abipones of Paraguay, amongst whom, however, a word once abolished seems never to have been revived. New words, says the missionary Dobrizhoffer, sprang up every year like mushrooms in a night, because all words that resembled the names of the dead were abolished by proclamation and others coined in their place. The mint of words was in the hands of the old women of the tribe, and whatever term they stamped with their approval and put in circulation was immediately accepted without a murmur by high and low alike, and spread like wildfire through every camp and settlement of the tribe. You would be astonished, says the same missionary, to see how meekly the whole nation acquiesces in the decision of a withered old hag, and how completely the old familiar words fall instantly out of use and are never repeated either through force of habit or forgetfulness. In the seven years that Dobrizhoffer spent among these Indians the native word for jaguar was changed thrice, and the words for crocodile, thorn, and the slaughter of cattle underwent similar though less varied vicissitudes. As a result of this habit, the vocabularies of the missionaries teemed with erasures, old words having constantly to be struck out as obsolete and new ones inserted in their place.²

In the Nicobar Islands a similar practice has similarly affected the speech of the natives. "A most singular custom," says Mr. de Roepstorff, "prevails among them which one would suppose must most effectually hinder the 'making of history,' or, at any rate, the transmission of

¹ J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 43. Mr. Howitt mentions the case of a native who arbitrarily substituted the name *nehier* ("spirituous liquor") for *yan* ("water") because Yan was

the name of a man who had recently died (*Kamilaroi and Kurnai*, p. 229).

² Dobrizhoffer, *Historia de Abipones* (Vienna, 1784), II. 199, 301.

historical narrative. By a strict rule, which has all the sanction of Nicobar superstition, no man's name may be mentioned after his death! To such a length is this carried that when, as very frequently happens, the man rejoiced in the name of 'Fowl,' 'Hat,' 'Fire,' 'Road,' etc., in its Nicobarese equivalent, the use of these words is carefully eschewed for the future, not only as being the personal designation of the deceased, but even as the names of the common things they represent; the words die out of the language, and either new vocables are coined to express the thing intended, or a substitute for the disused word is found in other Nicobarese dialects or in some foreign tongue. This extraordinary custom not only adds an element of instability to the language, but destroys the continuity of political life, and renders the record of past events precarious and vague, if not impossible."¹

That a superstition which suppresses the names of the dead must cut at the very root of historical tradition has been remarked by other workers in this field. "The Klamath people," observes Mr. A. S. Gatschet, "possess no historic traditions going further back in time than a century, for the simple reason that there was a strict law prohibiting the mention of the person or acts of a deceased individual by *using his name*. This law was rigidly observed among the Californians no less than among the Oregonians, and on its transgression the death penalty could be inflicted. This is certainly enough to suppress all historical knowledge within a people. How can history be written without names?"² Among some of the tribes of New South Wales the simple ditties, never more than two lines long, to which the natives dance, are never transmitted from one generation to another, because, when the rude poet dies, "all the songs of which he was author are, as it were, buried with him, inasmuch as they, in common with his very name, are studiously ignored from thenceforward, consequently they are quite forgotten in a very short space of

¹ F. A. de Roepstorff, "Tiomberomhi, a Nicobar Tale," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, III. (1884), pt. I, p. 24-25.

² A. S. Gatschet, *The Klamath Indians of South-western Oregon* (*Contributions to North American Ethnology*, vol. II, pt. 1), p. xlii.

time indeed. This custom of endeavouring persistently to forget everything which had been in any way connected with the dead entirely precludes the possibility of anything of an historical nature having existence amongst them; in fact the most vital occurrence, if only dating a single generation back, is quite forgotten, that is to say, if the recounting thereof should necessitate the mention of a defunct aboriginal's name."¹ Thus among these simple savages even a sacred bard could not avail to rescue an Australian Agamemnon from the long night of oblivion.

In many tribes, however, the power of this superstition to blot out the memory of the past is to some extent weakened and impaired by a natural tendency of the human mind. Time, which wears out the deepest impressions, inevitably dulls, if it does not wholly efface, the print left on the savage mind by the mystery and horror of death. Sooner or later, as the memory of his loved ones fades slowly away, he becomes more willing to speak of them, and thus their rude names may sometimes be rescued by the philosophic inquirer before they have vanished, like autumn leaves or winter snows, into the vast undistinguished limbo of the past. This was Sir George Grey's experience when he attempted to trace the intricate system of kinship prevalent among the natives of Western Australia. He says: "It is impossible for any person, not well acquainted with the language of the natives, and who does not possess great personal influence over them, to pursue an inquiry of this nature; for one of the customs most rigidly observed and enforced amongst them is, never to mention the name of a deceased person, male or female. In an inquiry, therefore, which principally turns upon the names of their ancestors, this prejudice must be every moment violated, and a very great difficulty encountered in the outset. The only circumstance which at all enabled me to overcome this was, that the longer a person has been dead the less repugnance do they evince in

¹ P. Beveridge, "Of the aborigines inhabiting the great lacustrine and riverine depression of the Lower Murray," etc., *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales for 1883*, vol. xvii. p. 65. The

custom of changing common words on the death of persons who bore them as their names seems also to have been observed by the Tasmanians. See J. Bonwick, *Daily Life of the Tasmanians*, p. 145.

uttering his name. I, therefore, in the first instance, endeavoured to ascertain only the oldest names on record; and on subsequent occasions, when I found a native alone, and in a loquacious humour, I succeeded in filling up some of the blanks. Occasionally, round their fires at night, I managed to involve them in disputes regarding their ancestors, and, on these occasions, gleaned much of the information of which I was in want.¹ In some of the Victorian tribes the prohibition to mention the names of the dead remained in force only during the period of mourning;² in the Port Lincoln tribe of South Australia it lasted many years.³ Among the Chinook Indians of North America "custom forbids the mention of a dead man's name, at least till many years have elapsed after the bereavement."⁴ In the Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam tribes of Washington Territory the names of deceased members may be mentioned two or three years after their death.⁵ Among the Puyallup Indians the observance of the taboo is relaxed after several years, when the mourners have forgotten their grief; and if the deceased was a famous warrior, one of his descendants, for instance a great grandson, may be named after him. In this tribe the taboo is not much observed at any time except by the relations of the dead.⁶ Similarly the Jesuit missionary Lafitau tells us that the name of the departed and the similar names of the survivors were, so to say, buried with the corpse until, the poignancy of their grief being abated, it pleased the relations to "lift up the tree and raise the dead." By raising the dead they meant bestowing the name of the departed upon some one else, who thus became to all intents and purposes a reincarnation of the deceased, since on the principles of savage philosophy the name is a vital part, if not the soul, of the man. When Father

¹ G. Grey, *Journals of two Expeditions of Discovery*, II, 231-19.

² J. Dawson, *Australian Aborigines*, p. 42.

³ C. W. Schürmann, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 247.

⁴ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, iii. 156.

⁵ Myron Eels, "The Twana, Chemakum, and Klallam Indians of Washington Territory," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1887*, p. 656.

⁶ S. R. M'Caw, "Maritime Customs of the Puyallups," *The American Antiquarian and Oriental Journal*, viii. (1886), p. 235.

Laftau arrived at St. Louis to begin work among the Iroquois, his colleagues decided that in order to make a favourable impression on his flock the new shepherd should assume the native name of his deceased predecessor, Father Briyas, "the celebrated missionary," who had lived many years among the Indians and enjoyed their high esteem. But Father Briyas had been called from his earthly labours to his heavenly rest only four short months before, and it was too soon, in the phraseology of the Iroquois, to "raise up the tree." However, raised up it was in spite of them; and though some bolder spirits protested that their new pastor had wronged them by taking the name of his predecessor, "nevertheless," says Father Laftau, "they did not fail to regard me as himself in another form (*un autre lui-même*), since I had entered into all his rights."¹ Among the Tartars in the Middle Ages the name of the dead might not be uttered till the third generation.²

In some cases the period during which the name of the deceased may not be pronounced seems to bear a close relation to the time during which his mortal remains may be supposed to still hold together. Thus, of some Indian tribes on the north-west coast of America it is said they may not speak the name of a dead person "until the bones are finally disposed of."³ Among the Narrinyeri of South Australia the name might not be uttered until the corpse had decayed.⁴ In the Encounter Bay tribe of the same country the dead body is dried over a fire, packed up in mats, and carried about for several months among the scenes which had been familiar to the deceased in his life. Next it is placed on a platform of sticks and left there till it has

¹ Laftau, *Œuvres des Sauvages Amérindiens*, II. 434. On the custom of "raising up the dead" by giving their names to living persons, see *Relations des Jésuites*, 1642, pp. 53, 85 *sp.*; *id.*, 1644, p. 65 *sp.* Charlevoix merely says that the Indians on the names of the dead listed "a certain time" (*Histoire de la Nouvelle France*, v. 109). "A good long while" is the phrase used by Captain Burke in speaking of the same custom among the Apaches (*On the Border with*

Creek, p. 132).

² Plan de Carpin (de Plano Carpini). *Relation des Mongols ou Tartares*, ed. D'Avezac, cap. III. § III. The writer's statement ("nec nomen proprium ejus usque ad tertiam generationem audet aliquis nominare") is not very clear.

³ Bancroft, *Native Races of the Pacific States*, I. 248.

⁴ G. Taplin, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 19.

completely decayed, whereupon the next of kin takes the skull and uses it as a drinking-cup. After that the name of the departed may be uttered without offence. Were it pronounced sooner, his kinsmen would be deeply offended, and a war might be the result.¹ The rule that the name of the dead may not be spoken until his body has mouldered away seems to point to a belief that the spirit continues to exist only so long as the body does so, and that, when the material frame is dissolved, the spiritual part of the man perishes with it, or goes away, or at least becomes so feeble and incapable of mischief that his name may be bandied about with impunity.² This view is to some extent confirmed by the practice of the Arunta tribe in Central Australia. We have seen that among them no one may mention the name of the deceased during the period of mourning for fear of disturbing and annoying the ghost, who is believed to be walking about at large. Some of the relations of the dead man, it is true, such as his parents, elder brothers and sisters, paternal aunts, mother-in-law, and all his sons-in-law, whether actual or possible, are debarred all their lives from taking his name into their lips; but other people, including his wife, children, grandchildren, grandparents, younger brothers and sisters, and father-in-law, are free to name him so soon as he has ceased to walk the earth and hence to be dangerous. Some twelve or eighteen months after his death the people seem to think

¹ H. E. A. Meyer, in *Native Tribes of South Australia*, p. 199.

² Some of the Indians of Guiana bring food and drink to their dead so long as the flesh remains on the bones; when it has mouldered away, they conclude that the man himself has departed. See A. Niet, *Voyage de la France Équinoxiale en l'île de Cayenne* (Paris, 1664), p. 392. The Alfours of Central Celebes believe that the souls of the dead cannot enter the spirit-land until all the flesh has been removed from their bones; till that has been done, the gods (*Isana*) in the other world could not bear the stench of the corpse. Accordingly at a great festival the bodies of all who have

died within a certain time are dug up and the decaying flesh scraped from the bones. See A. C. Kruif, "Een en ander aangelegte het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van den Paso-Alfoer," *Bladdeelingen van verg. der Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxix. (1895), pp. 26, 32 sqq. The Motacos Indians of the Grand Chaco believe that the soul of a dead man does not pass down into the nether world until his body is decomposed or burnt. See J. Pellierchi, *Les Indes Matacos* (Buenos Ayres, 1897), p. 102. These ideas perhaps explain the widespread custom of disintering the dead after a certain time and disposing of their bones otherwise.

that the dead man has enjoyed his liberty long enough, and that it is time to confine his restless spirit within narrower bounds. Accordingly a grand battue or ghost-hunt brings the days of mourning to an end. The favourite haunt of the deceased is believed to be the burnt and deserted camp where he died. Here therefore on a certain day a band of men and women, the men armed with shields and spear-throwers, assemble and begin dancing round the charred and blackened remains of the camp, shouting and beating the air with their weapons and hands in order to drive away the lingering spirit from the spot he loves too well. When the dancing is over, the whole party proceed to the grave at a run, chasing the ghost before them. It is in vain that the unhappy ghost makes a last bid for freedom, and, breaking away from the beaters, doubles back towards the camp; the leader of the party is prepared for this manoeuvre, and by making a long circuit adroitly cuts off the retreat of the fugitive. Finally, having run him to earth, they trample him down into the grave, dancing and stamping on the heaped-up soil, while with downward thrusts through the air they beat and force him underground. There, lying in his narrow house, flattened and prostrate under a load of earth, the poor ghost sees his widow wearing the gay feathers of the ring-neck parrot in her hair, and he knows that the time of her mourning for him is over. The loud shouts of the men and women show him that they are not to be frightened and bullied by him any more, and that he had better lie quiet. But he may still watch over his friends, and guard them from harm, and visit them in dreams.¹

When we see that in primitive society the names of mere commoners, whether alive or dead, are matters of such anxious care, we need not be surprised that great precautions should be taken to guard from harm the names of sacred kings and priests. Thus the name of the king of Dahomey is always kept secret, lest the knowledge of it should enable some evil-minded person to do him a mischief. The appellations by which the different kings of Dahomey have been known to Europeans are not their true

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, pp. 498-503.

names, but mere titles, or what the natives call "strong names" (*ngi-se-se*). As a rule, these "strong names" are the first words of sentences descriptive of certain qualities. Thus Agaja, the name by which the fourth king of the dynasty was known, was part of a sentence meaning, "A spreading tree must be lopped before it can be cast into the fire"; and Tegnbesun, the name of the fifth king, formed the first word of a sentence which signified, "No one can take the cloth off the neck of a wild bull." The natives seem to think that no harm comes of such titles being known, since they are not, like the birth names, vitally connected with their owners.¹ In Siam it used to be difficult to ascertain the king's real name, since it was carefully kept secret from fear of sorcery; any one who mentioned it was clapped into gaol. The king might only be referred to under certain high-sounding titles, such as "the august," "the perfect," "the supreme," "the great emperor," "descendant of the angels," and so on.² In Burma it was accounted an impiety of the deepest dye to mention the name of the reigning sovereign; Burmese subjects, even when they were far from their country, could not be prevailed upon to do so.³ The proper name of the Emperor of China may neither be pronounced nor written by any of his subjects.⁴ Koreans are forbidden to utter the king's name, which, indeed, is seldom known.⁵ When a prince ascends the throne of Cambodia he ceases to be designated by his real name; and if that name happens to be a common word in the language, the word is often changed. Thus, for example, since the reign of King Ang Duong the word *duong*, which meant a small coin, has been replaced by *dom*.⁶ In the island of Sunda it is taboo to utter any word which coincides with the name of a prince or chief.⁷ The name of the rajah of Bolang Mongondo, a district in the west of Celebes, is never mentioned

¹ A. B. Ellis, *Two-speaking Peoples of the Slave Coast*, p. 98 sq.

² Loubere, *Du royaume de Siam* (Amsterdam, 1691), i. 306; Pallegois, *Royaume Thai ou Siam*, i. 260.

³ J. S. Pulsak, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders* (London, 1840), ii. 127, note 43.

⁴ J. Edkins, *Religion in China*?

(London, 1878), p. 35.

⁵ Mrs. Bishop, *Korea and her Neighbours* (London, 1868), i. 48.

⁶ E. Aymonier, *Notice sur le Cambodge* (Paris, 1875), p. 22.

⁷ K. F. Holle, "Seppers van den Regent van Galuh," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, xxvii. (1882), p. 101.

except in case of urgent necessity, and even then his pardon must be asked repeatedly before the liberty is taken.¹

Among the Zulus no man will mention the name of the chief of his tribe or the names of the progenitors of the chief, so far as he can remember them; nor will he utter common words which coincide with or merely resemble in sound tabooed names. "As, for instance, the Zungu tribe say *mata* for *manzi* (water), and *inkosta* for *tshanti* (grass), and *embi-gaidu* for *umkondo* (assegai), and *inyatugo* for *enhlela* (path), because their present chief is Umfan-o inhlela, his father was Manzini, his grandfather Imkondo, and one before him Tshani." In the tribe of the Dwandwes there was a chief called Langa, which means the sun; hence the name of the sun was changed from *langa* to *gala*, and so remains to this day, though Langa died more than a hundred years ago. Once more, in the Xnumayo tribe the word meaning "to herd cattle" was changed from *alusu* or *ayusa* to *kagesa*, because u-Mayusi was the name of the chief. Besides these taboos, which were observed by each tribe separately, all the Zulu tribes united in tabooing the name of the king who reigned over the whole nation. Hence, for example, when Panda was king of Zululand, the word for "a root of a tree," which is *impando*, was changed to *axaba*. Again, the word for "lies" or "slander" was altered from *amacebo* to *amakuwaq*, because *amacebo* contains a syllable of the name of the famous King Cetchwayo. These substitutions are not, however, carried so far by the men as by the women, who omit every sound even remotely resembling one that occurs in a tabooed name. At the king's kraal, indeed, it is sometimes difficult to understand the speech of the royal wives, as they treat in this fashion the names not only of the king and his forefathers but even of his and their brothers back for generations. When to these tribal and national taboos we add those family taboos on the names of connections by marriage which have been already described,² we can easily understand how it comes about that in Zululand every tribe has words peculiar to itself, and that the women have a con-

¹ N. P. Wilken en J. A. Schwarz, *van wege het Nederlandsche Zending-genootschap*, xl. (1867), p. 356.

"Alleslei over het land en volk van Botsang Moengmoza," *Mededeelingen*

² Above, p. 413 ff.

siderable vocabulary of their own. Members, too, of one family may be debarred from using words employed by those of another. The women of one kraal, for instance, may call a hyena by its ordinary name; those of the next may use the common substitute; while in a third the substitute may also be unlawful and another term may have to be invented to supply its place. Hence the Zulu language at the present day almost presents the appearance of being a double one; indeed, for multitudes of things it possesses three or four synonyms, which through the blending of tribes are known all over Zululand.¹

In Madagascar a similar custom everywhere prevails and has resulted, as among the Zulus, in producing certain dialectic differences in the speech of the various tribes. There are no family names in Madagascar, and almost every personal name is drawn from the language of every day and signifies some common object or action or quality, such as a bird, a beast, a tree, a plant, a colour, and so on. Now, whenever one of these common words forms the name or part of the name of the chief of the tribe, it becomes sacred and may no longer be used in its ordinary signification as the name of a tree, an insect, or what not. Hence a new name for the object must be invented to replace the one which has been discarded. Often the new name consists of a descriptive epithet or a periphrasis. Thus when the princess Rabodo became queen in 1863 she took the name of Rasoharina. Now *soherina* was the word for the silkworm moth, but having been assumed as the name of the sovereign it could no longer be applied to the insect, which ever since has been called *sany-dandy*, "offspring of silk." So, again, if a chief had or took the name of an animal, say of the dog (*amboa*), and was known as Ramboa, the animal would henceforth be called by another name, probably a descriptive one, such as "the barker" (*famovo*) or "the driver away" (*fandroaka*), etc. In the western part of Imerina there was a

¹ J. Shuter, *The Kafir of Natal and the Zulu Country*, p. 221 sq.; David Leslie, *Among the Zulus and Swazis* (Edinburgh, 1875), pp. 172-179; J. Macdonald, "Manners, customs, superstitions, and religions of

South African tribes," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xx. (1891), p. 131. The account in the text is based mainly on Leslie's description, which is by far the fullest.

chief called Andria-mamba; but *mamba* was one of the names of the crocodile, so the chief's subjects might not call the reptile by that name and were always scrupulous to use another. It is easy to conceive what confusion and uncertainty may thus be introduced into a language when it is spoken by many little local tribes each ruled by a petty chief with his own sacred name. Yet there are tribes and people who submit to this tyranny of words as their fathers did before them from time immemorial. The inconvenient results of the custom are especially marked on the western coast of the island, where, on account of the large number of independent chieftains, the names of things, places, and rivers have suffered so many changes that confusion often arises, for when once common words have been banned by the chiefs the natives will not acknowledge to have ever known them in their old sense.¹

The sanctity attributed to the persons of chiefs in Polynesia naturally extended also to their names, which on the primitive view are hardly separable from the personality of their owners. Hence in Polynesia we find the same systematic prohibition to utter the names of chiefs or of common words resembling them which we have already met with in Zululand and Madagascar. Thus in New Zealand the name of a chief is held so sacred that, when it happens to be a common word, it may not be used in the language, and another has to be found to replace it. For example, a chief to the southward of East Cape bore the name of Maripi, which signified a knife, hence a new word (*neke*) for knife was introduced, and the old one became obsolete. Elsewhere the word for water (*wa*) had to be changed, because it chanced to be the name of the chief, and would have been desecrated by being applied to the vulgar fluid as well as to his sacred person. This taboo naturally produced a plentiful crop of synonyms in the Maori language, and travellers newly arrived in the country were sometimes puzzled at find-

¹ Tyerman and Benoit, *Journal of Voyages and Travels*, ii. 325 sq.; J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 130 sq.; *id.*, "Curiosities of words connected with royalty and chieftainship," *Antananarivo Annual and*

Madagascar Magazine, No. xl. (Christmas 1887), p. 308 sq.; *id.*, in *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xxi. (1887), pp. 226 sqq.; A. Grandidier, "Les sites funéraires chez les Malagaches," *Revue d'Ethnographie*, v. (1886), p. 224.

ing the same things called by quite different names in neighbouring tribes.¹ When a king comes to the throne in Tahiti, any words in the language that resemble his name in sound must be changed for others. In former times, if any man were so rash as to disregard this custom and to use the forbidden words, not only he but all his relations were immediately put to death.² On the accession of King Otoo, which happened before Vancouver's visit to Tahiti, the proper names of all the chiefs were changed, as well as forty or fifty of the commonest words in the language, and every native was obliged to adopt the new terms, for any neglect to do so was punished with the greatest severity.³ When a certain king named Tu came to the throne of Tahiti the word *tu*, which means "to stand," was changed to *tia*; *fetu*, "a star," became *fetia*; *tui*, "to strike," was turned into *tiai*, and so on. Sometimes, as in these instances, the new names were formed by merely changing or dropping some letter or letters of the original words; in other cases the substituted terms were entirely different words, whether chosen for their similarity of meaning though not of sound, or adopted from another dialect, or arbitrarily invented. But the changes thus introduced were only temporary; on the death of the king the new words fell into disuse, and the original ones were revived.⁴

In ancient Greece the names of the priests and other high officials who had to do with the performances of the Eleusinian mysteries might not be uttered in their lifetime. To pronounce them was a legal offence. The pedant in Lucian tells how he fell in with these august personages haling along to the police court a ribald fellow who had dared to name them, though well he knew that ever since their consecration it was unlawful to do so, because they had become anonymous, having lost their old names and acquired new and sacred titles.⁵ From two inscriptions found at

¹ J. S. Folsack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, I. 37-39, II. 126-39. Compare E. Tregear, "The Maoris of New Zealand," *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, xix. (1890), p. 123.

² Cook, *Voyage* (London, 1809), vi. 155 (Third Voyage). Compare W. Ellis, *Polynesian Researches*, III. 101.

³ Vancouver, *Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and round the World* (London, 1798), I. 135.

⁴ *United States Exploring Expedition, Ethnography and Philology*, by Horatio Hale (Philadelphia, 1846), p. 288-89.

⁵ Lucian, *Lexiphanes*, 10. The inscriptional and other evidence of this

Eleusis it appears that the names of the priests were committed to the depths of the sea;¹ probably they were engraved on tablets of bronze or lead, which were then thrown into deep water in the Gulf of Salamis. The intention doubtless was to keep the names a profound secret; and how could that be done more surely than by sinking them in the sea? what human vision could spy them glimmering far down in the dim depths of the green water? A clearer illustration of the confusion between the incorporeal and the corporeal, between the name and its material embodiment, could hardly be found than in this practice of civilised Greece. Nothing quite so primitive has met us among the superstitions cherished on the subject of names by the Zulus of Africa and the Maoris of New Zealand.

When the name is held to be a vital part of the person, it is natural to suppose that the mightier the person the more potent must be his name. Hence the names of supernatural beings, such as gods and spirits, are commonly believed to be endowed with marvellous virtues, and the mere utterance of them may work wonders and disturb the course of nature. For this reason the sacred books of the Mongols, which narrate the miraculous deeds of the divinities, are allowed to be read only in spring or summer; because at other seasons the reading of them would bring on tempests

Greek superstition was first brought to the notice of anthropologists by Mr. W. R. Paton in an interesting article, "The holy names of the Eleusinian priests," *International Folklore Congress, 1891, Papers and Transactions*, pp. 202-214. Compare E. Maass, *Orphens* (Munich, 1895), p. 70.

¹ Kaibel, *Epigrammata Græca ex lapideis collecta*, No. 863; *Εφημερίς ἀρχαιολογική*, 1883, vol. 79 *op. cit.* From the latter of these inscriptions we learn that the name might be made public after the priest's death. Further, a reference of Eumapius (*Vita Sophoclarum*, p. 475 of the Didot edition) shows that the name was revealed to the initiated. In the essay cited in the preceding note Mr. W. R. Paton assumes that it was the new and sacred

name which was kept secret and committed to the sea. The case is not clear, but both the evidence and the probability seem to me in favour of the view that it was rather the old everyday name of the priest or priestess which was put away at his or her consecration. If, as is not improbable, these sacred personages had to suit the requirements of gods and goddesses at the mysteries, it might well be deemed indecorous and even blasphemous to recall the vulgar names by which they had been known in the familiar intercourse of daily life. If our clergy, to suppose an analogous case, had to personate the most exalted beings of sacred history, it would surely be grossly irreverent to address them by their ordinary names during the performance of their solemn functions.

or snow.¹ When Mr. Campbell was travelling with some Bechuanas, he asked them one morning after breakfast to tell him some of their stories, but they informed him that were they to do so before sunset, the clouds would fall from the heavens upon their heads.² Most of the rites of the Navajo Indians may be celebrated only in winter, when the thunder is silent and the rattlesnakes are hibernating. Were they to tell of their chief gods or narrate the myths of the days of old at any other time, the Indians believe that they would soon be killed by lightning or snake-bites. When Dr. Washington Matthews was in New Mexico, he often employed as his guide and informant a liberal-minded member of the tribe who had lived with Americans and Mexicans and seemed to be free from the superstitions of his fellows. "On one occasion," says Dr. Matthews, "during the month of August, in the height of the rainy season, I had him in my study conversing with him. In an unguarded moment, on his part, I led him into a discussion about the gods of his people, and neither of us had noticed a heavy storm coming over the crest of the Zuni mountains, close by. We were just talking of *Etsanatilehi*, the goddess of the west, when the house was shaken by a terrific peal of thunder. He rose at once, pale and evidently agitated, and whispering hoarsely, 'Wait till Christmas; they are angry,' he hurried away. I have seen many such evidences of the deep influence of this superstition on them."³ Other Indian tribes also will only tell their mythic tales in winter, when the snow lies like a pall on the ground and lakes and rivers are covered with sheets of ice; for then the spirits underground cannot hear the stories in which their names are made free with by merry groups gathered round the fire.⁴

Among the Kwakiutl Indians of British Columbia the superstition about names has affected in a very curious way the social structure of the tribe. The nobles have two different sets of names, one for use in winter and the other

¹ G. Timkowski, *Travels of the Russian Mission through Mongolia to China* (London, 1827), ii. 348.

² J. Campbell, *Travels in South Africa, Second Journey*, ii. 204 *sq.*

³ Washington Matthews, "The

mountain chant, a Navajo ceremony," *Fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1887), p. 386 *sq.*

⁴ H. R. Schoolcraft, *Indian Tribes*, iii. 314, 492.

in summer. Their winter names are those which were given them at initiation by their guardian spirits, and as these spirits appear to their devotees only in winter, the names which they bestowed on the Indians may not be pronounced in summer. Conversely the summer names may not be used in winter. The change from summer to winter names takes place from the moment when the spirits are supposed to be present, and it involves a complete transformation of the social system; for whereas during summer the people are grouped in clans, in winter they are grouped in societies, each society consisting of all persons who have been initiated by the same spirit and have received from him the same magical powers. Thus among these Indians the fundamental constitution of society changes with the seasons: in summer it is organised on a basis of kin, in winter on a basis of spiritual affinity; for one half the year it is civil, for the other half religious.¹

Primitive man creates his gods in his own image. Xenophanes remarked long ago that the complexion of negro gods was black and their noses flat; that Thracian gods were ruddy and blue-eyed; and that if horses, oxen, and lions only believed in gods and had hands wherewith to portray them, they would doubtless fashion their deities in the form of horses, and oxen, and lions.² Hence just as the furtive savage conceals his real name because he fears that sorcerers might make an evil use of it, so he fancies that his gods must likewise keep their true names secret, lest other gods or even men should learn the mystic sounds and thus be able to conjure with them. Nowhere was this crude conception of the secrecy and magical virtue of the divine name more firmly held or more fully developed than in ancient Egypt, where the superstitions of a dateless past were embalmed in the hearts of the people hardly less effectually than the bodies of cats and crocodiles and the rest of the divine menagerie in their rock-cut tombs. The conception is well illustrated by a story which tells how the subtle Isis

¹ Fr. Boas, "The social organization and the secret societies of the Kwakiutl Indians," *Report of the U.S. National Museum for 1895*, pp. 396, 418 sq., 503, 504.

² Xenophanes, quoted by Eusebius, *Præparatio Evangelii*, xiii. 13, p. 269 sq., ed. Heintzen, and by Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.*, vii. 4, p. 840 sq., ed. Potter.

wormed his secret name from Ra, the great Egyptian god of the sun. Isis, so runs the tale, was a woman mighty in words, and she was weary of the world of men, and yearned after the world of the gods. And she meditated in her heart, saying, "Cannot I by virtue of the great name of Ra make myself a goddess and reign like him in heaven and earth?" For Ra had many names, but the great name which gave him all power over gods and men was known to none but himself. Now the god was by this time grown old; he slobbered at the mouth and his spittle fell upon the ground. So Isis gathered up the spittle and the earth with it, and kneaded thereof a serpent and laid it in the path where the great god passed every day to his double kingdom after his heart's desire. And when he came forth according to his wont, attended by all his company of gods, the sacred serpent stung him, and the god opened his mouth and cried, and his cry went up to heaven. And the company of gods cried, "What aileth thee?" and the gods shouted, "Lo and behold!" But he could not answer; his jaws rattled, his limbs shook, the poison ran through his flesh as the Nile floweth over the land. When the great god had stilled his heart, he cried to his followers, "Come to me, O my children, offspring of my body. I am a prince, the son of a prince, the divine seed of a god. My father devised my name; my father and my mother gave me my name, and it remained hidden in my body since my birth, that no magician might have magic power over me. I went out to behold that which I have made, I walked in the two lands which I have created, and lo! something stung me. What it was, I know not. Was it fire? was it water? My heart is on fire, my flesh trembleth, all my limbs do quake. Bring me the children of the gods with healing words and understanding lips, whose power reacheth to heaven." Then came to him the children of the gods and they were very sorrowful. And Isis came with her craft, whose mouth is full of the breath of life, whose spells chase pain away, whose word maketh the dead to live. She said, "What is it, divine Father? what is it?" The holy god opened his mouth, he spake and said, "I went upon my way, I walked after my heart's desire in the two regions which I have made to behold that which I have

created, and lo! a serpent that I saw not stung me. Is it fire? Is it water? I am colder than water, I am hotter than fire, all my limbs sweat, I tremble, mine eye is not steadfast, I behold not the sky, the moisture bedeweth my face as in summer-time." Then spake Isis, "Tell me thy name, divine Father, for the man shall live who is called by his name." Then answered Ra, "I created the heavens and the earth, I ordered the mountains, I made the great and wide sea, I stretched out the two horizons like a curtain. I am he who openeth his eyes and it is light, and who shutteth them and it is dark. At his command the Nile riseth, but the gods know not his name. I am Khepera in the morning, I am Ra at noon, I am Tum at eve." But the poison was not taken away from him; it pierced deeper, and the great god could no longer walk. Then said Isis to him, "That was not thy name that thou spakest unto me. Oh tell it me, that the poison may depart; for he shall live whose name is named." Now the poison burned like fire, it was hotter than the flame of fire. The god said, "I consent that Isis shall search into me, and that my name shall pass from my breast into hers." Then the god hid himself from the gods, and his place in the ship of eternity was empty. Thus was the name of the great god taken from him, and Isis, the witch, spake, "Flow away poison, depart from Ra. It is I, even I, who overcome the poison and cast it to the earth; for the name of the great god hath been taken away from him. Let Ra live and let the poison die." Thus spake great Isis, the queen of the gods, she who knows Ra and his true name.¹

Thus we see that the real name of the god, with which his power was inextricably bound up, was supposed to be lodged, in an almost physical sense, somewhere in his breast, from which it could be extracted by a sort of surgical operation and transferred with all its supernatural powers to the breast of another. In Egypt attempts like that of Isis to

¹ A. Erman, *Ägypten und ägyptisches Leben im Altertum*, pp. 359-362; A. Wiedemann, *Die Religion der alten Ägypter*, pp. 29-32; G. Maspero, *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique: les origines*, pp. 162-164; E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Book of the Dead* (London, 1895), pp.

lxviii.-xci.; *id.*, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 136-139. The abridged form of the story given in the text is based on a comparison of these various versions, of which Erman's is slightly, and Maspero's much curtailed. Mr. Budge's version is reproduced by Mr. E. Clodd (*Faith and Doubt*, p. 184, 189).

appropriate the power of a high god by possessing herself of his name were not mere legends told of the mythical beings of a remote past; every Egyptian magician aspired to wield like powers by similar means. For it was believed that he who possessed the true name possessed the very being of god or man, and could force even a deity to obey him as a slave obeys his master. Thus the art of the magician consisted in obtaining from the gods a revelation of their sacred names, and he left no stone unturned to accomplish his end. When once a god in a moment of weakness or forgetfulness had imparted to the wizard the wondrous lore, the deity had no choice but to submit humbly to the man or pay the penalty of his contumacy.¹ In one papyrus we find the god Typhon thus adjured: "I invoke thee by thy true names, in virtue of which thou canst not refuse to hear me"; and in another the magician threatens Osiris that if the god does not do his bidding he will name him aloud in the port of Busiris.² In modern Egypt the magician still works his old enchantments by the same ancient means; only the name of the god by which he conjures is different. The man who knows "the most great name" of God can, we are told, by the mere utterance of it kill the living, raise the dead, transport himself instantly wherever he pleases, and perform any other miracle.³

The belief in the magic virtue of divine names was shared by the Romans. When they sat down before a city, the priests addressed the guardian deity of the place in a set form of prayer or incantation, inviting him to abandon the beleaguered city and come over to the Romans, who would treat him as well as or better than he had ever been treated in his old home. Hence the name of the guardian deity of Rome was kept a profound secret, lest the enemies of the republic might lure him away, even as the Romans themselves had induced many gods to desert, like

¹ G. Maspero, *Études de Mythologie et d'Archéologie Égyptiennes* (Paris, 1893), II. 297 sq.

² E. Leblanc, "La vénération et la vie du dieu en Égypte," *Mémoires*, viii. (1897), col. 227 sq. Compare A. Erman, *Agypten und Ägyptenler*

Leben im Altertum, p. 472 sq.; E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic*, p. 157 sq.

³ E. W. Lane, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* (Paisley and London, 1895), ch. xii. p. 273.

rats, the falling fortunes of cities that had sheltered them in happier days.¹

If the reader has had the patience to follow this long and perhaps tedious examination of the superstitions attaching to personal names, he will probably agree that the mystery in which the names of royal personages are so often shrouded is no isolated phenomenon, no arbitrary expression of courtly servility and adulation, but merely the particular application of a general law of primitive thought, which includes within its scope common folk and gods as well as kings and priests.

It would be easy to extend the list of royal and priestly taboos, but the above may suffice as specimens. To conclude this part of our subject it only remains to state summarily the general conclusions to which our inquiries have thus far conducted us. We have seen that in savage or barbarous society there are often found men to whom the superstition of their fellows ascribes a controlling influence over the general course of nature. Such men are accordingly adored and treated as gods. Whether these human divinities also hold temporal sway over the lives and fortunes of their adorers, or whether their functions are purely spiritual and supernatural, in other words, whether they are kings as well as gods or only the latter, is a distinction which hardly concerns us here. Their supposed divinity is the essential fact with which we have to deal. In virtue of it they are a pledge and guarantee to their worshippers of the continuance and orderly succession of those physical phenomena upon which mankind depends for subsistence. Naturally, therefore, the life and health of such a god-man are matters of anxious concern to the people whose welfare and even existence are bound up with his; naturally he is constrained by them to conform to such rules as the wit of early man has devised for averting the ills to which flesh is heir, includ-

¹ Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xxviii. 28; Macrobius, *Saturn.* iii. 9; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.* ii. 351; Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 61. According to Servius (*l.c.*) it was forbidden by the pontifical law to mention any Roman god by his proper name, lest it should be pro-

faned. The city of Rome itself had, we are told, a secret name which it was unlawful to divulge (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* iii. 65; Macrobius, *l.c.*); Joannes Lydus, *De Mensuris*, iv. 50, p. 85, ed. Bekker).

ing the last ill, death. These rules, as an examination of them has shown, are nothing but the maxims with which, on the primitive view, every man of common prudence must comply if he would live long in the land. But while in the case of ordinary men the observance of the rules is left to the choice of the individual, in the case of the god-man it is enforced under penalty of dismissal from his high station, or even of death. For his worshippers have far too great a stake in his life to allow him to play fast and loose with it. Therefore all the quaint superstitions, the old-world maxims, the venerable saws which the ingenuity of savage philosophers elaborated long ago, and which old women at chimney corners still impart as treasures of great price to their descendants gathered round the cottage fire on winter evenings—all these antique fancies clustered, all these cobwebs of the brain were spun about the path of the old king, the human god, who, immeshed in them like a fly in the toils of a spider, could hardly stir a limb for the threads of custom, "light as air but strong as links of iron," that crossing and recrossing each other in an endless maze bound him fast within a network of observances from which death or deposition alone could release him.

Thus to students of the past the life of the old kings and priests teems with instruction. In it was summed up all that passed for wisdom when the world was young. It was the perfect pattern after which every man strove to shape his life; a faultless model constructed with rigorous accuracy upon the lines laid down by a barbarous philosophy. Crude and false as that philosophy may seem to us, it would be unjust to deny it the merit of logical consistency. Starting from a conception of the vital principle as a tiny being or soul existing in, but distinct and separable from, the living being, it deduces for the practical guidance of life a system of rules which in general hangs well together and forms a fairly complete and harmonious whole. The flaw—and it is a fatal one—of the system lies not in its reasoning, but in its premises; in its conception of the nature of life, not in any irrelevancy of the conclusions which it draws from that conception. But to stigmatise these premises as ridiculous because we can easily detect their falseness, would

be ungrateful as well as unphilosophical. We stand upon the foundation reared by the generations that have gone before, and we can but dimly realise the painful and prolonged efforts which it has cost humanity to struggle up to the point, no very exalted one after all, which we have reached. Our gratitude is due to the nameless and forgotten toilers, whose patient thought and active exertions have largely made us what we are. The amount of new knowledge which one age, certainly which one man, can add to the common store is small, and it argues stupidity or dishonesty, besides ingratitude, to ignore the heap while vaunting the few grains which it may have been our privilege to add to it. There is indeed little danger at present of undervaluing the contributions which modern times and even classical antiquity have made to the general advancement of our race. But when we pass these limits, the case is different. Contempt and ridicule or abhorrence and denunciation are too often the only recognition vouchsafed to the savage and his ways. Yet of the benefactors whom we are bound thankfully to commemorate, many, perhaps most, were savages. For when all is said and done our resemblances to the savage are still far more numerous than our differences from him; and what we have in common with him, and deliberately retain as true and useful, we owe to our savage forefathers who slowly acquired by experience and transmitted to us by inheritance those seemingly fundamental ideas which we are apt to regard as original and intuitive. We are like heirs to a fortune which has been handed down for so many ages that the memory of those who built it up is lost, and its possessors for the time being regard it as having been an original and unalterable possession of their race since the beginning of the world. But reflection and inquiry should satisfy us that to our predecessors we are indebted for much of what we thought most our own, and that their errors were not wilful extravagances or the ravings of insanity, but simply hypotheses, justifiable as such at the time when they were propounded, but which a fuller experience has proved to be inadequate. It is only by the successive testing of hypotheses and rejection of the false that truth is at last elicited. After all,

what we call truth is only the hypothesis which is found to work best. Therefore in reviewing the opinions and practices of ruder ages and races we shall do well to look with leniency upon their errors as inevitable slips made in the search for truth, and to give them the benefit of that indulgence of which we ourselves may one day stand in need : *cum excusatione itaque veteres audiendi sunt.*



NOTE A

TABOOS ON COMMON WORDS

In the text I have examined some of the cases in which, from motives of superstition, personal names are not allowed to be used freely in ordinary discourse. Such cases are closely akin to the instances in which a similar taboo is laid on common words, all the more so because, as we have already seen, personal names are themselves very often common words of the language, so that an embargo laid upon them necessarily extends to many expressions current in the commerce of daily life. It may be convenient, therefore, for the sake of comparison to subjoin some examples of the widespread custom which forbids certain persons at certain times to make use of the ordinary words for common objects, and constrains them consequently either to abstain from mentioning these objects altogether, or to designate them by special terms reserved for these occasions. I shall make no attempt to subject the examples to a searching analysis or a rigid classification, but will set them down as they come in a rough geographical order. And since my native land furnishes as apt instances of the superstition as any other, we may start on our round from Scotland.

In the Atlantic Ocean, about six leagues to the west of Gallon Head in the Lewis, lies a small group of rocky islets known as the Flannan Islands. Sheep and wild fowl are now their only inhabitants, but remains of what are described as Druidical temples and the title of the Sacred Isles given them by Buchanan suggest that in days gone by piety or superstition may have found a safe retreat from the turmoil of the world in these remote solitudes, where the dashing of the waves and the strident scream of the sea-birds are almost the only sounds that break the silence. Once a year, in summer-time, the inhabitants of the adjacent lands of the Lewis, who have a right to these islands, cross over to them to fleece their sheep and kill the wild fowl for the sake both of their flesh and their feathers. They regard the islands as invested with a certain sanctity, and have been heard to say that none ever yet landed in them but found himself more disposed to devotion there than any

where else. Accordingly the fowlers who go thither are bound, during the whole of the time that they ply their business, to observe very punctiliously certain quaint customs, the transgression of which would be sure, in their opinion, to entail some serious inconvenience. When they have landed and fastened their boat to the side of a rock, they clamber up into the island by a wooden ladder, and no sooner are they got to the top, than they all uncover their heads and make a turn sun-ways round about, thanking God for their safety. On the biggest of the islands are the ruins of a chapel dedicated to St. Flannan. When the men come within about twenty paces of the altar, they all strip themselves of their upper garments at once and betake themselves to their devotions, praying thrice before they begin fowling. On the first day the first prayer is offered as they advance towards the chapel on their knees; the second is said as they go round the chapel; and the third is said in or hard by the ruins. They also pray thrice every evening, and account it unlawful to kill a fowl after evening prayers, as also to kill a fowl at any time with a stone. Another ancient custom forbids the crew to carry home in the boat any sort of the sheep they slaughter in the islands, however many they may kill. But what here chiefly concerns us is that so long as they stay on the islands they are strictly forbidden to use certain common words, and are obliged to substitute others for them. Thus it is absolutely unlawful to call the island of St. Kilda, which lies thirty leagues to the southward, by its proper Gaelic name of *Hirt*; they must call it only "the high country." They may not so much as once name the islands in which they are fowling by the ordinary name of Flannan; they must speak only of "the country." "There are several other things that must not be called by their proper names: e.g. *uisge*, which in the language of the natives signifies water, they call *burn*; a rock, which in their language is *crag*, must here be called *cruey*, i.e. hard; shore in their language expressed by *claddach*, must here be called *paik*, i.e. a cave; sour in their language is expressed *gort*, but must here be called *gaire*, i.e. sharp; slippery, which is expressed *dog*, must be called soft; and several other things to this purpose."¹ When Shetland fishermen are at sea, they employ a nomenclature peculiar to the occasion, and hardly anything may be mentioned by its usual name. The substituted terms are mostly of Norwegian origin, for the Norway men were reported to be good fishers.² Further, in setting their lines the Shetland fishermen are bound to refer to certain objects only by some special words or phrases. Thus a knife is then called a *skunie* or *tullie*; a church becomes, *banhoos* or *banchoos*; a minister is *upstanda* or *haydeen* or *prestingolva*; the

¹ Martin's "Description of the Western Islands of Scotland," in Pinkerton's *Voyage and Travels*, iii. 379 sq. As to the Flannan Islands

see also Sinclair's *Statistical Account of Scotland*, xix. 283.

² A. Edmonstone, *Zetland Islands* (Edinburgh, 1809), ii. 74.

devi is *da auld chield, da sorrow, da ill-health* (health), or *da black tief*; a cat is *hirer, fitting, pengie, or foodin*.¹ On the north-east coast of Scotland there are some villages, of which the inhabitants never pronounce certain words and family names when they are at sea; each village has its peculiar aversion to one or more of these words, among which are "minister," "kirk," "swine," "salmon," "trout," and "dog." When a church has to be referred to, as often happens, since some of the churches serve as landmarks to the fishermen at sea, it is spoken of as the "bell-hoose" instead of the "kirk." A minister is called "the man wi' the black quyte." It is particularly unlucky to utter the word "sow" or "swine" or "pig" while the line is being baited; if any one is foolish enough to do so, the line is sure to be lost. In some villages on the coast of Fife a fisherman who hears the ill-omened word spoken will cry out "Cold iron!" In the village of Buckie there are some family names, especially Ross, and in a less degree Coull, which no fisherman will pronounce. If one of these names be mentioned in the hearing of a fisherman, he spits or, as he calls it, "chiffs." Any one who bears the dreaded name is called a "chiffer-out," and is referred to only by a circumlocution such as "The man it dize so in so," or "the laad it lizes at such and such a place." During the herring-season men who are unlucky enough to inherit the tabooed names have little chance of being hired in the fishing-boats; and sometimes, if they have been hired before their names were known, they have been refused their wages at the end of the season, because the boat in which they sailed had not been successful, and the bad luck was set down to their presence in it.² Although in Scotland superstitions of this kind appear to be specially incident to the callings of fishermen and fowlers, other occupations are not exempt from them. Thus in the Outer Hebrides the fire of a kiln is not called fire (*teine*) but *aingeal*. Such a fire, it is said, is a dangerous thing, and ought not to be referred to except by a euphemism. "Evil be to him who called it fire or who named fire in the kiln. It was considered the next thing to setting it on fire."³ Again, in some districts of Scotland a brewer would have resented the use of the word "water" in reference to the work in which he was engaged. "Water be your part of it," was the common retort. It was supposed that the use of the word would spoil the brewing.⁴

Many fishermen think it unlucky to mention a horse or a mouse on board a fishing-boat.⁵ The fishermen of Dieppe on board their

¹ Ch. Rogers, *Social Life in Scotland*, iii. 218.

² W. Gregor, *Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland*, pp. 199-201.

³ "Traditions, customs, and superstitions of the Lewis," *Folk-lore*, vi. (1895), p. 170; Miss A. Goodrich-

Freer, "The powers of evil in the Outer Hebrides," *Folk-lore*, x. (1899), p. 265.

⁴ J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years north of the Orange River*, p. 151, note 1.

⁵ J. Rhys, "Manx folk-lore and superstitions," *Folk-lore*, iii. (1892), p. 84.

boats will not speak of several things, for instance priests and cats.¹ German huntsmen, from motives of superstition, call everything by names different from those in common use.² In some parts of Bavaria the farmer will not mention a fox by its proper name, lest his poultry-yard should suffer from the ravages of the animal. So instead of *Fuchs* he calls the beast *Loial*, *Hensloial*, *Hensding*, or *Hensdow*.³ In Prussia and Lithuania they say that in the month of December you should not call a wolf a wolf but "the vermin" (*das Gewürm*), otherwise you will be torn in pieces by the werewolves.⁴ In various parts of Germany it is a rule that certain animals may not be mentioned by their proper names in the mystic season between Christmas and Twelfth Night. Thus in Thüringen they say that if you would be spared by the wolves you must not mention their name at this time.⁵ In Mecklenburg people think that were they to name a wolf on one of these days the animal would appear. A shepherd would rather mention the devil than the wolf at this season; and we read of a farmer who had a bailiff named Wolf, but did not dare to call the man by his name between Christmas and Twelfth Night, referring to him instead as Herr Undeert (Mr. Monster). In Quatzow, a village of Mecklenburg, there are many animals whose common names are disused at this season and replaced by others; thus a fox is called "long-tail," and a mouse "leg-runner" (*Beinläufer*). Any person who disregards the custom has to pay a fine.⁶ In the Mark of Brandenburg they say that between Christmas and Twelfth Night you should not speak of mice as mice but as *dinger*; otherwise the field-mice would multiply excessively.⁷ According to the Swedish popular belief, there are certain animals which should never be spoken of by their proper names, but must always be signified by euphemisms and kind allusions to their character. Thus, if you speak slightly of the cat or beat her, you must be sure not to mention her name; for she belongs to the hellish crew, and is a friend of the mountain troll, whom she often visits. Great caution is also needed in talking of the cuckoo, the owl, and the magpie, for they are birds of witchery. The fox must be called "blue-foot," or "he that goes in the forest"; and rats are

¹ A. Bonquet, *La Normandie romanesque et merveilleuse* (Paris and Rouen, 1845), p. 308.

² J. G. Gmelin, *Reise durch Sibirien*, ii. 277.

³ Bavaria, *Länder- und Volkskunde des Königreichs Bayern*, ii. 304.

⁴ Teltow und Temme, *Die Volkswagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens* (Berlin, 1837), p. 281. Among the Thompson River Indians children may not name the *coffine* or prairie-wolf in winter, lest he should

turn on his back and so bring cold weather. See James Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. ii. part iv. (April 1900), p. 374.

⁵ W. Wimschel, *Sagen, Sitten, und Gebräuche aus Thüringen*, p. 175, § 30.

⁶ K. Barisch, *Sagen, Märchen, und Gebräuche aus Mecklenburg*, ii. p. 246, §§ 1273, 1274.

⁷ A. Kuhn, *Märchen, Sagen, und Lieder*, p. 378, § 14.

"the long-bodied," mice "the small grey," and the seal "brother Lars." Swedish herd-girls, again, believe that if the wolf and the bear be called by other than their proper and legitimate names, they will not attack the herd. Hence they give these brutes names which they fancy will not hurt their feelings. The number of endearing appellations lavished by them on the wolf is legion; they call him "golden tooth," "the silent one," "grey legs," and so on; while the bear is referred to by the respectful titles of "the old man," "grandfather," "twelve men's strength," "golden feet," and more of the same sort. Even inanimate things are not always to be called by their usual names. For instance, fire is sometimes to be called "heat" (*hetta*), not *eld* or *ell*; water for brewing must be called *lag* or *lög*, not *vatten*, else the beer would not turn out so well.¹ The Lapps fear to call the bear by his true name, lest he should ravage their herds; so they speak of him as "the old man with the coat of skin," and in cooking his flesh to furnish a meal they may not refer to the work they are engaged in as "cooking," but must designate it by a special term.² The Finns speak of the bear as "the apple of the wood," "beautiful honey-paw," "the pride of the thicket," "the old man," and so on.³ And in general a Finnish hunter thinks that he will have poor sport if he calls animals by their real names; the beasts resent it. The fox and the hare are only spoken of as "game," and the lynx is termed "the forest cat," lest it should devour the sheep.⁴ Esthonian peasants are very loth to mention wild beasts by their proper names, for they believe that the creatures will not do so much harm if only they are called by other names than their own. Hence they speak of the bear as "broad foot" and the wolf as "grey coat."⁵ The Kamtchatkans reverence the whale, the bear, and the wolf from fear, and never mention their names when they meet them, believing that they understand human speech.⁶ Further, they think that mice also understand the Kamtchatkan language; so in autumn, when they rob the field-mice of the bulbs which these little creatures have laid up in their burrows as a store against winter, they call everything by names different from the ordinary ones, lest the mice should know what they were saying. Moreover, they leave odds and ends, such as old rags, broken needles, cedar-nuts, and so forth, in the burrows to make the mice think that the transaction has been not a robbery

¹ B. Thorspe, *Northern Mythology*, ii. 83 sq.; L. Lloyd, *Peasant Life in Sweden*, p. 251.

² C. Leemius, *De Lappenis Finmarkiae vernaculis linguis, vita, et religione pristina rursusque* (Copenhagen, 1767), p. 502 sq.

³ Cassén, *Förklaringar över de finländska mytologi*, p. 201.

⁴ Varmen, reported by Hon. J. Abercromby in *Folk-Lore*, ii. (1891), p. 245 sq.

⁵ Boecler-Kreutzwald, *Der Esten oberbairische Gebräuche, (Volks- und Gewohnheiten)*, p. 120.

⁶ G. W. Steller, *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka*, p. 276.

but a fair exchange. If they did not do that, they fancy that the mice would go and drown or hang themselves out of pure vexation; and then what would the Kamtchatkans do without the mice to gather the bulbs for them? They also speak kindly to the animals, and beg them not to take it ill, explaining that what they do is done out of pure friendship.¹

In Africa the lion is alluded to with the same ceremonious respect as the wolf and the bear in Northern Europe and Asia. The Arabs of Algeria, who hunt the lion, speak of him as Mr. John Johnson (Johan-ben-el-Johan), because he has the noblest qualities of man and understands all languages. Hence, too, the first huntsman to catch sight of the beast points at him with his finger and says, "He is not there"; for if he were to say "He is there," the lion would eat him up.² The negroes of Angola always use the word *nyana* ("sir") in speaking of the same noble animal, because they think that he is "fetish" and would not fail to punish them for disrespect if they omitted to do so.³ Bushmen and Bechuanas both deem it unlucky to speak of the lion by his proper name; the Bechuanas call him "the boy with the beard."⁴ A certain spirit, who used to inhabit a lake in Madagascar, entertained a rooted aversion to salt, so that whenever the thing was carried past the lake in which he resided it had to be called by another name, or it would all have been dissolved and lost. The persons whom he inspired had to veil their references to the obnoxious article under the disguise of "sweet peppers."⁵

In India the animals whose names are most commonly tabooed are the snake and the tiger, but the same tribute of respect is paid to other beasts also. Sayids and Musguls of high rank in Northern India say that you should never call a snake by its proper name, but always describe it either as a tiger (*sher*) or a string (*rassi*).⁶ In Telingana the euphemistic name for a snake, which should always be employed, is worm or insect (*purugu*); if you call a cobra by its proper name, the creature will haunt you for seven years and bite you at the first opportunity.⁷ Ignorant Bengalee women will not mention a snake or a thief by their proper names at night, for fear that one or other might appear. When they have to allude to a serpent, they call it "the creeping thing"; when they speak of a thief, they say "the unwelcome visitor."⁸ Other euphemisms

¹ Steller, *op. cit.* p. 91; compare *ibid.* pp. 129, 130.

² Certeux et Carnoy, *L'Algérie Traditionnelle*, pp. 172, 175.

³ J. J. Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, II. 116.

⁴ J. Mackenzie, *Ten Years north of the Orange River*, p. 131; C. K. Coedès, in *Journal of the Anthropo-*

logical Institute, xii. (1887), p. 84.

⁵ J. Sibree, *The Great African Island*, p. 307 *sq.*

⁶ *Panjab Notes and Queries*, i. p. 15, § 122.

⁷ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I. p. 104, § 690.

⁸ *Id.*, v. p. 133, § 372.

for the snake in Northern India are "maternal uncle" and "rope." They say that if a snake bites you, you should not mention its name, but merely observe "A rope has touched me."¹ Natives of Travancore are careful not to speak disrespectfully of serpents. A cobra is called "the good lord" (*nalla tumbiran*) or "the good snake" (*nalla pambu*). While the Malayalies of the Shervaray Hills are hunting the tiger, they speak of the beast only as "the dog."² The Canarese of Southern India call the tiger either "the dog" or "the jackal"; they think that if they called him by his proper name, he would be sure to carry off one of them.³ The jungle people of Northern India, who meet the tiger in his native haunts, will not pronounce his name, but speak of him as "the jackal" (*ghhar*), or "the beast" (*janavar*), or use some other euphemistic term. In some places they treat the wolf and the bear in the same fashion.⁴ The Pankas of South Mizorpur will not name the tiger, bear, camel, or donkey by their proper names; the camel they call "long neck." Other tribes of the same district only scruple to mention certain animals in the morning. Thus, the Kharwars, a Dravidian tribe, will not name a pig, squirrel, hare, jackal, bear, monkey, or donkey in the morning hours; if they have to allude to these animals at that time, they call them by special names. For instance, they call the hare "the footed one" or "he that hides in the rocks"; while they speak of the bear as *figariya*, which being interpreted means "he with the liver of compassion." If the Bhuiyars are absolutely obliged to refer to a monkey or a bear in the morning, they speak of the monkey as "the tree-climber" and the bear as "the eater of white ants." They would not mention a crocodile. Among the Pataris the maternal title of the bear is "the hairy creature."⁵ The Kols, a Dravidian race of Northern India, will not speak of death or beasts of prey by their proper names in the morning. Their name for the tiger at that time of day is "he with the teeth," and for the elephant "he with the claws."⁶

In Annam the fear inspired by tigers, elephants, and other wild animals induces the people to address these creatures with the greatest respect as "lord" or "grandfather," lest the beasts should take umbrage and attack them.⁷ In Laos, while a man is out

¹ W. Crooke, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 275.

² S. Muteer, *Natives Life in Travancore*, p. 320 *sq.*

³ *North Indian Notes and Queries*, v. p. 133, § 372.

⁴ W. Crooke, *op. cit.* p. 321.

⁵ W. Crooke in *North Indian Notes and Queries*, I. p. 70, § 379; *ibid.*

Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh, vi. 249; *id.*, *Introduction to the Popular Religion and Folklore of Northern India*, p. 218.

⁶ W. Crooke, *Tribes and Castes of the North-Western Provinces and Oudh*, iii. 314.

⁷ Mouhot, *Travels in the Central Parts of Indo-China*, i. 263 *sq.*

hunting elephants he is obliged to give conventional names to all common objects, which creates a sort of special language for elephant-hunters.¹ So when the Tchames and Orang-Glai of Indo-China are searching for the precious eagle-wood in the forest, they must employ an artificial jargon to designate most objects of everyday life; thus, for example, fire is called "the red," a she-goat becomes "a spider," and so on. Some of the terms which compose the jargon are borrowed from the dialects of neighbouring tribes.² At certain seasons of the year parties of Jakuns and Binuas go out to seek for camphor in the luxuriant forests of their native country, which is the narrow southern extremity of the Malay Peninsula, the Land's End of Asia. They are absent for three or four months together, and during the whole of this time the use of the ordinary Malay language is forbidden to them, and they have to speak a special language called by them the *basia Asupor* (camphor language) or *pantang*³ *Asupor*. Indeed not only have the searchers to employ this peculiar language, but even the men and women who stay at home in the villages are obliged to speak it while the others are away looking for the camphor. They believe that a spirit presides over the camphor-trees, and that without propitiating him they could not obtain the precious gum. If they failed to employ the camphor language, they think that they would have great difficulty in finding the camphor-trees, and that even when they did find them the camphor would not yield itself up to the collector. The camphor language consists in great part of words which are either Malayan or of Malay origin; but it also contains many words which are not Malayan but are presumed to be remains of the original Jakun dialects now almost extinct in these districts. The words derived from Malayan are formed in many cases by merely substituting a descriptive phrase for the common term. Thus instead of rice they say "grass fruit"; instead of gun they say "far sounding"; the epithet "short-legged" is substituted for hog; hair is referred to as "leaves," and so on.⁴ Similarly, when the Kayans of Borneo are searching for camphor, they talk a language invented solely for their use at this time. The camphor itself is never mentioned by its proper name, but is always referred to as "the thing that smells"; and all the tools employed in collecting the drug receive fanciful names. Unless they conform to this

¹ E. Aymonier, *Notes sur le Laos*, p. 113.

² *Id.*, "Les Tchames et leurs Religions," *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, xxiv, (1891), p. 278.

³ *Pantang* is equivalent to *lakoo*. In this sense it is used also by the Dyaks. See S. W. Tromp, "Een Dajaksch Feest," *Bijdragen tot de*

Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederland-Indië, xxxix, (1890), p. 31 *sq.*

⁴ J. R. Logan, "The Orang Binas at Johore," *Journal of the Eastern Archipelago and Eastern Asia*, i, (1847), pp. 249, 263-265; A. Bastiau, *Die Völker des östlichen Asien*, v, 37; W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 213-214.

rule they suppose that the camphor crystals, which are found only in the crevices of the wood, will elude them.¹ In the western states of the Malay Peninsula the chief industry is tin-mining, and odd ideas prevail among the natives as to the nature and properties of the ore. They regard it as alive and growing, sometimes in the shape of a buffalo, which makes its way from place to place underground. Ore of inferior quality is excused on the score of its tender years; it will no doubt improve as it grows older. Not only is the tin believed to be under the protection and command of certain spirits who must be propitiated, but it is even supposed to have its own special likes and dislikes for certain persons and things. Hence the Malays deem it advisable to treat tin ore with respect, to consult its convenience, nay, to conduct the business of mining in such a way that the ore may, as it were, be extracted without its own knowledge. When such are their ideas about the mineral it is no wonder that the miners scruple to employ certain words in the mines, and replace them by others which are less likely to give offence to the ore or its guardian spirits. Thus, for example, the elephant must not be called an elephant but "the tall one who turns himself about"; and in like manner special words, different from those in common use, are employed by the miners to designate the cat, the buffalo, the snake, the centipede, tin sand, metallic tin, and lemons. Lemons are particularly distasteful to the spirits; they may not be brought into the mines.² Again, the Malay wizard, who is engaged in snaring pigeons with the help of a decoy-bird and a calling-tube, must on no account call things by their common names. The tiny conical hut, in which he sits waiting for the wild pigeons to come fluttering about him, goes by the high-sounding name of the Magic Prince, perhaps with a delicate allusion to its noble inmate. The calling-tube is known as Prince Distraction, doubtless on account of the extraordinary fascination it exercises on the birds. The decoy-pigeon receives the name of the Squatting Princess, and the rod with a noose at the end of it, which serves to catch the unwary birds, is disguised under the title of Prince Invitation. Everything, in fact, is on a princely scale, so far at least as words can make it so. The very nooses destined to be slipped over the necks or legs of the little struggling prisoners are dignified by the title of King Solomon's necklaces and armlets; and the trap into which the birds are invited to walk is variously described as King Solomon's Audience Chamber, or a Palace Tower,³ or an Ivory Hall carpeted

¹ W. H. Furness, *Folk-lore in Borneo* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania, 1899; privately printed), p. 27. A special language is also used in the search for camphor by some of the natives of Sumatra. See Th. A. L. Heyting, "Beschrijving der onder-aardeeling

Groot-Mandeling en Batang-Natal," *Tijdschrift van het Nederlandsch Aardrijkskundig Genootschap*, Tweede Serie, xiv. (1897), p. 276.

² W. W. Skeat, *Malay Magic*, pp. 250, 253-260.

with silver and railed with amalgam. What pigeon could resist these manifold attractions, especially when it is addressed by the respectful title of Princess Kapor or Princess Sarap or Princess Puding?¹ Once more, the fisher-folk on the east coast of the Malay Peninsula, like their brethren in Scotland, are reluctant to mention the names of birds or beasts while they are at sea. All animals then go by the name of *chéveh*, a meaningless word which is believed not to be understood by the creatures to whom it refers. Particular kinds of animals are distinguished by appropriate epithets; the pig is the grunting *chéveh*, the buffalo is the *chéveh* that says *wah*, the snipe is the *chéveh* that cries *kék-kék*, and so on.²

In Sumatra the spirits of the gold mines are treated with as much deference as the spirits of the tin-mines in the Malay Peninsula. Tin, ivory, and the like, may not be brought by the miners to the scene of their operations, for at the scent of such things the spirits of the mine would cause the gold to vanish. For the same reason it is forbidden to refer to certain things by their proper names, and in speaking of them the miners must use other words. In some cases, for example in removing the grains of the gold, a deep silence must be observed; no commands may be given or questions asked,³ probably because the removal of the precious metal is regarded as a theft which the spirits would punish if they caught the thieves in the act. Certainly the Dyaks believe that gold has a soul which seeks to avenge itself on men who dig the precious metal. But the angry spirit is powerless to harm miners who observe certain precautions, such as never to bathe in a river with their faces turned up stream, never to sit with their legs dangling, and never to tie up their hair.⁴ Again, a Sumatran who fancies that there is a tiger or a crocodile in his neighbourhood, will speak of the animal by the honourable title of "grandfather" for the purpose of propitiating the creature.⁵ So long as the hunting season lasts, the natives of Nias may not name the eye, the hammer, stones, and in some places the sun by their true names; no smith may ply his trade in the village, and no person may go from one village to another to have smith's work done for him. All this, with the exception of the rule about not naming the eye and the sun, is done to prevent the dogs from growing stiff, and so losing the power of running down the game.⁶ During the rice-harvest in Nias the

¹ W. W. Skene, *op. cit.* p. 139 sq.

² W. W. Skene, *op. cit.* p. 192 sq.

³ J. L. van der Toorn, "Het ananisme bij den Minangkabauer der Prinselijke Bovenlanden," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkskunde van Nederlandsch Indië*, xxxix. (1890), p. 100.

⁴ Precher, *Ethnographische Beschreibung der Dajaks*, p. 215.

⁵ Neuwenhuis en Rosenberg.

⁶ "Verslag omtrent het eiland Nias," *Verhandelingen van het Koninklijk Genootschap van Kunsten en Wetenschappen*, xxi. (1863), p. 115. Compare Murden, *History of Sumatra*, p. 292; T. J. Newbold, *Account of the British Settlements in the Straits of Malacca*, ii. 192 sq.

⁷ J. W. Thomas, "De jacht op het

reapers seldom speak to each other, and when they do so, it is only in whispers. Outside the field they must speak of everything by names different from those in common use, which gives rise to a special dialect or jargon known as "field speech." It has been observed that some of the words in this jargon resemble words in the language of the Battas of Sumatra.¹ The Alfours of Poso, in Celebes, are forbidden by custom to speak the ordinary language when they are at work in the harvest-field. At such times they employ a secret language which is said to agree with the ordinary one only in this, that in it some things are designated by words usually applied in a different sense, or by descriptive phrases or circumlocutions. Thus instead of "run" they say "limp"; instead of "hand" they say "that with which one reaches"; instead of "foot" they say "that with which one limps"; and instead of "ear" they say "that with which one hears." Again, in the field-speech "to drink" becomes "to thrust forward the mouth"; "to pass by" is expressed by "to nod with the head"; a gun is "a fire-producer"; and wood is "that which is carried on the shoulder." The writer who reports the custom adds that the reason of it is not far to seek. It is thought, he says, that the evil spirits understand ordinary human speech, and that therefore its use in the harvest-field would attract their attention to the ripe rice, and they might wantonly destroy it. Beginning with a rule of avoiding a certain number of common words, the custom has grown among people of the Malay stock till it has produced a complete language for use in the fields. In Minahassa also this secret field-speech consists in part of phrases or circumlocutions, of which many are said to be very poetical; and here, too, it is used to keep the evil spirits in the dark as to the intentions of the speakers.² When a Buginese or Macassar man is at sea and sailing past a place which he believes to be haunted by evil spirits, he keeps as quiet as he can; but if he is obliged to speak he designates common things and actions, such as water, wind, fire, cooking, eating, the rice-pot, etc., by peculiar terms which are neither Buginese nor Macassar, and therefore cannot be understood by the evil spirits, whose knowledge of languages is limited to these two tongues.³ Natives of the island of Saleyer, which lies off the south coast of Celebes, will not mention the name of their island

eiland Nias," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde*, xxvi. (1880), p. 275.

¹ L. N. H. A. Clintelin, "Godelienst en bijgeloof der Niasers," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde*, xxvi. (1880), p. 165; H. Sandenmann, "Die Insel Nias und die Mission daselbst," *Allgemeine Mission-Zeitschrift*, xi. (1884), p. 349; E.

Modighiai, *Un Viaggio a Nias*, p. 593.

² A. C. Kruijt, "Een en ander aangaande het geestelijk en maatschappelijk leven van den Poso-Alfoer," *Mededeelingen van wege het Nederlandsche Zendinggenootschap*, xxxix. (1895), pp. 146-148.

³ R. F. Mathes, *Bijdragen tot de Ethnologie van Zuid-Celebes*, p. 107.

when they are making a certain sea-passage; and in sailing they will never speak of a fair wind by its proper name. The reason in both cases is a fear of disturbing the evil spirits.¹ When Galelareese sailors are crossing over to a land that is some way off, say one or two days' sail, they do not remark on any vessels that may be in sight or any birds that may fly past; for they believe that were they to do so they would be driven out of their course and not reach the land they are making for. Moreover, they may not mention their own ship, or any part of it. If they have to speak of the bow, for example, they say "the beak of the bird"; starboard is named "sword," and larboard "shield."² The inhabitants of Ternate and of the Sangi Islands deem it very dangerous to point at distant objects or to name them while they are at sea. Once while sailing with a crew of Ternate men a European asked one of them the name of certain small islands which they had passed. The man had been talkative before, but the question reduced him to silence. "Sir," he said, "that is a great taboo; if I told you we should at once have wind and tide against us, and perhaps suffer a great calamity. As soon as we come to anchor I will tell you the name of the islands." The Sangi Islanders have, besides the ordinary language, an ancient one which is only partly understood by some of the people. This old language is often used by them at sea, as well as in popular songs and certain heathen rites.³ The reason for resorting to it on shipboard is to hinder the evil spirits from overhearing and so frustrating the plans of the voyagers.⁴ In some parts of Sunda it is taboo or forbidden to call a goat a goat; it must be called a "deer under the house." A tiger may not be spoken of as a tiger; he must be referred to as "the supple one," "the one there," "the honourable," "the whiskered one," and so on. Neither a wild boar nor a mouse may be mentioned by its proper name; a boar must be called "the beautiful one" (masculine) and the mouse "the beautiful one" (feminine). When the people are asked what would be the consequence of breaking a taboo, they generally say that the person or thing would suffer for it, either by meeting with a mishap or by falling ill. But some say they do not so much fear a misfortune as experience an indefinite feeling, half fear, half reverence, towards an institution of their forefathers. Others can assign no reason for observing the taboos, and cut inquiry short by saying that "It is so

¹ H. E. D. Engelhard, "Mededeelingen over het eiland Saleijer," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, Vende Volgreeks, viii (1884), p. 369.

² M. J. van Baarsda, "Fabelen, Versnien en Overleveringen der Galelareezen," *Bijdragen tot de Taal- Land- en*

Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië, xlv (1895), p. 508.

³ S. D. van de Velde van Cappellen, "Verslag einer Bezoekreis naar de Sangi-eilanden," *Mededeelingen nauwke het Nederlandsche Zeezondlings-nutschap*, i. (1857), pp. 33, 35.

⁴ A. C. Kraljt, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

because it is so."¹ When small-pox invades a village of the Saka-rang Dyaks in Borneo, the people desert the place and take refuge in the jungle. In the daytime they do not dare to stir or to speak above a whisper, lest the spirits should see or hear them. They do not call the small-pox by its proper name, but speak of it as "jungle leaves" or "fruit" or "the chief," and ask the sufferer, "Has he left you?" and the question is put in a whisper lest the spirit should hear.² Natives of the Philippine Islands were formerly prohibited from naming the land when they were at sea, and from speaking of water when they were journeying by land.³

When we survey the instances of this superstition which have now been enumerated, we can hardly fail to be struck by the number of cases in which a fear of spirits, or of other beings regarded as spiritual and intelligent, is assigned as the reason for abstaining in certain circumstances from the use of certain words. The speaker imagines himself to be overheard and understood by spirits, or animals, or other beings whom his fancy endows with human intelligence; and hence he avoids certain words and substitutes others in their stead, either from a desire to soothe and propitiate these beings by speaking well of them, or from a dread that they may understand his speech and know what he is about, when he happens to be engaged in that which, if they knew of it, would excite their anger or their fear. Hence the substituted terms fall into two classes according as they are complimentary or enigmatic; and these expressions are employed, according to circumstances, for different and even opposite reasons, the complimentary because they will be understood and appreciated, and the enigmatic because they will not. We can now see why persons engaged in occupations like fishing, fowling, hunting, mining, reaping, and sailing the sea, should abstain from the use of the common language and veil their meaning in dark phrases and strange words. For they have this in common that all of them are encroaching on the domain of the elemental beings, the creatures who, whether visible or invisible, whether clothed in fur or scales or feathers, whether manifesting themselves in tree or stone or running streams or breaking wave, or hovering unseen in the air, may be thought to have the first right to those regions of earth and sea and sky into which man intrudes only to plunder and destroy. Thus deeply imbued with a sense of the all-pervading life and intelligence of nature, man at a certain stage of his intellectual development cannot but be visited with fear or compunction, whether he is killing wild fowl among the stormy

¹ K. F. Holle, "Snippers van den Regent van Galeas," *Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal- Land- en Volkskunde*, xxvii. (1882), p. 101 sq.

² Ch. Brooke, *Ten Years in Sarawak*

(London, 1866), I. 208; Spenser St. John, *Life in the Forests of the Far East*,³ I. 71 sq.

³ J. Mallat, *Les Philippines* (Paris, 1846), I. 64.

Hebrides, or snaring doves in the sultry thickets of the Malay Peninsula; whether he is hunting the bear in Lapland snows, or the tiger in Indian jungles, or hauling in the dripping net, laden with silvery herring, on the coast of Scotland; whether he is searching for the camphor crystals in the shade of the tropical forest, or extracting the red gold from the darksome mine, or laying low with a sweep of his sickle the yellow ears on the harvest field. In all these his depredations on nature, man's first endeavour apparently is by quietness and silence to escape the notice of the beings whom he dreads; but if that cannot be, he puts the best face he can on the matter by dissembling his foul designs under a fair exterior, by flattering the creatures whom he proposes to betray, and by so guarding his lips, that, though his dark ambiguous words are understood well enough by his fellows, they are wholly unintelligible to his victims. He pretends to be what he is not, and to be doing something quite different from the real business in hand. He is not, for example, a fowler catching pigeons in the forest; he is a Magic Prince or King Solomon himself¹ inviting fair princesses into his palace tower or ivory hall. Such childish pretences suffice to cheat the guileless creatures whom the savage intends to rob or kill, perhaps they even impose to some extent upon himself; for we can hardly disavow them wholly from those forms of sympathetic magic in which primitive man seeks to effect his purpose by imitating the thing he desires to produce, or even by assimilating himself to it. It is hard indeed for us to realise the mental state of a Malay wizard masquerading before wild pigeons in the character of King Solomon; yet perhaps the make-believe of children and of the stage, where we see the players daily forgetting their real selves in their passionate impersonation of the shadowy realm of fancy, may afford us some glimpse into the workings of that instinct of imitation or mimicry which is deeply implanted in the constitution of the human mind.

¹ The character of King Solomon appears to be a favourite one with the Malay sorcerer when he desires to ingratiate himself with or lord it over the powers of nature. Thus, for example, in addressing silver are the sage observes:—

"If you do not come hither at this very moment

You shall be a rebel unto God,
And a rebel unto God's Prophet Solomon,
For I am God's Prophet Solomon."

See W. W. Sloot, *Malay Magic*, p. 273. No doubt the fame of his wisdom has earned for the Hebrew monarch this distinction among the dusky wizards of the East.

ADDENDA

Pp. 31-39, 53-59.—Similarly among the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia, "while the men were on the war-path, the women performed dances at frequent intervals. These dances were believed to secure the success of the expedition. The dancers flourished their knives, threw long sharp-pointed sticks forward, or drew sticks with hooked ends repeatedly backward and forward. Throwing the sticks forward was symbolic of piercing or fighting off the supposed enemy, and drawing them back was symbolic of drawing their men from danger. The stick with the hooked end was the one supposed to be the best adapted for this latter purpose. The women always pointed their weapons toward the enemy's country. They painted their faces red, and sang while dancing, and supplicated the weapons of war to preserve their husbands, and help them kill many enemies. Some had eagle-down stuck on the points of their sticks. When the dance was at an end these weapons were hidden. If a woman had a husband in the war-party, and she thought she saw hair or part of a scalp on the weapon when taking it out, she knew that her husband had killed an enemy. If she thought she saw blood on the weapon, it was a sign that her husband had been wounded or killed" (James Teit, "The Thompson Indians of British Columbia," *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*, vol. i. part iv, (April 1906), p. 356).

Pp. 51-53.—Among the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia, "when a child lost its teeth, each one, as it fell out, was taken by the father and stuck into a piece of raw deer-flesh until out of sight. This was then given to a dog, who of course swallowed it whole" (James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 308). The writer who describes this custom was unable to ascertain the reason for it. We may conjecture that on the principles of sympathetic magic it was intended to make the child's new teeth as strong as a dog's. In West Sussex some thirty years ago a maid-servant "remonstrated strongly against the throwing away of the cast teeth of children,

affirming that should they be found, and gnawed by any animal, the child's new tooth would be, for all the world, like the animal's that had bitten the old one. In proof of her assertion she named old Master Simmons, who had a very large pig's tooth in his upper jaw, a personal blemish that he always averred was caused by mother's having thrown one of his cast teeth away by accident into the hog-trough" (Charlotte Latham, "West Sussex Superstitions lingering in 1868," *Folk-lore Record*, i. (1878), p. 44). Among the heathen Arabs, when a boy's tooth fell out, he used to take it between his finger and thumb and throw it towards the sun, saying, "Give me a better for it." After that his teeth were sure to grow straight, and close, and strong. "The sun," says Tharrafah, "gave the lad from his own nursery-ground a tooth like a hail-stone, white and polished" (Raschussen, *Additamenta ad historiam Arabum ante Islamismum*, p. 64). Thus the reason for throwing the old teeth towards the sun would seem to have been a notion that the sun sends the hail, from which it naturally follows that he can send you a tooth as white and smooth as a hail-stone.

P. 31. — Among the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia the same power of making good or bad weather is attributed to twins. They are supposed to be endowed with the faculty by the grizzly bear, whose special protection they enjoy. See James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 310 sq.

P. 256. — The rule not to fall asleep in a house immediately after a death has taken place in it, which is observed by the Aru Islanders, was observed also by the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia, and for the same reason. When a death has been announced, friends and neighbours assembled in the house of the deceased and remained there as guests until after the burial. "During this time they must not sleep, else their souls would be drawn away by the ghost of the deceased or by his guardian spirit" (James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 327).

P. 269 sq. — Among the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia "the soul is supposed to leave the body through the frontal fontanelle. Shamans can see it before and shortly after it leaves the body, but lose sight of it when it gets further away toward the world of the souls. Therefore, when a person believes that his soul has been taken away, he must send a shaman in pursuit within two days, else the latter may not be able to overtake it. When a shaman sees a soul in the shape of a fog, it is a sign that the owner will die. When a shaman discovers that a person's soul has left him, he repairs at once to the old trail. If he does not find its tracks there, then he makes a systematic search of the

graveyards, and almost always finds it in one of them. Sometimes he succeeds in heading off the departing soul by using a shorter trail to the land of the souls. Shamans can stay for only a very short time in that country. The shaman generally makes himself invisible when he goes to the spirit-land. He captures the soul he wants just upon its arrival, and runs away with it, carrying it in his hands. The other souls chase him; but he stamps his foot on which he wears a rattle made of deer's hoofs. As soon as the souls hear the noise, they retreat, and he hurries on. When they overtake him once more, he stamps his foot again. Another shaman may be bolder, and ask the souls to let him have the soul he seeks. If they refuse, he takes it. Then they attack him. He clubs them, and takes the soul away by force. When, upon his return to this world, he takes off his mask, he shows his club with much blood on it. Then the people know he had a desperate struggle. When a shaman thinks he may have difficulty in recovering a soul, he increases the number of wooden pins in his mask. The shaman puts the soul, after he has obtained it, on the patient's head, thereby returning it to the body" (James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 363 *sq.*).

P. 324 *sq.*—Among the Thompson River Indians of British Columbia "those who handled the dead body, and who dug the grave, were isolated for four days. They fasted until the body was buried, after which they were given food apart from the other people. They would not touch the food with their hands, but must put it into their mouths with sharp-pointed sticks. They ate off a small mat, and drank out of birch-bark cups, which, together with the mat, were thrown away at the end of the four days. The first four mouthfuls of food, as well as of water, had to be spit into the fire. During this period they bathed in a stream, and were forbidden to sleep with their wives" (James Teit, *op. cit.* p. 331).

